

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

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MORPHOLOGY

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CHAPTER I: FORMATIVE AFFIXES

394. Hoernle's discussion of the NIA. suffixes in his 'Gaudian Grammar' remains the most thorough study of the scope and origin of these, although some of his derivations are more or less speculative. The Bengali formative affixes have been discussed in some detail by Rai Bahadur Yōgesh Chandra Vidyānidhi in his Bengali grammar (published by the VSPJ., pp. 147-191), but the arrangement is capable of improvement, and some of the etymologies can be questioned. There is no doubt as to the source of most NIA. affixes, but there are a few which have not been satisfactorily explained.

The OIA. affixes, primary or secondary, became disguised, or simply dropped off in NIA., through either assimilation or phonetic decay. But a number of OIA. affixes have been preserved, and occur in NIA. as living forms, although in their present shape they are widely removed from their OIA. originals (*e.g.*, «-pan» < «-tvana-»; «-ab, -ib, -iv» < «-tavva-»; «-i» < «-ika, -ikā»; etc.). The NIA. speeches preserve only the relics of some OIA. affixes, which as a result of phonetic decay now form integral and indivisible parts of the words, and have, so far as the speech-feeling of the NIA. speaker is concerned, no separate existence, and are not recognisable or analysable any more as an affix. Thus, for example, the OIA. primary affixes «-ā, -ā, -as», in noun and adjective formations, are no longer living ones in Bengali, as they are lost in all inherited words; but the affix «-ana», to form verbal nouns, continues to be in full force as অন, ঔন «-ānṣ, -ōnṣ»; and in words like চাম, কাম «cāmṣ, kāmṣ», the -ম «-mṣ» is only partially representative of the original OIA. affix «-man»; but it is no longer possible to analyse the Bengali words as being made up of a root *plus* an affix, and neither can -ম

< -mṣ > be distinguished from the -ম < mṣ > in words like জাম < jāmṣ > (jambu) and আম < āmṣ > (āmra). The words in Bengali have become to all intents and purposes root-words, or primitive words, the sense of their being composed forms being long lost, from the beginning of MIA. So in words like রাতি < rāti > (rātri), পাতি < pāti > (pañkti), সোতা < sōtā > (MIA. sōnta-, OIA. srōtas), কাজ < kājṣ > (kārya), the OIA. affixes < -tri, -ti, -tas, -ya > are present, but they are no longer alive. These relics or fragments of dead forms are not necessary to consider, unless the subject of study were the history of the OIA. suffixes down to NIA. through MIA.

Below are given in a rough alphabetical order all the living affixes, primary as well as secondary, which are found in Bengali, Old, Middle and New, with indications of their origin.

[A] SUFFIXES

[I] TADBHAVA SUFFIXES

(1) অ < -ā, ṣ > : masculine, feminine and neuter noun affix.

395. Representing the primary affixes of OIA., masculine < -āḥ >, feminine < -ā >, neuter < -am >, also < -as >, with or without < guṇa > of the root-vowel, this affix may be said to have existed in Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali, but was lost from Late Middle Bengali times with the loss or assimilation of the final vowel: *e.g.*, চার < cāra > (cāra), সান < sāna > (sānjñā), মন < maṇa > (manas), সাক্ষ < sāṅkama > (saṅkrama) *bridge*; but cf. Late MB. দে < dē > (dēha), মন < mānṣ > (manas), বাত < bātṣ > (vārtā), বোল < bōlṣ > *speech* (MIA. *bōlla), চাল < cālṣ > *way, style* (cāla), etc.

(2) অ < -ā >, also written ও < -ō >.

396. This is the pleonastic suffix, found in a number of nouns and adjectives—*e.g.*, ভাল, ভালো < bhālā, bhālō > *good*; কাল, কালো < kālā, kālō > *black*; ধল < dhālā > *white*; etc. It comes from the pleonastic or pejorative < -kā > of OIA., added to nouns in < -ā > = < -ā-kā > > MIA. < -kā- > > < -kā > : see *ante*, pp. 302, 346, 347, 348. The affix is thus of secondary origin. The employment of the pleonastic < -ka >, giving, with the

preceding «-a» of the word, the MIA. forms «-aga, *-aga, -aṃ/ya», is quite a note-worthy thing from the Second MIA. stage; and in Skt. as written in that period, as well as in later times, this vernacular habit is fully reflected: in the Skt. of inscriptions, this is very much in evidence. (Cf. Damodarpur Copper Plates of the Gupta Period, Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 130, 138.) The combination of «-āḥ» > «-āwā» seems to have begun to be altered to an «-ā» (long [a:]) sound in the OB. period; and it was accomplished by the 14th century. (See pp. 260, 302, 346.) In MB., it is frequently found in personal names, where it is commonly written as ও «-ō»: e.g., শিবো «Sibō» (OB. *Śibawa = ts. Śiva + ka), রুদো «Rudō» (*Rūdawa < Rudra + ka), বিভো «Ribhō» (*Bibhawa < *Vibha = Vibhu + ka), সিধো «Sidhō» (*Sīdhawa < Siddha [= Siddhēśvara] + ka), etc. These common contractions of personal names in MB. are thus on the basis of a form in «-ā-», shortened from the full names (e.g., জনো «Jānō» < «Janārdana», পিথো «Pithō» < «Pṛthvidhara», etc.), with the pleonastic «-kā» added. Forms like the above are very common in MB. genealogical works (kula-grantha, kulajī = kulāpañjikā): which shows that they were much in use.

There is another affix, also (occasionally) written -অ «-ā», indicating the sense of *about to do something*: e.g., কাঁদ-কাঁদ «kāḍa-kāḍa», beside কাঁদো-কাঁদো «kāḍō-kāḍō» *ready to burst into tears*. This is a primary affix forming verbal adjectives and is derived from ও «-ō» < উ «-u», which see, *infra*.

(3) Affixes derived from the OIA. Active Present Participle «-ānt-»:

অন্ত «-āntā»; অং > অতা, অলী (অতি) «-ātā > -ātā, -āti (-āti)», অত «-ātā». (Cf. also আইত, ইত «-āit, -it-», and আস্ত «-āntā».)

397. অন্ত «-āntā»: this is a stereotyped form, which occurs only in a few adjectives used attributively: e.g., জীবন্ত «jīāntā» > জ্যাস্ত «jyāntā» [jīānta] *living* (jīvant-); চলন্ত «cālāntā» *moving* (calant-); বাড়ন্ত «bārāntā» *prospering* < বাড়ন্ত «bārāntā» (√vr̥dh > *vardhant-); ঘুমন্ত «ghumāntā» *sleeping* (ঘুম√ghum); ভাসন্ত *floating* (ভাস√bbās float); etc. It occurs in a feminine form অস্তী «-āntī» = «-ant- + -ikā» used with sentient feminine nouns: নাচুস্তী < নাচন্তী «nācuntī < nācāntī» (nṛtyant- + -ikā); দেখুস্তি < দেখন্তি «dēkhuntī < dēkhāntī» *seeing, seer* (MIA. dōkkhanti), etc. অন্ত «-āntā»

is not the regular development in Bengali of the OIA. affix «-ant-», but it became established in some forms, which were set apart in MB., because of their adjectival force, from the regular MB. and NB. change which made ইত «-it» out of MIA. «-anta, -enta» < OIA. «-ant-» (see p. 335).

অৎ «-ātṣ», found commonly in its extended form অতী «-āt-ā», feminine অতী, অতি «-āt-i, -āt-i». This affix seems to be borrowed from the Bihārī dialects, and Hindōstānī: «-anta»-at». The feminine force is lost to Bengali. Examples: ফেরত ডাক «phērātṣ ḍākṣ» *return post*, also ফিরতী ডাক «phirātī ḍākṣ» (ফির √phir); চলতী ভাষা «cālātī bhāṣā» *current speech, colloquial* (√cal), cf. Hindi «caltī cakki» *the moving wheel* (quern-stone = the world); বহত জল «bāhāt jāḷṣ» *running water* (বহ √bāh < √vah flow); উঠতি বয়স «uṭhātī bāyāṣṣ» *growing age, youth* (উঠ √uṭh < ut+sthā); সব-জ্ঞাতা «sābṣ-jāntā» *all-knowing*; বিলাত-ফেরত, or ফেরতা «bilātṣ-phērātṣ, -phērātṣ» *returned from Europe*; দেখতা «dēkhātṣ» *seeing*, as in the idiom আমার দেখতা «āmārṣ dēkhātṣ» (for আমি দেখতা «āmi dēkhātṣ»?) *with me looking on*; ঝড়তি পড়তি «jhārṣṭi pāṣṭi» *things that are scattered and fallen, remainder*; etc.

Another form of this affix is অত «-ātṣ», which seems to be a blend of অৎ «-āt» + অন্ত «-āntā»: e.g., জানত «jānātṣ», পারত «pārātṣ», করত «kārātṣ», etc. Forms with this affix, however, are rather rare, and they have a special employ. জানত «jānātṣ» is used as an absolutive with the subject in the genitive, e.g., আমার জানত «āmārṣ jānātṣ» *me knowing, with my knowledge* (cf. আমার দেখতা «āmārṣ dēkhātṣ» above); and it is frequently confused with the *ls.* passive part. adjective in ত «-tṣ», and used as an adjective: e.g., আমার জানত লোক «āmārṣ jānātṣ lōkṣ» *a man known to me* beside আমার জানিত লোক «āmārṣ jānitṣ lōkṣ» (where «jānitṣ» = জান √jān + *ls.* affix «-ita»). পারত «pārātṣ», also «pārātṣ» is commonly used in the phrase পারত-পক্ষে «pārāt(ṣ)-pākṣē» *on condition of being able*, which is frequently altered to a Skt. পারগ-পক্ষে «pārāgṣ-pākṣē». করত «kārātṣ» *doing*, is used as a conjunctive participle = *having done*, and sometimes a Sanskrit colour is given to this form by adding a «visarga», which helps to preserve the final «-ā» in the word: করতঃ [karōṭa] *having done, after doing*.

In onomatopoeitic formations in বাং < -āt > like পটাৎ < pātāt > *with a cracking noise*, ঝপাৎ < jhāpāt > *with a dashing or splashing sound*, কপাৎ, গপাৎ < kāpāt, gāpāt > *with a gulp*, ছলাৎ < chālāt > *with a splash*, which are used with the conjunctive করিয়া, করে < kārīyā, kōre >, we have also possibly this < -anta > affix of MIA. and OIA.

(4) অতী, তী (অতি, তি) < -āti, -ṭti (-āti, -ṭti) >.

398. This forms abstract nouns of action or manner: e.g., পড়তি < pāṛṭti > *fall*; উঠতি < uṭhṭti > *rise*; চুকতি < cukṭti > *settlement, fixing up*; বাড়তি < bārṭti < bārḥāti > *rise, increase*; ঘাটতি < ghāṭṭti > *decrease*; by analogy, the hybrid কমতি < kām-ti > *decrease*, from Persian, < kam >; খাকতি < khākṭti > *greed* (cf. onomatopoeitic খাখা < khākḥā > *the sense of emptiness and hunger*); গুণতি < guṇṭti > *counting*; ভরতি < bhārṭti > *filling-up*, etc.

Hoernle explains this affix (‘Gaudian Grammar,’ § 325) as being a Sanskrit (or OIA.) < *-āptikā >, from the causative affix < -āp- > + < -ti > + pleonastic < -kā >: e.g., বিনতি < bināti > (vijñāptikā = vijñāptikā > viññattia), বাড়তি < bārṭti > (*vardhāptikā > vadḍhattia); etc. But this derivation is rather problematical. Cases like ডাকাইত < ḍākā(i)tṭ > *robber* (ডাক < ḍāk > *shout*: cf. under আইত < -āit > *below*), ডাকা(ই)তী < ḍākā(i)tī > *robbery*, ঢাঙ্গা(ই)ত > ঢাঙ্গা(ই)তী < ḍhāṅgā(i)tṭ > ḍhāṅgā(i)tī > *rowdy* > *rowdiness* (ḍhanga), etc., with the ঙ্গ (ই) < -i (-i) > affix of abstraction (for which see *infra*), show that in examples like উঠতি < uṭhṭti >, ভরতি < bhārṭti > etc. above, we have an extension of the অৎ < -āt > affix (< present participle < -anta >) by addition of the abstract ঙ্গ, ই < -i, -i >: উঠতি < uṭhṭti > = < uṭhṭ(n)t(ā) + -i > *the state of rising = a rise*.

The change of < -anta > to < -āt- >, and not to < -it- >, would show that this affix is not native to Bengali, but borrowed, with cognate loan-words, from its western neighbours.

It seems also that in the formation of this affix, there was the influence of the Skt. nominal affix < -ti > as well, through the presence of a large number *ts.* as well as *s/s.* forms in < -ti >, like < yukti (jugati), bhakti (bhakati), mati, gati, prapāti > etc. In post MB. times,

the Perso-Arabic loan-words in « -at », with the Indian or Persian « -ī » added, re-inforced this affix: e.g., « wakālat » > ওকালতী « ōkālāt-ī » a *pleader's profession*; and by analogy, it was extended to other foreign words, e.g., জজ « jāj » = English *judge* > জজিয়ৎ, জজিয়তী « jājiyāt, jājiyāt-ī » the *work of a judge*.

(5) অন (অন, এন) « -ānṣ.(-ōnṣ, -ēnṣ).

399. This is a living suffix in Bengali, forming abstract verbal nouns, some of which have acquired a concrete sense. It is the OIA. « -ana ». Examples: কঁদন « kāḍānṣ » (krandana); কুঁদন « kūḍānṣ » (kūrdana); খাঁদন, খাঁওন « khāḍānṣ, khāḍōnṣ » (khādana); গায়ন, গায়েন « gāyānṣ, -yēnṣ » *singer* (gāyana: *gāthayana? cf. Khaskurā « gāhinē » *singer* < « gāhiniyā »); ঘূরন « ghūrānṣ » *turning round and round* (ঘূর √ghur < ghūrṇ-); চাহন, চাওন « cāhānṣ, cāḍōnṣ » *gaze, look* (চাহ √cāh); ছাড়ন « chārānṣ » *leaving* (ছাড় √chār); ছাঁদন « chāḍānṣ » *binding* (chandana); জ্বলন « jwālānṣ » [jīḍolōn] (jvalana); ঝাড়ন « jhārānṣ » *dusting, a duster*, ঝোঁটন « jhōṭānṣ » *crest, top-knot* (see p. 479); জুলন « jhulānṣ » *swing* (see p. 479); ঢাকন « ḍhākānṣ » *covering* > a *cover* (ঢাক √ḍhāk); থাকন « thākānṣ » *staying* (থাক √thāk); দেখন « dēkhānṣ » *sight*; ধরন « dhārānṣ » *manner* (« ṇ » through Skt. influence) (dharana); নাচন « nācānṣ » *dance* (নাচ √nāc); পড়ন « paṛānṣ » *fall* (paḍana < *paṭana < patana); পানন, পাওন « pāānṣ, pāōnṣ » (prāpana); পাড়ন « pārānṣ » (pātana); পোড়ন « pōrānṣ » *burning* (পুড় √pur < √put); ফোড়ন « phōrānṣ » *spices, chatter* (√sphuṭ); বাঁধন « bāḍhānṣ » (bandhana); বাজন « bājānṣ » *music* (বাজ √bāj < vāḍya); বাড়ন « bārānṣ » *broom* (vardhana); বেঁধন, বিঁধন « bēḍhānṣ, bīḍhānṣ » *piercing* (viddha < √vyadb); মরন « mārānṣ » (marana); শুনন « śunānṣ » *hearing* (শুন √śun < śṛ-ṇō-ti); হঅন, হওন « hā(w)ānṣ, hāōnṣ » *being* (*ahana = as-ana + bhav-ana); etc., etc.

This affix is now becoming a little archaic in the Standard Colloquial, which prefers the other verbal noun in অ « -ā »: but it is a very living form in the East Bengali dialects.

The affix « -ānṣ » has two extensions :

(5a) অনা > -না < -ānā > -ñnā : this is simply অন < -ānā > extended with the আ < -ā > affix. The < -ā > in this affix drops when inter-consonantal; when after a vowel, it becomes < e > or < o > and forms a diphthong. The original force of this < -ā > was to denote simply a coarser or bigger aspect of the action, or to indicate a connected object, but this has been to a considerable amount modified, so that অনা, না < -ānā, -ñnā > in many cases is not different from অন < ānā >. Examples: কান্না < kānnā < kādāñnā, kāndāñnā > (see p. 360), beside কান্না < kādāñnā > (kran-dana-); কুটনা < kuṭñnā > *slicing* > *sliced vegetables* (কুট √kuṭ); কাটনা < kāṭñnā > *spindle* (কাট √kāṭ *spin*); খেলনা < khēlñnā > *playing* > *toy* beside খেলন < khēlāññ > *playing* (খেল √khēl); গহনা, গয়না < gāhñnā, gāyñnā > *jewels* (grahana-); গাহনা > গাওনা < *gāhñnā > gāonā > *singing* (গাহ √gāh < √gāthaya-); ছাঁকনা < chāñññnā > *strainer* (ছাঁক √chāññ); ঝরনা < jhārñnā > *water-fall* (ঝর √jhār: see p. 478); ঢাকনা < ḍhākñnā > *largish lid* (ঢাক √ḍhāk); দোলনা < dōlñnā > *swing* (দোল √dul); দেনা < dēñnā > *giving* > *debt*, beside দেন < dēññ > *giving* (দে √dē *give* = √dā); so লেনা < lēñnā > beside লেন < lēññ > *taking* (লে √lē *take* < √lah = labh + √ni); পাওনা < pāonā > *receiving*, dues (prāpaṇa-); পিটনা < piṭñnā > *mallet to beat with* (পিট √piṭ); বাজনা < bājñnā > *musical instrument*, see বাজন < bājñññ > above; বাটনা < bāṭñññ > *paste of pounded spices* (বাট √bāṭ *pound, mash*); মাগনা, মাজনা < māgñññ, māññ(g)ñññ > *asking* > *gratis* (mārgaṇa-); রান্না < rāñññ < rāñññññ > *cooking* (randhana-); শুখনা < śukhñññ > *dry, dry-land* (শুখ √sukh < śuṣka); etc. There are some formations from nouns as well: ছানা < chāñññ > *youngling (of animals)* (beside ছা < chā >, = < śāba- >); পাখনা < pākññññ > *wings* (beside পাখ pākñññ < pakṣa).

(5b) অনী > নী, উনী (নি, উনি) < -āññ > -ñññ, -unñ (-ñññ, -unñ) >. Originally feminine in form (-āññ + I), indicating a diminutive or petty aspect of the action or object. All grammatical connexion with the feminine form is now lost, except where the word indicates a woman. The change to < -unñ > is by Vowel Harmony (see p. 398). কাঁদনী < kāññññ < kādāñññ > *weeping, petty fit of weeping, supplication*; ঝুঁকনী < ḍhūññññ < ḍhāñññññ > *dansense*; ছেনী < chēñññ > < *chēñññ > *a cutting instrument* (chēdana, chēdanikā); ছাউনী < chāññññ < chāñññññ > *awning, camp* (chādanikā);

ছাঁকনী < chāṅkāni > *small strainer* (ছাঁক √chāṅk); MB. পোড়নী < pōṛāni > *burning* (পুড় √pur); কুরনী > কুরুনী < kurāni > kuruni > *scraper* (কুর √kur scrape); মউনী < māuni > < *mā(h)āni > *churning stick* (*mathanikā); etc., etc. The word রাধুনী < রাধনী < rādhuni < rādhāni > *cook* is now both masculine and feminine, but originally it seems to have been only feminine (< randhanikā >: or a masc. = < *randhanikā > ?); when it means a kind of flavouring spice, it is the feminine form undoubtedly. So MB. বেচনী < bēcāni > *a seller* (বেচ √bēc).

Causative forms of this affix, in আন্ < -ānṣ >, আন, আনা < ānā, -ānā > আনী, উনী < -āni, -uni > also occur: see *infra*.

In the word দাঁতন < dātānṣ > *twig used as tooth-brush* we do not have the < -ānṣ > affix (unlike in formations from nouns like পাখনা < pākṣānā >, বাজনা < bājānā >, etc.): the Maithili < datamani >, Bhōjpuriyā < datuan >, and Hindōstāni < datwan, dataun, datūn > show that the word is a compound of < danta > + < vana > (?).

(6) অ < -ā > (i): Definitive, Pejorative, Connective, Agentive, Pleonastic.

400. This affix is a very characteristic one of Bengali. It indicates definiteness (this definitive force is now considerably weakened); it implies coarseness or biggishness in the object; it means reference or connection; it forms agentive adjectives; and frequently it is also pleonastic. In all its various forces, the < -ā > affix of Bengali can be compared with the pleonastic affixes giving rise to the strong, long and redundant forms of the Bihārī dialects (see p. 96). The source of Bengali < -ā >, as an OIA. < *-āka >, has been indicated at pp. 302, 348-349. Cf. Sanskritised forms like < Nāgāka, Dharmāka, Viśākā, Bhaluāka, Pappāka (beside Pappā), Rudāka, Chitarāka >, all representing vernacular names in < -ā >, in the Siyadoni Inscription (10th century: Lalitpur District, U.P.; Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., I, pp. 162 ff.) Where no special force of the < -ā > is present, as in a noun like ঘোড়া < ghōṛā > (beside ঘোড়- < ghōṛṣ > in compounds), that is, where it is merely a pleonastic extension, it is not unlikely that the < -ā > represents only the termination of an oblique case (see p. 349). Examples: OB. (Caryā 41) হাষ্টা (hasta-); (Caryā 49)

পটুজা < pāṭṣa = paṭṣuṣa > (*paduma-, padma-); (Caryā 8) মাগ < māgā > (mārga-); (Caryā 2) পিট < piṭā > *pail*; (Caryā 3, 20) পসার < pasārā >, নিসার < nisārā > (prasāra-, niḥsāra-); (Caryā 4) বীর < birā > (vīra-); (Caryā 6) হরিণ < hariṇā > (hariṇa-); MB. নেহা < nēhā > (snēha-): MB., NB. নেতা < nētā > *rag* (nētra > nētā = *fine stuff*); কাঁসা < kāsā > (kāṇsya-); ŚKK. কনয়া < kāṇyā > (kanaka-); পাতা < pātā > (patra-); কুয়া, কুয়া < kūā > (kūpa-); গোর < gōrā > (gāura-); উঁচা < ūcā > (ucca-); চোর < cōrā > (cāura-); বাঘ < bāghā > (vyāghrā) *big tiger > tiger-like, ferocious, strong* (e.g., বাঘা *a common name for a dog*, বাঘা তেঁতুল < bāghā tētulā > *kind of tamarind with strong acid taste*); খাঁড়া < khāṛā > *sacrificial sword* (khaṇḍa-); বকরা < bākṛā > *goat* (barkara-); কুকড়া > কুকড়া, কুকড়ো < kūkurā > kūkṛā, kūkṛō > (kukkuṭa-); রামা < Rāmā > contemptuous for < Rāmā >; চাঁদা < cāḍā > *big round moon*, beside চাঁদ < cāḍā > *moon* (candra): cf. চাঁদা মাছ < cāḍ-ā māchā > *a kind of roundish fish, pomfret*; থালা < thālā > *plate* beside থাল < thālā > (sthāla); ধূঁয়া, ধূঁয়া < dhūā > (dhūma-); রাঙ্গা, রাঙা < rāṅ(g)-ā > *red in colour* (rangga-); তেলা < tēl-ā > *oily* (tāila-); লোনা < lōnā > *salty* (lavaṇa-); হাতা < hātā > *handle* (hasta-); তাওয়া < tāwā > *pot for heating or dry cooking* (tāpa-); বামন < bāmānā > *a low Brāhman* (brāhmaṇa-); sts. পশ্চিমা < paścimā > *western* (paścima-); দক্ষিণ, by Vowel Harmony দ’খনে (see pp. 400-401) < dākḥinā > > [uokhne] *southern* (dakṣiṇa- > dākḥinā-); একা < ēkā > [æka], একলা < ēkālā > *alone* (ēka-, *ēkāka; ēka-la-); মুহা < muh-ā > *with a face* (mukha-); ভয়সা < bhāyṣā > *belonging to a buffalo* (bhaṛṣā < mahiṣa + -ā); খেয়া < khēyā > *ferry* (kṣēpa-); etc.

In compounds with active meaning: ছেল-ধরা < chēlā-dhār-ā > *child-stealing* = *kidnapper*; চাল-ধোয়া < cālā-dhōā > *rice-washing*; কাপড়-কাচা < kāpāṛḍ-kāc-ā > *cloth-washing*; কলম-কাটা চুরী < kālāmḍ-kāt-ā churi > *pen-(cutting)-knife*; ভাত-রাঁধা হাঁড়ী < bhātḍ-rādh-ā hāṛī > *pot that boils rice*, etc.

This affix is added to both *tatsama* and foreign words: রোগা < rōg-ā > *sick, sickly, lean and thin* (rōga-); সফেদা < sāphēd-ā > *rice-powder* (Pers. safēd *white*);

Other affixes of Bengali, like < -āṭa, -uṭa, -ī(-i) -ū(-u), -āla, -āra > etc., are extended by addition of this < -ā >: for which see below.

(7) অ «-ā» (ii) : Passive Participle and Verbal Noun Affix.

401. This suffix is derived from the OIA. affix «-ta, -ita» > MIA. «-a, -ia» plus the preceding pleonastic affix অ «-ā». The following examples illustrate the line of development : «yāta > jāa + -ā > OB. *jāā, NB. যাওয়া *jāwā» gone > a going ; «kṛta > *karita (a non-Māgadhī formation : cf. p. 375) > karia + ā > OB. kariā > করা kārā» done > doing, as in New Bengali. So রাখা «rākḥā» kept > keeping (rakṣita + ā) ; খাওয়া, খাওয়া «khāwā» (khādita + ā), etc. We have the loss of the «-i-» already in OB. : e.g., Caryā 20 «saṅghārā» struck ; but it is the «-i-» forms, with or without the pleonastic «-ā», that are common in the Caryās (when without «-ā», the final «-a» is found to have assimilated with the preceding «i», as follows : «-ita > -ia > -ī, -i») : e.g., in Caryā 19 «uchaliā» (ucchalita + ā), «caliā» (calita + ā) ; Caryā 13 «muniā» (=jñāta-) ; Caryā 17 «sunīā» (=śruta-), «miliā» (milita + ā), guniā (=gaṇita + ā) ; beside «pahāri» (prahārita), «ahāri» (āhārita-), etc. ; and cases are found with the Western Apabhraṇśa modification of the «-itaḥ» to «-iu» («-itaḥ > -idō > -iō > -iu») : cf. p. 115 *supra*). The affix seems to have come into prominence only after the Early MB. period : in the ŚKK. it is non-existent. The «-i-» as in «-iā» of OB. probably first became «-ē-» and then was dropped, following the forms in simple «-ā» like «yāta + -ā > যাওয়া jāwā», «*dita + ā > দেওয়া dēwā» etc. ; and possibly also through an attempt to distinguish this passive participle affix from the conjunctive participle in «-ī(-ī), -iā» (e.g. রাখী, রাখি, রাখিয়া «rākḥī, rākḥi, rākḥiā» having kept, with or without «-ā» < MIA. «rakkhia» < OIA. «-rakṣ-ya»). The OB. forms of the passive participle in «-iā» show that «-ita + -ā» is the source of this passive participle affix of MB. and NB. In Panjābī, in the Old Western Hindī dialects and in Modern Hindōstānī we find a parallel development with loss of «-i-» : e.g., «calita-, calitaka» > MIA. (Śaurasenī) «cali(d)a-, cali(d)aa-», nominative «cali(d)ō, cali(d)aō» > Śaur. Apabhraṇśa «caliu, caliaū», whence Brajbhākhā «calyu, calyau», Early Hindī or Hindōstānī «calyā» (beside Panjābī «caliā, cālā»), but Modern Hindōstānī «calā», Bundelī and Kanaujī «calō». Ōṛiyā has this affix also : e.g., «jān-ā» known, «kār-ā» done, «dēkh-ā» seen, etc.

It has been attempted to connect this « -ā » affix in its nominal employ with the verbal noun affix ইব, ইবা « -ibā, -ibā » < « itavya + ā »; but that is hardly tenable.

In OB. and MB., there was a feminine form of this affix, with the ঙ « -ī » (< -ikā); e.g., ŚKK. (p. 381) জড়ী « jārī » *jewelled* qualifying চুড়ী « curī » *bracelet* (jaḍita + -ikā).

(8) আই « -āi » (i): Verbal and Abstract Nouns.

402. This is a Late MIA. formation, being a feminine verbal noun from the causative stem of the root: an OIA. « -āp-ikā » (as in Skt. « jñ-āp-ikā » *information*, which would be the basis of a possible NIA. « *jñāi ») would give « -āviā, āviā, -āwī, āi » আই āi ». The causative in « -āpa » « -āva » became established in MIA., and on the model of the nouns in « -āpana- » « -āvaṇa- » (see *infra*, § xxx, under আন « -ānā »), formation of abstract and verbal nouns in « -ikā » from the « -āpa- » « -āva- » base would be a matter of course. Examples: যাচাই « jācāi » *enquiry* (যাচ √yāc: OIA. *yācāpikā); বাছাই « bāchāi » *selection* (বাছ √bāch); লড়াই « lārāi » *fight* (লড় √lār); খোদাই « khōdāi », also খোদাই « khōdāi » *engraving* (খোদ, খোদ √khōd, khōd); দোলাই « dōlāi » *a hood or shawl fastened round the neck and covering the ears and head, and hanging on the back* (হুল, দোল « √dul, dōl »: possibly influenced by « dukūlikā » > দুলী « dūli » [see p. 352], also meaning the same thing); ঝালাই « jhālāi » *soldering* (ঝাল √jhāl); বাধাই « bādhāi » *binding (of a book)* (বাধ √bādh); ঢালাই « ḍhālāi » *founding (in metal)* (ঢাল √dhāl pour); etc.

This affix is not found with all roots, and is but restricted in use. Abstract nouns from noun and adjective bases are also formed, the nouns and adjectives being treated like denominative verbs: e.g., চোরাই « cōrāi » *theft* > *stolen property* (<cōra); বামনাই « bāmānāi » *the way of a Brāhman, the pride of a Brāhman* (<bāmānā < brāhmaṇa); MB. রাজাই « rājāi » *kingship, reign* (rājā); মিঠাই « miṭhāi » *sweetness* > *sweetmeat* (< mithā < miṣṭa-); পালাটাই « pālāṭāi » *exchange, returning* (pālāṭ = paryasta); ভালাই « bhālāi » *well-being* (< bhālā = bhadra-); সঁচাই « sācāi » *honesty* (sācā = satya-); বড়াই « bārāi » *pride, boasting* (বড় bārā great);

খোলতাই < khōlātāi > *dazzle, beauty* (< khōlā *open, clear*, *khōlāt- *opening*); পোষ্টাই < pōṣṭāi > *nourishing* (sts. < puṣṭi); and even with foreign words, e.g., সাক্কাই < sāphāi > *clear* (Pers. < sâf > *pure*), MB. সাজাই < sājāi > *punishment* (Pers. saẓā).

There are a few borrowings from Hindōstānī also, showing this affix : e.g., চড়াই < cārāi > *ascent*; উতরাই < utrāi > *descent*; সেলাই < sēlāi > *sewing*; ধোলাই < dhōlāi > *washing, washing charges*; and ঢোলাই < cōlāi > *distilling, preparing liquor* (< √cū => cyav : may be native Bengali).

In one or two words, through dialectal influence (see *supra*, p. 407), < -āi > occurs as ই < -i > in the Standard Colloquial : e.g., বানী < bānī > for বানাই < bānāi > *making, charges for making jewellery* (probably from Hindōstānī < banāi >). It would be seen that there is semantic alteration in this affix, making its force that of *cost or wages* for the *work* indicated by it.

Hoernle's derivation of this suffix from the OIA. affix < -tā > plus pleonastic < -ka > (< -tikā > in the feminine) is not convincing (see 'Gaudian Grammar,' § 223).

(9) আই < -āi > (ii): Diminutive.

403. Affectionate diminutives like কানাই < Kānāi > (< Kāna, Kaṇha, Kṛṣṇa), বলাই < Bālāi > (< Bala-rāma), সোমাই < Sōmāi > (Sōma-), দনাই < Dānāi > (Janārdana; Danuja-?), রামাই < Rāmāi > (Rāma), জগাই < Jāgāi > (Jagat-), মধাই < Mādhāi > (Mādhava), ছিরাই < Chirāi > (Śrīpati), etc., which are very common in MB. and fairly frequent in NB., are formed with this affix. It is of pleonastic origin, coming from an OB. < *-āi > from Late MIA. < -āia, -āiā > = OIK. < -ākika, -akika (i.e. -āka, -āka + -ika) > : < Kānāi < *Kān(h)āi < *Kanhāia, *Kanhāia < *Kṛṣṇākika, *Kṛṣṇākika >. This affix is found in various forms in Hindōstānī and in Eastern Hindī and Bihārī. (Cf. Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.) The suffixes ইয়া < -iā >, উয়া < -uā > (as well as জে, ই < -ī, -i > and উ, উ < -ū, -u >) are connected : see *infra*.

It is likely that in Bengali the আই < -āi > affix as an affectionate diminutive was influenced by the MB. word আই < āi > *long life* < āyus >.

(10) আইত, আত < -āitḥ, -ātḥ >, with extensions.

404. Causative and denominative present participle base: OIA. < -āp-ant-, -āy-ant > MIA. < -āvant-, -āant- > OB. < -āy/wanta > MB. আইত < -āitḥ > : ডাকাইত, ডাকাত < ḍākāitḥ, ḍākātḥ > *robber < shouter* (ডাক √ḍāk yell); MB. বাইতি < bāiti > *player on a musical instrument* (vādayant- + -ika). This is a rare affix in Bengali. There are a few instances of this affix with nouns: সঙ্গাৎ, সাঙাৎ < sāṅ(g)ātḥ > ([s̃aŋat, s̃æŋat]; for [æ], see p. 322) *companion, bosom friend* (saṅga); সেবাইত < sēbāitḥ > *temple-priest* (sēvā); পোআতী, পোয়াতী, পোহাতী < pō(h)āti > *pregnant woman, a recent mother* (< pōta >: for intrusive < h >, see p. 341: this form has the feminine affix টি < -ī > < -ikā). Cf. Oriyā খণ্ডাইত < khāṇḍāitḥ > *a military caste* (in Orissa and S. W. Bengal) (khāṇḍa sword); Hindōstānī < ḍhalait > *shield-bearer* (ḍhāl), etc.

Abstract nouns are formed from this affix by adding টি, ই < -ī, -i > (see p. 655, *supra*): ডাকা(ই)তী < ḍākā(i)tī > *robbery*; MB. ঢাঙ্গাতী < ḍhāṅ(g)ātī > *rowdiness* (ḍhāṅga).

(11) *আউ > আও < *-āū > āo >: Verbal Noun Affix.

405. This affix is now confined to a limited number of words; and in those cases where it is found, it seems there is reinforcement from similar Hindōstānī forms. It is connected with আই < -āi > (i) above. The source is apparently a verbal noun from the causative base: < -āpa >, with an extension < *-āp-uk-ā (-āpa + -u-ka + -ā) >, corresponding to < *-āpikā > the source of আই < -āi >. The affix, as < -āw, -āō, -āū > is a common one in Hindōstānī. Hoernle traces it (*op. cit.*, §227) to OIA. < -tva >: < -tva > > -tta > -a >, a derivation which is inadmissible. Examples: চড়াও < cārāo > *aggression, attacking* (চড় √cār >: also used as an adjective, through influence of a form like উধাও < udhāo > *running out of one's sight* = < uddhāvuka >: cf. also ওয়া < -ōā > in next paragraph); ঢালাও < ḍhālāo > *abundance, 'galore'* (ঢাল √ḍhāl pour); পাকড়াও < pākḍārāo > *arrest, seizure* (পাকড়া √pākḍārā > to seize); বাবড়াও < ghābḍārāo > *fright* (বাবড়া √ghābḍārā > to be checked, to fear); ছাড়াও < chārāo > *separation, release*;

ফালাও « phālāo » *spreading, abundance*, from Hind. « phailāw »; বনাও in বনি-বনাও, beside বনি-বনা « bāni-bānāo, -bānā » *amity, harmony*, cf. Hind. « banāw » *preparation, concord*.

(11a) আউআ, (আওআ) > ওয়া « -āuā > -ōā »: Adjectival as well as Abstract.

406. This affix is an extension of the preceding one with the adjectival or pleonastic আ « -ā » (see *ante*, § 400) = e.g., ঘরোয়া « ghārōā » *homely, domestic* [ghorōa] = « ghārāo, *ghārāu + -ā » (this word shows extension of the affix to a noun); জড়োয়া « jārōā » *jewelled, adorned with precious stones* = « jārāo, *jārāu + -ā »; বাঁচোয়া « bācōā » *safety, safe state* = « bācāo, *bācāu + -ā »; চড়োয়া « cārōā » *aggressive* = « cārāo, *cārāu + -ā ».

(12) আট, আটি (আটি), « -ātṭṭ, -ātṭi, (-aṭi) ».

407. This is not so much an affix as an independent word, phonetically decayed, and forming part of a disguised compound. It is from কাঠ, কাঠি « kāṭhṭ, kāṭhi » = « kāsṭha, *kāsṭhikā », *wood, beam, stick*. গাবরাট « gābṛāṭ » *lintel* (garbhāgārakāsṭha); পাকাটি « pākāṭi », see p. 492; MB. ধরাট « dhārāṭṭ » *a nautical term = special deck in a boat*; OB. চামাটি « cāmāṭhi » *whip* as in Sarvānanda, is explained by that scholar as meaning « carma-yaṣṭi », but it may be equally from « carma + kāsṭhikā », which is also found in Sanskrit.

(13) আন্, আন (আনো) « -ānṭ, -ānā (-ānō) » (i).

408. The affix, forming verbal nouns from causative and denominative bases, is from OB. « -āna, -ānāwa, -āwāna, āwānāwa » (OIA. « -āp-ana, -āp-ana-ka »). The forms without the final « -a » in New Bengali have in most cases obtained a concrete or definite sense. Examples: আঁচান « ācānā » *washing mouth after meals* (*ācamāpana = ācamana); জানান্, জানান « jānānṭ, jānānā » *making to know, information, intimation* (*jānāpana = jñāpana-); চালান « cālānṭ » *invoice, send-up*, চালান « cālānā » *sending forward* (*cālāpana = cālana); মানান « mānānṭ » *harmony, agreement, beauty* (*mānāpana < mānaya-); উজান « ujānṭ » *flow-tide, up-stream* (*udyāpana-); উড়(ত)ন্ « urānṭ, urānṭ » *causing to fly away, extravagance*,

wasteful expenditure (*uddāpana-); † ছোড়ান্ < chōrān̄ > *separating, freeing, disclosing > a key* (ছোড় √chōr = ছাড় √chār); শোনান্ < śōnān̄ > *causing to hear* (MIA. *suṇāvaṇa = śrāvaṇa); গড়ান্ < gārān̄ > *slope*, গড়ান্ < gārān̄ > *a rolling, to roll* (MIA. *gaḍḍ); etc. There are old and recent formations from nouns also: জুতান্, জুতানো < jutān̄, jutānō >, also in Calcutta জুতানো, জুতুনো < jutōnō, jutunō > *shoe-beating* (জুতা < jutā > *shoe*); sts. যোগান্ < jōgān̄ > *aiding with materials*, যোগান্ < jōgān̄ > *act of supplying* (yōga); লাথানো < lāthānō > *kicking* (< লাথ lāth̄, লাথি lāthi *kick*); হাতানো < hātānō > *obtaining, filching* (হাত < hāt̄ > *hand*); পেঁচানো < pēcānō > *twisting, moving to and fro* (পেঁচ < pēc > *twist* from the Persian); কমান্ < kāmān̄ > *lessening* (Pers. < kam > *less*); জমান্ < jāmān̄ > *gathering* (Pers. jam̄); etc.

The affix has a feminine form, from OIA. < -āpana + -ikā > = OB., eMB. < -āwānī, -ānī >, which gives in NB.

(13a) আনো (আনি) < -ānī (-ānī) >, উনো (উনি) < -unī (unī) >.

This affix possesses only a vague diminutive force. OB. < *-āwānī > would normally be contracted to MB. and NB. < -ānī > (see p. 349), and this < -ānī > by Vowel Harmony becomes < -ānī > and < -unī > (p. 398). But in the transformation of the affix from < *-āwānī > to < -ānī, -unī >, it seems that there was some influence of the glide < -w- > in bringing about the < -ā-, -u- >; dialectally at least, the < w > was pronounced in MB.: the word ভয়ানো < bhāyānī > *frightful* (*bhayāwāṇa = *bhayāpanikā), beside the other regular forms in < -ānī >, would indicate that. Examples: শুনানো < śunānī > *hearing (of a case)*; পারানো < pārānī > *ferrying > fare paid in crossing* (*pārāpanikā); ঝাঁকানো < jhāḱānī >, beside ঝাঁকনো, ঝাঁকুনি < jhāḱānī, jhāḱuni > *a shaking*; দেখানো < dēkhānī > *sight > money paid for a sight* (= darśanī); তোলানো as in শেজ-তোলানি < śēj̄-tōlānī > *money paid for making or clearing the bed* (তুল √tul *raise*); নিকানো < nikānī > beside নিকুনি < nikuni > *wiping, mopping the floor* (নিক √nik < √nij, uikta); নিড়ানো < niḍānī > *hoeing (in agriculture)* (? ni + dru, drāv); উড়ানো, উড়ুনো < urānī, urunī > *sheet, light shawl* may be a blend of < *uddāpanikā > *that which flies or flaps* + ওড়ানো < oṛhānī > = < ava-veṣṭānikā > (see p. 398); জলুনি < j(w)āluni, j(w)ālānī > from জলানি < *j(w)ālānī > *burning*, beside জালানি < j(w)ālānī >

causing a burning = firewood (see p. 408); ŚKK. মাথানী < māthānī > *churn-stick* (*manthāpanikā); etc., etc.

(14) আন (আনো) < -ānā (-ānō) > (ii).

409. The passive participle affix for causative and denominative roots = OIA. < -māna-ka, -y-āna-ka >. (See *infra*, under Verb: 'Causatives.') Examples: করনি < kārānā > *done, caused to be done* (< *kārāwāṇā > for < *kārāpana-ka, *kāra-yāna-ka >); দেখান < dēkhānā > *shown*; ঠেঙ্গান < ṭhēṅ-gānā > (*caused to be*) *beaten with a stick* (ঠেঙ্গা ṭhēṅgā); etc., etc. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether the form with < -ānā > is the verbal noun (p. 664), or the passive participle: e.g., শোনান হইয়াছে < sōnānā hāiyāchē > *it has been reported*, which may be either (a) *a-causing-to-be-heard has-taken-place*, or (b) *caused-to-be-heard it-has-been*.

(15) আনী (আনি) < -ānī (-āni) >.

410. This is a Bengali formation, from an earlier পাণী < pāṇī > *water* (= pāṇiya) in compounds: < -pāṇī > becomes < -wānī > and then there is dropping of < w >. Examples: ঐষানি (see p. 349); চৌআনি < cōānī > *water that leaks out* (চৌ, চৌ √ cō, cō = cyav); চৌবানি < cōbānī > *sousing water, a sousing* (চৌব √ cōb *to cause to dash into water, to plunge, duck into water*); চৌখানি < cōkhānī > *water from the eye, tear* (চৌখ cōkh < চউখ cākukh < cakṣuh); ধোআনি < dhōānī > *washings* (ধো √ dhō = dhāv); নোকানি < nōkānī < nākhānī > *water stirred by the finger-nails (and so not fit for drinking) (nakha + pāṇiya-)*; নাকানি < nākānī > *rheum or water from the nose, water reaching to the nose* (নাক < nāk > *nose*); ছিটকানি < chitṭākānī > *water scattered about* (ছিটকা < chitṭākā > *scatter*; there is another ছিটকানি meaning *bolt to a door*, which shows the < -ānī > affix under [13a] *supra*).

(16) আন্, আয়, য়, য, আয়ী (আয়ি), অয়ি, ওয়ি, উয়ি, য়ি < -āmā, -āmā, -mā, -mā, -āmī (-āmi), -āmi, -ōmi, -umi -mi >.

411. A common affix to form abstract nouns, or nouns indicative of a characteristic or profession. It has been confused or connected wrongly

with the *ts.* affix «-iman» > ইম, ইমা «-imā, -imā», which is found in Bengali, as in other NIA. The source of this affix is an OB. কাম «kāma» work (karma), with extensions: «karma»-kamma > -kūmā > -āmā > আম āmā; karma-ka»-kamma-a > *-kāmaṭa > -āmā > আম -āmā; karmika, karmikā > -kammia > *-kāmi > -āmī > আমি -āmi». The strong initial stress, as well as MB. mutation, has brought about the loss of the «-ā» in MB. and NB., and reduced the form to ম্, ম, মি «-mā, -mā, -mi» etc. In MB., the word কামিনা, কামিনী = কামিনীয়া «kāminā, -inyā < -iniyā» occurs, meaning a labourer, and a form আমিনী, আমিনি «āminī, āmini» also is found (as in the ‘Śūnya-Purāṇa’): the latter word, explained as meaning a female devotee of Dharma, may be connected with কাম «kāma» work, service. Examples: ঠকাম «ṭhākāmā» cheating, roguery (ঠক «ṭhākā» cheat, ‘thug’); শাকাম, পাকামি «pākāmā, -mi» behaving like a ripe (i.e. aged) person, precocity (পাক «pākā» ripe); so জেঠাম «jēṭhāmā» behaving like a respected elder uncle = impertinence on the part of a boy or youth (জেঠা «jēṭhā» father’s elder brother); নেকাম, -মি «nēkāmā, -mi» playing a fool (নেকা «nēkā» idiot, fool); ছেলেম, -মি «chēlēnā, -mi» childishness (ছেলে = ছালিয়া «chēlē, chālīā» child); বড়াম্ < বড়াম্ «bārām < bārāmā» playing a big man, boasting (বড় «bārā» big); বুড়াম, বুড়ম, বুড়ামি «burāmā, burāmā, burāmi» behaving like an old man; গিন্নাম, গিন্নম «ginnāmā, ginnāmā» matronly talk and ways (গিন্নি «ginui» = গৃহিণী «gṛhiṇī» mistress of the house); ঢেঁটাম, -মি «ḍhēṭāmā, -mi» perversity (ঢেঁটা «ḍhēṭā» < «ḍhṛṣṭa»); ঝাড়াম, -মি «bāḍāramā, -mi» trickishness (used of children) (ঝাড় = বানর «bāḍārā = bānārā» = «vānara»); ফচকেমি, ফচকাম «phācākēmi, phācākāmā» (ফচকিয়া «phācākiyā» chatterbox, over-smart fellow); ফিচলাম ফিচলম, ফিচলামি «phicāḷāmā, -lāmā, -lāmi, -limi» acuteness, trickery (ফিচাল «phicālā» an acute one); পেজোম, পেজোমি «pējōmā, pējōmi» viciousness (পাজী «pājī» mischievous character > পাজুয়া + আমি «pājūā + -āmi»); গৌয়ারতামি, -তমি «gōiārtāmi, -tāmi» churlishness, rashness, brusqueness (*গৌয়ারত «gōiārātā» one behaving like a churl [see p. 668], with «-ātā» affix, see §397, + «-āmi»); ছোটলোকমি «chōṭā-lōkā-mi» meanness; etc., etc.

The word ঘরাবী «ghārāmī» house-builder, maker of a hut (= ঘর + কাম > আম + ঙ «ghārā + (k)āmā + ī») comes under this.

- (17) আর, আরী (আরি) < -ārṣ, -āri (-āri) >, অরি, ইরি, উরি < -āri, -iri, -uri >, রা < -rā > (i).

412. From < -kāra, -kārin (-kārika) >, forming agent nouns : দোহার, দোহার < dō(h)ārṣ < < *dhuāra > member of a chorus (dhruva-kāra); পূজারী < pūjārī > worshipper (pūjā-kāri-); কাঁসারী < kāṣārī > brass or bell-metal worker (kāṁsya-kārika); কুমার < kumārṣ > potter, by Vowel Harmony কুমোর < kumōrṣ > (kumbha-kāra); চামার < cāmārṣ > (carma-kāra); শাঁখারী < śākhārī > (śaṅkha-kāri-); ভিখারী, ভিখির < bhikhārī > bhik(h)iri > beggar (bhikṣā-kāri-); জুয়ারী < juārī > (dyūta-kāri-), beside জুয়াড়ী < jūārī > (dyūta- + √vṛt); MB. বাণিজ্যার < bāñijārā > (vāñijya-kāra); কুশারী < kuśārī > a class of Brāhmaṇs (kuśa-kāri-); MB. চূণারী < cūṇārī > lime-worker (cūrṇa-kāri-); MB. খেয়ারী < khēyārī > ferryman (kṣēpa-kāri-); ডুবুরী < ḍubārī >, by Vowel Harmony ডুবুরী < ḍuburi > diver (ডুব √ḍub = MIA. buḍḍa); ধুনুরী < dhunārī >, beside ধুনুরি < dhunuri > cotton-carder (ধুন √dhun shake); পিয়ার < piyārṣ >, fem. পিয়ারী < piyārī > beloved (priya-kāra, -kārikā); ছুতার < chutārṣ > carpenter seems to be a blend of < sūtra-dhāra > and < *sūtra-kāra >; সেকরী < sēkṣrā > goldsmith, see pp. 194-195; উয়ারী < uārī >, বার-উয়ারী < bār-uārī >, see p. 325; গোয়ার < *gāḍāra < gūārṣ < gāwāra > boor (grāma + kāra); etc.

The word কামার < kāmārṣ > black-smith, in Pali < kammāra >, represents the Vedic < karmāra > (which is probably connected with the Dravidian [Tamil] < karumā > smith, smelter: cf. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, 'Life in Ancient India, etc.' Madras, 1912, p. 15); and the Skt. কর্মকার < karma-kāra > is an artificial formation, which is now used by members of the black-smith caste as a surname.

- (18) আর, আরী (আরি) < -ārṣ, -āri (-āri) > (ii).

413. From < -ākāra- >, slightly modifying or altering the sense of the word. It occurs only in a very few words. পায়ার < pāyārṣ > a metre (< padākāra >, see pp. 285, 288); ঝিয়ারী < jhiyārī > daughter (ঝী < jhi > < dhītā, duhitā >: the affix has only a pleonastic force here: probably through analogy of বহুরী < bāhūrī > = বোহারী < bauhārī > [for which see p. 345], which is wrongly connected with বহু < bāhu > = < vadhū >, after the

metathesis of the « h » took place); মাঝার « mājhārṣ » *middle*, মাঝারী « mājhārī » *middling-sized* (« madhyākāra », pleonastic; « *madhyākārika »).

(19) আর, আরী (আরি) « -ārṣ, -ārī (-ārī) » (iii).

414. From « -āgāra, -āgārin (-āgārika, -ikā) »: ভাঁড়ার « bhāṛārṣ » *store* (bhāṇḍāgāra); M.B. কাঁড়ার, beside কাণ্ডার « kārārṣ, kāṇḍārṣ » *keel of boat* (kāṇḍāgāra); সাভার « sābhārṣ » *place-name* (? sabhvāgāra); মেহার « mēhārṣ » *place-name* (? mahāgāra); ভাঁড়ারী « bhāṛārī » *store-keeper* (bhāṇḍāgārika); কাণ্ডারী « kāṇḍārī » *helmsman* (kāṇḍāgārika); মেহারী « mēhārī » *palace* (? mahāgārikā); etc.

(20) আর « -āru ».

415. Found in a few M.B. words, seems to be from « -āra » (i), with addition of « -u » (i.e. « -ū < -uka »): দিশার « diśāru » *pilot* beside দিশারী « diśārī » (diśa = dik- + kāra-); ডুবার « ḍubāru » *diver* beside ডুবারী « ḍubārī »; sts. বন্দার « bāṇḍāru » *bard, panegyrist* (< √ vand); sts. বাগার « bāgāru » *talkative person* (vāḡ = vāc).

(21) আল, আল « -ālṣ, -ālā » (i), modified to অল, ওল « -ālā, -ōlā ».

416. The OIA. source of this is « -ā-l-a », also probably « -ā-l-u », both of which are found in Sanskrit, the sense being 'possessing,' 'pertaining to.' It has the « -l-a » affix (for which see *infra*) as its base. Examples: বাঙ্গাল, বাঙাল « bāṅ(g)ālṣ » *man of East Bengal* (vaṅga + -ālṣ); পাঁকাল « pākālṣ » *belonging to mud > a fish* (paṅkāla); ধারাল « dhārāl(ā) » *sharp-edged* (dhāra edge); দুধাল « dudhāl(ā) » *yielding milk* (dugdha + -āla); মাথাল « māthālṣ » *with a head, prominent, chief* (mastaka + -āla); আড়াল « āṛālṣ » *obstruction* (আড় « āṛṣ » *slanting*); তেজাল « tējālṣ » *spirited* (tējas); পেঁচাল « pēcālṣ » *with twists* (পেঁচ « pēcṣ » < Pers. « pēc »); ভাটিয়াল « bhāṭīyālṣ » *belonging to the down-country > a folk-melody* (< ভাটি « bhāṭī » *flow of water = South Bengal*); বাচাল « bācālṣ » (vācāla); দাঁতাল « dāṭāl(ā) » *with (big) teeth* (danta + -āla); ছিনাল « chinālṣ » *characterless woman* (MIA. chinnāla-); M.B. পাকাল « pākālā » *heroism* (« pākṣ » *soldier*, see p. 383).

This affix has the usual extensions: আল > লা « -āl-ā > -lā »: e.g., বাঙ্গালা, বাঙালা, বাংলা « bāṅ(গ্)ālā » *Bengali (speech, land)* (vaṅgāla + -ā); আলী

«-āl-i», feminine and masculine (-i < -ikā, -ikā), as well as abstract : e.g., বান্ধালী, বাঙালী «bāṅ(g)ālī» (Old Bengali = feminine = *a woman of East Bengal*; NB. = masculine = *a man of Bengal, belonging to Bengal*); নগরালী «nāgār-āl-i» *city manners*; নাগরালী «nāgār-āl-i» *gallantry, refined ways* (nāgara *gallant*); ঠাকুরালী «ṭhākuralī» *ways of a god, divinity*; চতুরালী «cāturalī» *smartness*; মেয়েলী «mēyēlī» < *māīālī » *belonging to women*; ছিনালী «chinālī» *coquetry*; রূপালী, রূপোলী, রূপুলি «rupālī > rūpōlī > rupulī» *silvery*; সোনালী «sōnālī» *golden*; নিদ্রালী, নিদ্রালী «ni(n)dālī» *sleepiness*; সূতালী «sutālī» *thin as a thread*; etc.

(22) আল «āl» (ii).

417. This affix, like the preceding one, denotes connexion. It is also used to form words indicative of trade or profession. It comes from OIA. «pāla» *keeper, guardian* by the dropping of «-p-> -w-»: «-pāla>-wāla>-āl» . Examples: রাখাল «rākḥāl» , MB. রাখোআল «rākḥōāl» *herdsman*, (rakṣā-pāla); কেশল < কাশিয়াল «Kēśēl < Kāṣīyāl» *low class Brāhmaṇ from Benares* (Kāśi-pāla); কোটাল «kōṭāl» , Hind «kōṭwāl» *head of the police, holder of a fort* (koṭṭa-pāla); বাটিয়াল «ghāṭiyāl» *holder of a pass or passage* (< ghāṭi); †বাটাল, বাটোআল «ghāṭāl, ghāṭōāl» *man in charge of a 'ghāt'* (ghaṭṭa-pāla); কুঠিয়াল «kuṭhiyāl» *belonging to an office > a clerk* (kuṭhi kōṭhi < kōṣṭhikā); ঘড়ীয়াল «ghaṛīyāl» *man in charge of a clock* > ঘ'ড়েল «ghōṛēl» *acute ear* (ghaṭikā): etc.

There is an extension to আল «-āl-ā»: গোয়াল, গুয়াল «gōāl > gāyl» (gōpāla-); বাড়ীআল «bārīāl» *landlord, owner of a house*; কাপড়আল «kāpār-āl-ā» *cloth seller*; চুড়ীআল «cuṛīāl» *bangle seller*; পাহারাল «pāhār-āl» *watchman* (prahara). Also to আলী «-āl-i», masculine and feminine (= -ikā, -ikā): গয়ালী «gāyālī» *Brāhmaṇ from Gayā* (Gayā-pāl-ikā); পেটেলী «pēṭēlī» < পাটিয়ালী «pāṭiyālī» *maid-servant* (pāṭa, pāṭi *order, arrangement, domestic work*); বাড়ীআলী «bārīālī» *land-lady*; etc. Abstracts are formed from «-āl» by adding the «-i» of abstraction, e.g., রাখাল «rākḥālī» *the work of a herdsman*; কেঁড়েলী «kēṛēlī» *impertinence, roughness* < *কাঁড়িয়াল «kāṛīyāl» *rough* < *soldier, archer* (? kārīḍa *arrow*); etc.

The « -ālā, -āl-ā » of Bengali has within recent times been influenced by the cognate form in Hindōstānī, which is « -wālā »: the latter is substituted in many Bengali words in « -ālā », and ordinarily « -wālā » is reduced to ওলা « -ōlā »: e.g., কাপড়ওয়ালা, কাপড়ওলা « kâpâr-ōlā (-wālā), -ōlā »; so গাড়ীওলা « gārī-ōlā » *cabby*, পাহারওলা « pāhār-ōlā » *constable*, etc. The feminine of « -wālā » is « -wālī », which, by Vowel Harmony, is reduced to উলী « -ulī » in Bengali: e.g., বাড়ীউলী « bārī-ulī » = native Bengali বাড়ীআলী « bārī-ālī ».

Through Bihārī or Hindī influence, we have also ওয়ারী « -ōārā = -wālā » in মাতোয়ারী « mātōārā (mātwārā) » *wild, mad, elated, pleased* (e.g., *with perfume*) = « mātwārā »: the Bengali forms are মাতাল, মাতল, মাতলা « mātālā, mātālā, mātālā » *drunk* = Hind. « mātwāl ». The name বনওয়ারী « bānwārī » (see p. 521), from the Hindōstānī, can be equally from « vana-mālī » *garlanded with wild flowers* or « *vana-pālīka » *dweller in woods*.

(23) ঐ < ঞ « -i < -ī » (1).

418. A secondary affix, forming nouns and adjectives. Three separate affixes of OIA. seem to converge into this single NIA. form: (i) « -ī < -in »: « mālin » > NIA. mālī » *gardener*: but the force of the nominative form seems to have been only of secondary importance in the evolution of the NIA. affix; (ii) « -īya »: « dēśīya » > NIA. dēśī » *native*; and (iii) « -ika »: « grāmika » > গাঁই গ্রাঁ » *village name, clan name*: the feminine form of this « -ikā » is also ঞ, ই « -ī, -i », which is the most popular feminine affix of NIA., for which see below. Later in NIA. this affix was strengthened by the « -ī » of Persian.

Examples: « -ī » > -i » with the sense of 'possessing, having': ভারী « bhār-ī » *heavy*; *স্ব.* রাগী « rāg-ī » *full of passion > choleric*; দামী « dām-ī » *costly* (dramma < Grk. drakhmē); দাগী « dāg-ī » *stained* (Pers. dāg); গুনী « guṇ-ī » *man of parts, artist* (cf. Skt. guṇin); ঢাকী « ḍhāk-ī » *drummer* (ḍhakkā); বেগুনী « bēgun-ī » *purple* (= bāḡrāṇ-ī < vātinggaṇa-); OB. নোবাহী « nau-bāh-ī » *boat-man*; গাঁঠী জাল « gāṭh-ī jālā » *net with knots* (granthi-); গোলাপী « gōlāp-ī » *rose-coloured* (Pers. gul-āb = gul); হিসাবী « hisāb-ī » *careful, attentive to details* (Perso-Arabic « hisāb »); *স্ব.* মারামী « mārām-ī »

with a heart (*sts.* *mārāṃṣ* < *marman*) ; *ts.* আলাপী < *ālāp-I* > *courteous talker, acquaintance* (cf. *Skt.* *ālāpin*) ; দরদী < *dārād-I* > *sympathetic* (*Pers.* *dard*) ;

With the sense of 'pertaining to, coming from' : দেশী > দিশি < *dēśī* > *diśi* > *belonging to the country, country-born or made, native* (cf. *Skt.* *dēśīya*) ; রাঢ়ী < *Rārhi* > *belonging to Rārḍha* ; MB. কানড়ী, কানাড়ী < *kāṇāṛī, -nārī* > (*Karnāṭīya*) ; মারহাট্টী < *Mārḥāṭṭī* >, মারঠী, -টী < *Mārāt(h)ī* > (*Mahārāṣṭrīya*) ; গুজরাটী < *Gujḍrāṭī* > as if from < **Gūrja-rāṣṭrīya* > (গুজরাট < *Gujḍ-rāṭṭ* >, for গুজরাত < *Gujḍrātṭ* > < *Gūrjara-trā* >, through influence of < *rāṣṭra* >) ; কটকী < *Kāṭṭkī* > of *Cuttuck* (*Kāṭakīya*) ; বনারসী, বেনারসী < *Bānārāsī, Bēnārāsī* > (*Vārāṇasīya*) ; বৃন্দাবনী < *Bṛndābānī* > of *Brindāban* ; ঢাকাই < *Ḍhākāi* > of *Dacca* ; কলকাতাই < *Kālṭkātāi* > of *Calcutta* ; etc. ;

With the sense of 'connected with,' generally forming names of professions : হাড়ী < *hārī* > of *low caste* (*haṭṭika*) ; কেরানী < **kērānī* < **kāṛānī* > *clerk* (*karaṇika + kīraka*) ; MB. গাড়ুরী < *gārūrī* > *snake-charmer* (*gārūḍika*) ; বেহাই < *bēhāi* > *son's or daughter's father-in-law* (*vāivāhika*), an inherited word, affix and all ; শুড়ী < *śūrī* > *wine-dealer* (*śuṇḍika, śāuṇḍika*) ; রাঁধুনি, রাঁধুনি < *rāḍhānī, -dhuni* > *cook* (see *ante*, p. 658) ; *sts.* নখকুণি < *nākhḥ-kuṇi* > *cut or sore in the nails* (*uakha-kōṇa + I*) ; etc.

It occurs also as অই < *-āi* > উই < *-ui* > : বাড়ই, বাড়ুই < *bārāi* > *bārui* > *carpenter* (cf. *Skt.* *vardhakin*) ; বারই > বারুই < *bārāi* > *bārui* >, OB. বাররৌ < *bārayī* >, (see p. 188) *grower of the betel vine* (cf. *Skt.* < *vāru-jivin* > : *বার < *bārā* >, *বারু < *bāru* > *betel*, an Austric word : cf. J. Przyluski in the BSLP, XXIV, p. 257). It is pleonastic in ভারুই < *bhārui* < **bhārāi* > *a bird* (*bharata* : **bhāratika*) ; চড়ুই < *cārui* < *cārāi* > *sparrow* (*caṭaka, *caṭakika*), beside চড়া, চড়াই < *cārā, cārāi* > (**caṭaka, *caṭākika*) ; etc.

(24) ই < *-i* < *-ī* > (ii) : Feminine, Diminutive, Abstract.

419. Presents an < *-ikā* > of OIA., and is the most common feminine affix of NIA. Examples. রাই < *Rāi* >, MB. রাহী < *Rāhi* > *a name* (*Rādhikā*) ; ঘুড়ি < **ghoṛī* < **ghōṛī* > *mare* (**ghōṭikā*) ; মামী < *māmī* > *maternal uncle's wife* (*māmā + -ī*) ; কাকী < *kākī* > *father's younger brother's wife* (*kākā + -ī*) ; খুদী < *khudī* > *a tiny girl* > *name for girls* (*ksudrikā*) ; বুড়ী < *burī* > *old woman* (**vrddhikā = vrddhā*) ; পাগলী < *pāgālī* >

mad woman (pāṅḍālā + -ī); বামনী < bāmaṇī > (*brāhmaṇikā = brāhmaṇī); *sts.* বহুশী, বহুশী < bāṣṭāmī, -umī > (*vāiṣṇavikā = vāiṣṇavī).

A number of *sts.* forms show this < -ī > of Bengali, *e.g.*, সুবচনী < subācānī > a form of *Durgā*; অপরী < āpsārī > (apsaras); দিগম্বরী < digāmbārī > a name of *Kālī*; সুনয়নী < sunāyānī > with beautiful eyes, etc., with are solecisms from point of view of Skt.

The Skt. feminine affixes < -inī, -ānī > had an influence in restricting the Bengali *ঈ, ই* < -ī, -ī > < < -ikā >: see *infra*, under < -nī >.

With names of inanimate objects, the original feminine force is lost in Bengali. In Western Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī etc., the grammatical gender, however, is preserved in the < -ī < -ikā > forms. The feminine < -ikā > also expressed a diminutive or petty aspect of an action or an object. The diminutive has become obscure in many words in Bengali, so that < -ī < -ikā > has been reduced to a mere pleonastic affix. Examples: বুলী < bulī > *talk* (bōlla + -ī); রুটী < ruṭī > *bread* (cf. rōṭikā); চুপী < cuṣī > *baby-soother* (cuṣa + -ī); মাটি < māṭī > (mṛttikā); গলুই < *গলহা < ḡālui < *ḡālāhi > *prow of a boat* (ḡala-vahikā); ছুরী, ছুরি < churī, -ri > *knife*, beside ছোরা < chōrā > *dagger* (churikā); রাই < rāi > *mustard* (rājikā); পাঠি < pāṭi > *a fourth, piece* (pāḍikā); পুথী < puthī >, পুঁথি < pūthi > *Indian MS., book* (pustikā), beside MB. পোথী < pōthā > (pustaka-); বাতী < bātī > *candle, light* (vartikā); লাঠি < lāṭhi > (*yaṣṭikā = yaṣṭi); কাঠি < kāṭhi > *a thin stick* (kāṣṭhikā); ছাতী < chāṭī > *umbrella* (*chattrikā), beside ছাত < chāt > *roof*, ছাতা < chāṭā > *umbrella* (chattrā-); ধুতী < dhutī > *‘dhōṭī’* (*dhōṭrikā = dhōṭra); যাতী < jāṭī > *small double knife to cut betel-nuts* (yantrikā), beside যাতা < jāṭā > *mill, quern* (yantra-); বড়মানুষী, বড়মানষী < bāṛā-mānuṣī > *living like a rich man, high style* (-mānuṣa + -ī); রাখালী < rākhalī > *work of a herdsman* (rakṣāpāla + -ikā); ডাকা(ই)তী < ḍākā(i)tī > *robbery* (see *supra*, p. 655); কেঁড়েণী < kāṇḍēṇī > < kāṇḍēṇī < kāṇḍēṇī > *imper-tinuity, rowdiness* (< kāṇḍēṇī > *archer*? [< kāṇḍa-] > *soldier, rough* + -ī); পণ্ডিতী < paṇḍitī > *belonging to a Pundit* > *a Pundit's character or ways, scholasticism*; etc. Cf. Hindī < lālī > *redness*, < hariyālī > *green colour, greenness*, < rakhwālī > *work of a herdsman*, etc. In Late NIA., the Persian < -ī > affix of abstraction or connexion greatly reinforced this suffix.

In some stereotyped words, « -i » represents the OIA. « -ī » : *e.g.*, রানী, রাণী « rānī » (« rājñī » : or < « raṇṇīa < *rājñikā » ?).

(25) ই « -i » : Verbal Noun.

420. This affix, occurring in OIA., is practically lost to NB. It is found only in some epenthetic forms in dialectal Bengali, and it has practically become a dead suffix; only some Skt. words in « -i » help to perpetuate it. Examples : গাঁট, গাঁইট « gāṭ(i)t » (granthi); মার, মাইর « mā(i)r » a *beating* < মারি « māri » (*mār-i); মারি > সা(ই)র « sārī » sār(i)r » row (sār-i); MB. হাস « hāsā » (« hās-i », which occurs as a *ts.* in NB.); গাল, গাইল « gā(i)l » *abuse* (*garh-i ? cf. Skt. garh-ā); শা(ই)ল « śā(i)l » a *kind of paddy* (śāli), also occurs in the *ts.* form in « -i »; etc. Cf. also the OIA. suffix « -ti » in বা(ই)ট « bā(i)t », MB. ষাঠি « ṣāṭhi » (ṣaṣ-ṭi), সত্তর « sātṭār » (sapta-ti), পাঁত, পাইত beside the full form পাঁতি « pāṭ(i)t, pāti » row (paṅk-ti), etc.

(26) ইআ, ইয়া, এ « -iā (-iyā) » > -ē ».

421. This is a compound affix, being from the OIA. « -ikā » > MIA. « -ia » + the affix « -ā », as in § 400. It is used in forming adjectives with the sense of 'pertaining to' or 'possessing'; and frequently it is used with a slightly disparaging sense; as well as pleonastically. In NB., it is contracted to এ « -ē », with accompanying modification through the « -i », of connected vowels. Examples : কালিয়া, কেল « kālīā » > kēlē » the *black one* (contemptuous) (kāla black); হলদিয়া, হলুদিয়া > হ'লুদে হ'ল্দে « hālādīā, hāludīā » > hōlude, hōldē » *yellow* (হলুদ « hāludā » turmeric); বাইগণিয়া > বেগুনে « bāigāṇiyā » > bēgunē » *purple, of egg-fruit* (vāṅgana) colour; জালিয়া > জেলে « jāliā » > jēlē » *fisherman* (jāla net); হালিয়া, হেলে « hāliyā » > hēlē » *farmer* (hāla = hala plough); নগরিয়া > নগুরে « nāgāriyā » > nāgurē » *man of the city*; বানিয়া > বেনে « bāniā » > bēnē » *merchant* (*vānika = vaṇik); মাটিয়া > মেটে « māṭiā » > mēṭē » *earthen* (māṭi < mṛttikā + -ika + -āka); (in the word মেটে as in মেটে ফিরঙ্গী « mēṭē phiringī » a *Eurasian, a half-caste*, we have, however, the French word « métis », approximated to the Bengali word by folk-etymology); উত্তরিয়া > উত্তরে

• *uttāriyā* > *utturē* » *northern*; দখিনিয়া > দখিনে, দ’খ্নে • *dākhiniyā* > *dōkhinē*, *dōkhnē* » *southern*; পূবিয়া < পূবে • *pūbiyā* > *pūbē* » *eastern*; পশ্চিমিয়া > পশ্চিমে • *pāścimiyā* > *pōścimē* » *western*; MB. অভাগিয়া • *ābhāgriyā* » > NB. আবাগে • *ābāgē* » *luckless*; পাড়াগাঁইয়া > পাড়াগাঁয়ে • *pārāgāiyā* < -*grāyē* » *rural* (*pāṭaka* + *grāma* + *-ika* + *-āka*); কাঁদনিয়া > কাঁতনে • *kāḍḍāniyā* > *kāḍḍunē* » *ready to weep*; MB. *নেয়ায়-আঁকড়িয়া • **nēyāṭ-ākāriyā* » > NB. নেই-আঁকুড়ে • *nēi-ākurē* » *one who clings to argument (nyāya)* > *obstinate*; নাগপুরিয়া > নাগপুরে • *Nāgṭpuriyā* > *Nāgṭpurē* » *of Nāgpur*; ওড়িয়া > উড়িয়া, উড়ে • *Ōriyā* > *Uṛiyā* > *Uṛē* » *Ōriyā*, *of the Ōḍra country*; MB. (SKK.) নাতিয়া • *nātiyā* » = নাতি • *nāti* » *grandson (naptṛ-)*; কহনিয়া > কহনে, কউনে • *kāhāniyā* > *kō(h)unē* » *talker*; জাগনিয়া > জাগানে • *jāgāniyā* > *jāgānē* » *one who wakens*; দেখনিয়া, দিয়নিয়া > দিউনে • *dōḥniyā*, *diyāniyā* > *diunē* » *a giver*; etc.

Although one of the most common affixes in Bengali, it is frequently disguised in the Standard Colloquial by contraction and by mutation of vowels.

(27) ইএ, ইয়ে • *-ie, -iyē* ».

422. This NB. affix denotes ‘one who is accustomed to do a thing, a *habitué*.’ Typical words are খাইয়ে • *khāiē* » *a (good) eater*, গাইয়ে • *gāiē* » *a good singer, a professional singer*, বাজিয়ে • *bājīē* » *a clever musician*, নাচিয়ে • *nāciē* » *a good dancer*, খেলিয়ে • *kheliē* » *a clever player*, করিয়ে • *kāriē* » *an adept*, বলিয়ে • *bālīē* » *a conversationalist*, কহিয়ে > কইয়ে • *kā(h)iē* » *a good talker*. Forms like the above are used as adjectives or predicatives, and in some cases they have become nouns. They recall Western Hindi forms like • *khawaiyā*, *gawaiyā*, *kahaiyā* » etc. Earlier Bengali forms, not attested, would be • **khāāiyā*, **gā(h)āiyā*, **bājāiyā*, **nācāiyā*, **khēlāiyā*, **kāṛāiyā*, **bōlāiyā*, **kāhāiyā* » etc. The Hindi affix • *-aiyā, -awaiyā* », and the source of the NB. • *-iē* » are apparently identical; and it is not unlikely that the affix in NB., which is found mainly in the colloquial, is a recent borrowing from Hindi, with the usual West Bengali contraction. There is no corresponding affix in Ōriyā and in Assamese. Maithili has the pleonastic • *-aiyā* », which, however, is different in meaning.

Hoernle takes this suffix to be «-awaiyā» and thinks that «-aiyā» is a contracted form of it; and «-awaiyā» he derives from an «-āw» from MIA. «-avva» (< OIA. «-tavva») + a pleonastic «-aiyā» (< -aka + -ika + -ka) (Gaudian Grammar, §314). But it would be more reasonable to regard the suffix to be «-aiyā», and the «-w-» only as a euphonic insertion (cf. J. T. Platts, 'Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language,' London, 1873, p. 205). The OIA. basis of it apparently is an agentive in «-aka» (khādaka > khāaa, khāwaa, gāyaka > gāaa, gāwaa [*gāthayaka > *gāhaaa, *gāheaa], *vādyā-ka [= vādaka] > *vajjaa > *bājaa, etc.), to which the «-ika» > -ia» and then the «-āka» > -āa, -ā» affixes were added, pleonastically, in the Early NIA. stage: «*kathaka + -ika + -āka» > «*kahaiāa» > «*kāhāiyā» (Hindōstānī «kahaiyā») > কহিয়ে «kāhiē» > কইয়ে «kāiyē» [koie].

(28) ইত «-it-».

423. The affix ইত «-it-» is derived from the OIA. present participle base «-ant-» (see *supra*, pp. 653-4). In Bengali, it forms the present participle in an adverbial or conditional sense, with the locative affix «-ē»: e.g., মেঘ চাইতে জল «mēghā cāitē (< *cāhantahi) jālā» (*on one*) asking for the cloud, (*there is*) rain; or করিতে করিতে «kāritē kāritē» (< *karantahi) while doing; and it gives the base for the past habitual or past conditional (and in some East Bengal dialects, for the future) tense.

See also *supra* p. 663, under আইত, আত «-āitā, -ātā».

(29) ইব «-ibā».

424. Base for the future, and for a verbal noun, with an extended form ইবা «-ib-ā». From OIA. «-itavya-» > MIA. «-iabba-» > «*-ābba, -ibba». See *infra*, under 'Verb.'

(30) ইল «-ilā» (i).

425. In MIA. «-illa», from OIA. pleonastic and adjectival affix «-i-la» (cf. Pāṇini, V, iii, 79), forming nouns and adjectives in Bengali, from nouns. It is not a living affix in NB., but is fairly common in MB. Cf. Hindi «chail» handsome, accomplished (chāilla, chavila).

Examples: পাতিল < pātīlā > an earthen-pot for cooking (patta, pātra); কুঁচিল < kūcilā > crooked (কুঁচ √kūc < √kuñc); s/s. †আঙিল < āṇḍilā > strong one, chief (aṇḍa + -illa); MB. s/s. আরতিল < āratī-lā > filled with a great desire (ārati + -ila); পাকিল < pākīlā > ripe (pakva + -ila); etc. Cf. ts. কুটিল < kuṭīlā > crooked. The ts. word < śarīra > is vulgarly pronounced as শরীল, শরিল [ʃoril], as if it had the < -ilā > affix.

(31) ইল < -ilā > (ii).

426. Past base, also (specially in OB. and MB.) passive participle adjective. From OIA. < -(i)ta > + pleonastic affix < -i-la > whence Late MIA. < *-iailla- > *-illa- >, in Eastern Magadhan. (OIA. < -(i)ta + -alla > probably gave < *-alla- > -alā >, in Central and Western Magadhan). See below, under 'Verb.' This < -ilā > occurs also in a few nouns and adjectives in Bengali, although the adjectival and nominal use of < -ilā > forms from verb roots is almost obsolete in the language. Examples: MB. ভুখিল < bhukhīlā > hungry (bubhuṣita + -ila); স্তিল < sūtilā > sleeping (supta + -ila); ভাঙ্গিল < bhaṅgīlā > broken (*bhaṅgita + -ila); OB. (Caryā 33) দুহিল দুধ < duhila dudhu > milk that has been milked off (*duhita + -ila); NB. গেল < gēlā > lost < gone (gata + -ila); etc.

The affix ইলে < -il-ē > forming the conjunctive, is the old locative form of it: চলিলে < calilē > on having walked (*calilahi).

(32) উ < উ < -u < -ū > (i).

427. From an OIA. < -u > (adjectival and nominal) + < -ka >. It implies a pettiness and loveliness of the object indicated, and is found in familiar and affectionate forms, specially of names: c.g., s/s. দুষ্ট < duṣṭu > the little naughty one (duṣṭa-); s/s. ধুতু < dhuttu > the little sly one (dhūrta); বল < Bālu > affectionate for < Balarāma >; খুকু < khuku > tiny little baby, darling of a child (< খোকা < khōkā > baby); পাঁচু < Pācu > (Pañcānana a name); so নরু < Nāru > (Narendra), হরু < Hāru > (Harendra, Hara-nātha, etc.), রাধু < Rādhu > (Rādhā-kānta, etc.), কানু < Kānu > (Kṛṣṇa-); বড়ু < Bāru > title for a Brāhmaṇ (vaṭuka = vṛta + -u + -ka); etc., etc. It occurs also (peonastically in some cases) in the formation of nouns

and adjectives, like গাড়ু < gāru > *water-jar with spout* (*gadduka); লাড়ু, নাড়ু < lāru, nāru > *sweetmeal* (laṛṛuka); নৌচু < nīcu > *down, in a low position* (nīca); উচু < ūcu > *high* (ucca-), etc. The < -u > affix of Śaurasēni Apabhraṃśa, from OIA. < -aḥ >, seems to have influenced this affix in the formative period of Bengali (see *supra*, p. 311).

(33) *উ, উ > ও > অ < *-ū > -u > -ō > -ā > (ii).

428. This is a primary affix, and the forms with it are generally repeated in NB. the meaning is 'about to do something,' 'on the point of doing.' *E.g.*, ডুবু-ডুবু < ḍubu-ḍubu > *about to sink*; উড়ু-উড়ু < uru-uru > *about to fly away, filled with a longing*; নিবু-নিবু > নিবো-নিবো < nibu-nibu > nibō-nibō > *on the point being extinguished* (also নিভ-নিভ < nibhā-nibhā >); কাঁদো-কাঁদো, কাঁদ-কাঁদ < kādō-kādō, kādā-kādā > *about to burst into tears*; পাকো-পাকো < pākō-pākō > *nearly ripe*; দাউ-দাউ ক'রে জ্বালা < dāu-dāu kōrē jwālā > *to burn fiercely*, etc. The form হবু < hābu > [fiobu] *about-to-be, future* (e.g., হবু-জামাই < hābu jāmāi > *the son-in-law to be*, হবু-রাজা < hābu-rājā > *the future king*) seems to be for *হো-উ < *hō-u >, with euphonic insertion of < b >: similarly খাউ-খাউ > খাবো-খাবো করা < khāu-khāu > khābō-khābō kārā > *to be eager to eat*, etc. (Cf. আদোবে < ādōbē >, p. 511).

In Hindōstāni, there is an affix < -ū > which appears to be the same as the Bengali one: < bēc-ū > *seller*, < kīn-ū > *buyer*, < ḍāk-ū > *robber*, < jāg-ū > *watcher*, < urā-ū > *causer to fly > spendthrift*, < bigār-ū > *spoiler*, < jhagḍār-ū > *quarrelsome person*, etc. Hoernle connects it with the Skt. < -tṛ > + pleonastic < -ka > (*op. cit.*, § 333). But a likelier derivation would be from an OIA. < -u-ka > (cf. J. T. Platts, *Hindustani Grammar*, p. 209). This affix is found in Skt., in words like < ghāt-uka, kām-uka, bhāv-uka > etc., 'having the meaning and construction of a present participle' (see Whitney, *Skt. Grammar*, § 1180). There was also an < -ūka > rather rare, in OIA.: cf. Skt. < jāgar-ūka >.

Oṛiyā has the present participle affix < -u > (< kār-u, khā-u, jā-u > etc.), which seems to be the same affix as the Bengali and Hindōstāni ones (Hoernle derives the Oṛiyā < -u >, however, from the present participle < -anta >, *op. cit.*, § 301: this is precluded phonologically).

(34) উআ > উও, ও < -uā > -uō, -ō >.

429. This is an extension of the preceding with the « -ā », used, like « -iyā » (p. 674), to indicate relation or connexion. It is also added to proper names, to indicate contempt. When affixed to an ordinary noun, it turns the latter to an adjective. There is the usual mutation of the vowels, and this fact often disguises this affix in the NB. Standard Colloquial. Examples: জল্যা > জ’লো « jāl-uā > jōlō » *watery*; ঘরয়া > ঘোরো « ghār-uā > ghōrō » *domestic*; হাটুয়া > হেটো « hāt-uā > hētō » *of the market*; অরুয়া > অ’রো « j(w)ār-uā > jōrō » *suffering from fever*; MB. শরুয়া « śār-uā » *like a reed* > *slender* (NB. সরু, শরু « śāru, śāru » *lean and thin* < « śārđ + -ū »); ধানুয়া > ধেনো « dhān-uā > dhēnō » (i) *(land) growing rice*, (ii) *rice-beer*; কাঠুয়া > কেঠো « kāṭh-uā > kēṭhō » *made of wood*; দানুয়া > দেনো « dān-uā > dēnō » *given as a gift*; *দাঃঅরাথুয়া > দেব্থো « *diā-rākh-uā > dērkhō » *a wooden or earthen lamp-stand*; *কাঠকুয়া > কেটুকো « *kāṭhāk-uā > kēṭkō » *a wooden vessel*; টাকুয়া > টেকো « ṭāk-uā > ṭēkō » *buld-pate*; so মেছো « mēchō » *fishmonger*; বাটুয়া > বেটো « bāt-uā > bētō » *belonging to the road* (bāṭa < vartman) > *a lock*; পানুয়া > পেনো « Pānuā > Pēnō » *contemptuous or familiar form of a name (= Prāṇa-nātha. Pānnū-lālđ, etc.)*; কালুয়া > কেলে « Kāluā > Kēlō » (Kāla-), রেমো, শেমো « Rēmō, Śēmō » (Rāma, Śyāma); যদুয়া > য’দো « Jāduā > Jōdō » (Yadu), etc., etc.; *মাউনুয়া > মেসো « *māus-uā > mēsō » *mother’s sister’s husband* (« māusi = mātṛsvasṛ- »: cf. *পিউসিয়া > পিসে « *piusiā > piśē » *father’s sister’s husband*); etc., etc.

(35) ক, অক < -kā (-kđ), -ākđ >, ইক < -ikđ >, উক < -ukđ > (i).

430. This affix is quite a common one in Bengali, and is employed primarily to form nouns (abstract, concrete, or onomatopoeic), generally from verb roots. e.g., মোড়ক « mōr-ākđ » *packet* (মুড়√mur *fold*); টনক « ṭān-ākđ » *jerk, blow, striking* > *remembrance* (টন ṭaṇṭ sense of *tightness*, টান√ṭān *pull*); চড়ক « cār-ākđ » *a raising aloft* > *swinging by hooks from a high post, the hook-swinging festival* (চড়√cār *ride*); ছলক « chāl-ākđ » *splash, spill of water* (ছল chāl onomatopoeic for *splashing of water*); so চলক « cāl-ākđ » *spilling of water*; মড়ক « mār-ākđ » *pestilence* (< maḍa = mrta); সড়ক « sār-ākđ » *road, highway* (*saḍa = srta); ফ(ট)টক « phāṭ-ākđ, phāṭ-ākđ »

gate (cf. फाटि √phāt *split*); आटक < āṭ-ākṣ > *confinement* (cf. आड़ āṛḍ *obstruction*); बलक < jhāl-ākṣ > *flame* (बल √jhāl, p. 479); चटक < cāt-ākṣ > *brilliance*; जमक < jam-ākṣ > *pomp*; बैठक < bāiṭh-ākṣ > *a stand* (bāiṭṭha < upavi-ṭha); फूक, फूँक < phukṣ, phūkṣ > *puffing, blowing* (cf. phutkāra); बिलिक < jhil-ikṣ > *sparkle*; छिलिक < chil-ikṣ > *spilling or scattering of water*; चूक < cukṣ > *mistake*; झड़ूक < sur-ukṣ > *sound of quick motion*; etc.

The MIA. forms of the affix would be < -akka > : *mōḍakka, *ṭanakka, *maḍakka, *jhalakka, *uvaṭṭhakka, etc. In Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa, as a matter of fact, we find such forms as < sāśāṇala-jhalakkiāu > (= śvāsānala-jhalat-kṛta), < khuḍukkaī > (= śalyāyatē), < ghuḍukkaī > (= garjati), < cavēḍa-caḍakka > (= capēṭa-caṭat-kṛta), < phukkij-janta > (= phut-kriyamāṇa) (in the Apabhraṁśa verses in Hēma-candra : cf. Pischel, 'Materialen zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṁśa,' Berlin, 1902). Following the indication of the Prakrit grammarians, the NIA. < -akṣ > and the MIA. < -akka > can be well affiliated to an OIA. compounding of a root or its participle base in < -a(n)t- > with < kṛta, √kṛ > : चमक < cāmākṣ > (also चोँक < cāūkṣ >, चडक < cāwākṣ > in MB., the proper *lth.* forms) < MIA. < camakka, *camakkaa, camakkia > < OIA. < camat-kṛta >; so चूक < cukṣ > (cyut-kṛta); थक, थाँक < thākṣ, thāṅṅṅ > *remain, be arrested* (stabh-kṛta), beside थमक < thāmākṣ > *sudden stop* (*thambhakk[i]a < stambha + kṛta > : here apparently we have a generalised < -akka > added to a noun form in MIA.). A connexion with OIA. < -a-ka >, apparently introduced as a *ts.* in Second and Late MIA. (the phonetics of which changed it to < -akka >) can also well be inferred : e.g., MIA. (Māgadhī) < haḍakka = *hṛḍ-a-ka; haggē = *ahakkū = ahakam < aham; lēḍ(h)ukka = lēṣṭuka; ūākka = nāyaka >, etc. (See < -ka > [ii] below. Cf. Pischel, § 194; Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, § 338; JASB., 1880, I, p. 37, 'Hindī Roots'; also cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 94). It has also been suggested, by Bloch, that the affix in part goes back to the OIA. adjectival and pleonastic < -kya >, as in < pārakya < para > (cf. also < māṇikya < maṇi >). Further, Bloch draws our attention to the < -kk- > (also < -k-, -g- >) affix which is such a common one in the Dravidian languages, in which, apart from other functions, it is used in forming verbal nouns from

roots: e.g., «√naḍ» *to walk* > «naḍ-akk-ai, naḍ-akk-al, naḍ-akk-udal» *walking*; «√iru» *to be* > «iru-kk-ai» *being*; «√śōy» *to do* > «śōy-gai» *doing*, etc., as in Tamil, and «√unṇu» *to eat* > «unṇike» *eating*, as in Kannada (Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ p. 105; Caldwell, ‘Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages’, 1916, pp. 542-543).

In its origin, it would thus seem that this affix is derived from «kṛta» and other forms of «√kṛ». There seems also to have been present the influence of the Skt. affix «-a-ka», which was Prakritised into «-akka». And it is not improbable that in MIA. times a «-kk-, -g-, -k-» affix existed in North Indian Dravidian dialects (now superseded by IA.), and this affix of Dravidian was not without its influence in the establishment of «-akka» in MIA. of the Second and Third stages.

The টক, উক «-ikḥ, -ukḥ» forms seem to be due to Vowel Harmony, the «-ā-» changing to «-i-, -u-» when the root or base form had these vowels, by attraction.

Extensions of ক, অক «-kḥ, -ākḥ» in Bengali:

(অ)কা «-ḥkā», i.e. «-ākḥ + -ā»: adjectival and pleonastic, with an implication of biggishness or coarseness: পটকা «pāṭḥkā» *cracker, squib*, beside পটক «pāṭḥkḥ» *a throwing down with cracking noise*; ঢলকা «caḷḥkā» *a dash and a fall of liquid through overflowing*; ফটকা «phaṭḥkā» *dry, making a crackling noise when broken*; হেঁৎকা «hēṭḥkā» *grunting, ugly, rude person*; হুড়কা «huṛḥkā» *a bar, a bolt*; etc.

অকী, (অ)কি «-ākī, -ḥkī»: with adjectival «-ī»: বৈঠকী «bāiṭḥkī» *polite, of good society* < *belonging to the drawing room*.

(অ)কৌ, (অ)কি «-ḥkī, -kī < -ākī»: feminine > diminutive > pleonastic in NB., generally names of concrete objects: সড়কী «sāṛḥkī» *javelin (that which moves quickly and strikes: < -ṛta < √sr)*; হেঁচকি «hēṇḥkī» *jerk > yawn, hiccup* (cf. হেঁচড়ান «hēṇḥ-ḥ-rā-nā» *pull*); কুঁচকি «kūṇḥkī» *groin* (cf. কুঁচকান «kūṇḥkānā» *to be curled up*); ছিটকি «chiṭḥkī», beside ছিটকিনী «chiṭḥkīnī» *bolt, latch*; etc.

The affix আক্ «-ā-kḥ», in forms like তড়াক «tāṛākḥ» *with a sudden bound* (< ṛta), পড়াক «pāṛākḥ» *with a crack*, সড়াক «sāṛākḥ» *with a quick glide*, কড়াক «kāṛākḥ» *with a crackling sound*, etc., which are mostly

used with the indeclinable conjunctive করিয়া, ক'রে « *kāriyā, kōrē* » *having done* (see *supra*, p. 655, for a similar formation in আৎ « *-āṭṭ* »), to indicate quick and abrupt movement or sound, is undoubtedly connected with the « *-ākṣ* » affix, the base apparently being a strong form in « *-ā* ».

Bases in « *-ākṣ, -ṣkā* » (the latter preferably in NB.) are used for the denominative in Bengali: e.g., MB. চমকে, চঙকে « *cāmākē, cāṅākē* », NB. চমকায় « *cāmṣkāy* » *is startled*; ছিটকায় « *chitṣkāy* » *sprinkles*; etc.

(36) ক « *-ṣkā* » (ii) > কা « *-ṣkā* », কী « *-ṣkī* », কিয়া « *-kiyā* », কুয়া « *-kuā* ».

431. This is an adjectival affix, also used pleonastically: it is also found in the strong form in কা « *-kā* », with its feminine কী, কি « *-kī, -ki* », and also in its extensions formed by superposing other affixes, ইয়া « *-iyā* », উয়া « *-uā* » etc. Examples: ধনুক « *dhānuṣṣkā* » *bow* (*dhānuṣka, dha-nuṣka*); ঢোলক « *ḍhōlākṣ* » (*small*) *drum* (MIA. *dholla*-); শামুক « *śāmuṣkā* » (**sambukka=śambu-ka*); দোফরকা « *dō-phārṣkā* » *with two blades* (*phala*-); dialectal Bengali আমরা, তোমরা « *āmṣkā, tōmṣkā* » *of us, of you = our, your*; গদকা « *gāḍṣkā* » *Indian club, cudgel* (< *Is. gādā*); দমকা « *dāmṣkā* » *a rush of wind, a strong puff of wind*, beside দমক « *dāmākṣ* » *puff, jerk* (Pers. « *dam* » *breath*); বড়কী « *bārṣkī* » *eldest daughter-in-law (=wife of the eldest one)*; so মেজকী « *mējṣkī* » < « *mājhuā + kī* », ছোটকী « *chōṭṣkī* », etc.; কেটকো < *কাঠকুয়া « *kēṭṣkō* < **kāṭh-āk-uā* » *a wooden vessel*; পুটকে « *pūṭṣkē* < **pūṭ-āk-iyā* » *a tiny one* (cf. পুটি « *pūṭi* » *a tiny girl, a small fish*); মুনকে « *munṣkē* » < মণকিয়া « *māṇ-āk-iyā* » *a maund in weight, one who can eat food-stuffs weighing a maund*; so সেরকে « *sērṣkē* < **sēr-āk-iyā* » *weighing a seer*; শটকে « *śāṭṣkē* » < *সটকিয়া « *śāṭṣāk-iyā* » *plain numeration table upto 100* (from *সটক, সড়ক « **śāṭṣākṣ, śāḍṣākṣ* » *plain movement?* seems wrongly to be connected with শত « *śāṭṣ* » *hundred*, and turned into শতকিয়া « *śāṭṣ-k-iyā* » as a « *sādhū-bhāsā* » equivalent); কড়াকিয়া « *kārā-k-iyā* » *numeration table by fours and quarters* (কড়া *kārā*) *upto 100*; গণ্ডাকিয়া « *gāṇḍā-k-iyā* » *numeration table by fours* (গণ্ডা *gāṇḍā*) *and eighties, upto 400*; so বড়কে < বড়কিয়া « *burṣkē* < *burī-k-iyā* » *numeration table by twenties* (*burī* বড়ি) *upto 2000*; পণকে < পণকিয়া « *paṇṣkē* < *pāṇā-k-iyā* » *numeration table by eighties* (পণ *paṇṣ*) *upto 8,000*; etc.

This affix would seem to be the Skt. pleonastic and adjectival « -ka » (see Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1222), introduced into Second and Late MIA. as a *ts.* form, and normally becoming « -kka ». In Magadhan, it seems to have been used for the genitive, as, *e.g.*, in Maithili « ghōrā-k » *horse's*, in Oṛiyā « puruṣāṅ-kā » *men's*, and in early and dialectal Bengali as well. In the other NIA. languages, like Western Hindi, however, the genitive affix « -kā, kau » etc. seems to have come from « kaa < kṛta » ; but it is not unlikely that there was some influence of this very common and resuscitated OIA. affix. An adjective-genitive use of « -kka » is found also in Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa as in Hēma-candra: *e.g.*, « bappi-ki bhūmbaḍi » (= pāitṛki bhūmiḥ). In the Avahatṭha of the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' the « -ka » for the adjective genitive figures largely.

There is a pleonastic use of this « -kṣ », mainly after verbs, in Bengali and in other Magadhan languages (see *infra*, Verb: 'Pleonastic Affixes'): *e.g.*, হইবেক « hāibē-kṣ » *it will be*; করক « kār-u-kṣ » *let him do*; খালেক « khālē-kṣ » *he ate*; নাহিক « nāhi-kṣ », MB. নাহিকর « nāhi-k-āy » *is not*, beside Early Assamese নাহিকন্ত « nāhi-k-āntā » *they are not*; and Magahi « √hi-k », Maithili « chi-k » *to be*. These last instances would show that « -kṣ », like the « -ṛ- » affix (iii) below, was added to the root: probably here was some confusion with « -kṣ » (i) (< √kṛ), as in থা « thā » (< √sthā) beside থক, থাক « √thāk, thāk », Maithil « √thik » (< √stabh + √kṛ). But « -ka » was used after other words also: *e.g.*, কিন্তুক « kintu-kṣ » *but* (kintu); etc.

See *infra*, under 'Tatsama Suffixes: « -ka »'.

(37) কর « -kārṣ ».

432. Found in দোকর, তেकर « dō-kārṣ, tē-kārṣ » *two-fold, three-fold*, is the Skt. noun « kara », which is also partly the source of the genitive, and of one of the dative affixes of Bengali, as well as of the common plural affix « -rā ».

(38) গোছ, গোচ « -gōc(h)ṣ » < গোছের « gōch-ērṣ ».

433. This is compounded with adjectives and nouns, and is used, like the English *-ish*, to mean 'like, resembling, of the group of.' The

word is the Skt. « *guccha* » *bundle*; and গাছ(ী) « *gōchā* (*gōchā*) » occurs as a numerative in Bengali. The use of the genitive form is apparently the older one: লম্বাগোছের মানুষ « *lāmbā-gōchēṛ mānuṣ* » lit. *a man of the 'tall-group'* = *a tallish man*, which was shortened to লম্বাগোছ মানুষ « *lāmbā-gōch mānuṣ* »; so মাঝারী-গোছের > -গোছ « *mājhārī-gōchēṛ, -gōch* » *about middling-sized*; ছোঁড়া-গোছেব > -গোছ « *chōṛā-gōchēṛ* » > -গোছ « *gōch* » *rather like a lad, youngish*.

(39) চ, আচ « *-eṣ, -āc* ».

434. In a few words like কানচ « *kānāc* » *belonging to the edge, edge*, কোণচ « *kōṇāc* » *belonging to a corner, aslant*, ঘামাচী « *ghāmācī* » *prickly heat*,—the « *-c-* », or « *-āc-* » affix seems to be from the OIA. « *-tya* » forming adjectives (= *karna-, kōṇa-, gharma- + -tya*).

(40) জা « *-jā* ».

435. From « *jāta* », found in some familiar forms of surnames: = 'son of.' *E.g.*, ঘোষজা « *Ghōṣ-jā* » *of the Ghosh family*; বোসজা < *বসুজাত « *Bōṣ-jā* < *Bāsu-jāta* » *of the Bose or Basu (Vasu) family*; মিত্রজা « *Mittir-jā* » *of the Mitter (Mitra) family*.

(41) ট « *-(ā)ṭṭ-* » (i), and its extensions.

436. This affix, found in other NIA. speeches, forms quite an important group with its extensions, and indicates either some resemblance, connexion or modification in a general way, or trade or habit. In some cases it has become merely pleonastic, like the « *-ḍ-* » > « *-ṛ-* » suffixes (see below, §§449, 450), which seem to have influenced it in its pleonastic use. It represents a MIA. « **vaṭṭ-* », from the OIA. formations « *varta, vartika, vartikā*; *vṛtta, vṛttika, vṛttikā* » from « *√vṛt* ». This affix occurs in Hindōstānī as « *-āwaṭ, -āhaṭ* », and in other forms of NIA. also.

ট « *-ṭṭ* » < « *vartta* »: abstract or concrete nouns: দাপট « *dāpāṭṭ* » *power, puissance, rule, high-handedness* (*darpa-varta*); সাপট « *sāpāṭṭ* » *being in a fury, indulging in heroic gestures, seizing boldly* (*sarpa-varta*); ঝাপট, জাপট « *j(h)āpāṭṭ* » *gripping, splashing, struggling, dashing as with wings*

(*jhampa-varta); আঙ্গট, আঙট < āṅ(g)āt̃ > *entire, not torn (as of a plantain leaf)* (< āṅga-varta >: আঙ্গট < āṅ(g)āt̃ > *ring of a vessel*, আঙট < āṅtī > *finger ring* represent < āṅguṣṭha >); মাথট < māt̃hāt̃ > *capital levy* (*masta[ka]-varta), etc.; and other words like উচট, হোঁচট < ucāt̃, hōcāt̃ > *stumble* (? ava-tya + varta) also seem to have this affix. Cf. কেওট, ক্যাওট < kēōt̃ > [kæot̃] (kēvaṭṭa < kāivarta).

ট < -t̃ > from < vṛtta >, forming adjectives and nouns: ধোঁয়াট < dhōāt̃ > *smoky, mass of smoke* (dhūma- > dhūā, dhōā + t̃ < vṛtta); বোলাট < ghōlāt̃ > *muddy, muddiness* (< ghōlā > *muddy, turbid* < ghūrṇa + vṛtta); ভরাট < bhārāt̃ > *filled-up, well-filled, a filling-up* (bhara- + vṛtta); জমাট < jāmāt̃ > *congealed, frozen, compact* (< jāmā > < Perso-Arab. < jam' > + < vṛtta >); etc.

টা < -tā > (= < -t̃ > above + < ā >): forms adjectives and nouns, and denominative bases from forms with < < -t̃ >: চপটা < *cipāt̃ > < *cipātā > *flat* (< √cip > *press, flatten* + < vṛtta >: cf. MIA. < civiḍaa >, Skt. < cipiṭaka > = চিড়া, চিড়া < ciṛā, ciṛā > *flattened rice*, with the affix < -ḍ- > -r-, see p. 689); ঝাপটা < jhāpāt̃ > *spray of water, an ornament for the head with tassel of pearls* (cf. < jhāpāt̃ > above); নেওটা by Vowel Harmony < nēōtā > > [næoto] *affectionate, attached* (*nēhāt̃-ā < nēha-vaṭṭa-, snēha-vṛtta-); ঘষটা < ghāṣāt̃ > *getting rubbed, or rubbing continuously*, as opposed to ঘষ < √ghāṣ > *to rub* (gharṣa-varta-); শুটকা < *śūt̃kā > < *śūkhāt̃ > *lean and thin, dried up, shrivelled* (śuṣka + vṛtta); উকটা < ukāt̃ > *rummage, eagerly search* (*utka-varta-); কচটা < kāśāt̃, kācāt̃ > *rinse* (karṣa-varta-); খেমাটা < khēmāt̃ > *a kind of style in dancing and singing* (? + varta); নেঙটা < nēṅtā >, †নেংটা [næṅto], লেঙ্গটা < lēṅgāt̃ > *naked* (*naṅgawaṭṭa-, naṅgavaṭṭa-, nagna-vṛtta-); পাঁশটা < pāśūt̃ > *ashen or grey in colour* (pāñsu-vṛtta-); চিম্টা < cimāt̃ > *tongs, pincers* (MIA. ? *cimma + vṛtta); etc.

তি, টি < -tī, -tī >, generally = the feminine form of the < -t̃ > affix (< -vaṭṭīa = vartikā, vṛttikā). In MB. and NB., the feminine force is absent, and < -tī, -tī > has become either merely pleonastic, or vaguely diminutive: e.g., বাপটি, যুপটি < ghāpātī, ghupātī > *lying in wait to waylay* (? MIA. *ghappa, *ghuppa = ghōppa- + vṛttikā; cf. dialectal Bengali

†ঘোপ(†) < ghōp(ā) > *corner, nook*; চিম্টি < cimṭṭi > (MIA. *cimma + vṛttikā);
 গুম্টি < gumṭṭi > *bastion, sentry-box, tower* (gulma + vartikā); *শুষ্টি >
 শুটকী < *śūkhāṭi > śūtṭṭi > *dried fish* (? śuska-vṛttikā); ছিপ্টি < chipṭṭi >
whip (kṣipra-); similarly we have this affix in words like খুনহুটি < khunḥuṭi >
bickering, picking up a quarrel; etc.

টা < -ṭā > and টী, টি < -ṭī, -ṭi > have given the so-called post-fixed
 ‘Definite Articles,’ or ‘Enclitic Definitives’ of Bengali,—< -ṭā >, the original
 strong masculine base, implying biggishness or crudeness of the object,
 and < -ṭī, -ṭi >, originally feminine, implying smallness or daintiness.
 Thus, we have একটা < ēkṭṭā > *one piece, a big or ungainly article*, একটী
 < ēkṭṭī > *one piece, a small and nice one* (= *ēkka-vatṭa-, *ēkka-vatṭīa <
 ēka-vṛtta-, -vṛttikā): so দু(ই)টা > দুটো, দু(ই)টী > < du(i)-ṭā > duṭō, -ṭī >;
 তিনটা > তিনটে, তিনটী < tinṭā > tinṭē, -ṭī >, etc. The affix has gradually
 become a distinct definitive in Bengali, being added to names of persons
 and things and to adjectives: e.g., গাছটা < gācṭṭā > *that tree, that big tree*,
 but গাছটী < gācṭṭī > *that tree, that nice little tree*; রামটা < Rāmṭṭā > *that*
ungainly, awkward, or bad fellow of a Rāma, but রামটী < Rāmṭṭī > *our good*
fellow Rāma; so ভালটা, ভালটী < bhālā-ṭā, bhālā-ṭī >; etc. টা, টী also occur
 dialectally as ডা, ডী < -ḍā, -ḍī >. The source of this টা, টী < -ṭā, -ṭī > has
 been suggested as being গোটা, গুটী < gōṭā, guṭi > *piece*: but the latter is a
 different word. See *infra*: under ‘Numeratives or Enclitic Definitives.’

টিয়া > টে < -ṭiyā > -ṭē > (-ṭ- + -i- + -ā < -vṛtta + -ika- + -āka),
 indicating ‘habit’ or ‘nature,’ or ‘resemblance’: e.g., আঁষটে < আঁইষটিয়া
 < āṣṭṭē < *ā(w)isāṭiyā > *smelling of rank fish and flesh* (āmiṣa-vṛttika +
 āka); ঘোলাটে < ghōlāṭē > *muddy-like* (see ঘোলাট < ghōlāṭṭ >, p. 685); ভাড়াটে
 < bhārāṭē < bhārāṭiyā > *tenant, (cab) plying for hire* (bhāṭaka-
 vṛtta + -ika + -āka); ধোঁয়াটে < dhōāṭē > *smoking-like* (see ধোঁয়াট < dhōāṭṭ >, p. 685);
 তামাটে < tāmaṭē > *copper-red in colour* (tāmā < tāmra-); রাঙ্গাটে
 < rāṅ(ḡ)āṭē > *reddish* (রাঙ্গা rāṅgā red); পাঁশটে < pāśṭṭē > *greyish* (see
 পাঁশটী < pāśṭṭī >, p. 685); রোগাটে < rōgāṭē > *sickly, lean and thin like*
 (< রোগ < rōg-ā > *sick*, see p. 659); ঝগড়াটে < jhāḡṛāṭē > *quarrelsome*
 (< jhāḡṛā >); হিংস্ফটে < *hiṅsṭṭē < ts. *hiṅsuka + -ṭiyā >, beside হিংস্ফটে < hiṅsṭṭē > *envious and spiteful*; etc., etc.

Connected with this «-t-» affix is ড «-ḍ-» > -r-» (i) below.

(42) ট «-ṭṭṭ» (ii).

437. In a few words, which may be called disguised compounds : from Skt. or OIA. «paṭṭa». Examples : লেঙ্গট, ল্যাঙ্গট «lēṅgātṭ, lāṅgātṭ» (**langa-paṭṭa*, *linga-paṭṭa*), see p. 347 ; মলাট «mālātṭ» *cover of a book*, literally *dust-board* (মলা «mālā» + পাট «pātṭa» < «paṭṭa»); a feminine > diminutive-pleonastic extension as in কষটি «kṣṣṭi, kṣṣṭi < kṣṣṭi» *assaying stone* (karṣa-paṭṭikā, Hind. *kasauti*) ; etc.

(43) ট «-ṭ-» (iii) > আট «-ātṭ», also আটি «-āṭi», উটি «-uṭi», ইটি «-iṭi», টি «-ṭi».

438. Like some of the other suffixes noted above, this is really a decayed word figuring in a number of disguised compounds. The source of it is **mṛtta*, *mṛttikā* » *earth*, Beng. মাট, মাটি «mātṭ, māṭi». Examples : ধোলাট «dhōlātṭ» *soil washed down by rains*; ধরাটি «dhārātṭi» *earth heaped up for an embankment* (dhārā + māṭi < *mṛttikā*); পেটোটি, পেটুটি «pētōṭi, pētūṭi» *earth and bits of jute mixed, for plastering mud huts* (pātṭ + māṭi > **pātāwāṭi*, **pātuāṭi*) ; তুষাটি, তুষটি «tuṣātṭi, tuṣṭi» *chaff and earth mixed* (tuṣa- + *mṛttikā*) ; খড়িটি «khārītṭi» *chalk and earth* (khaṭikā *chalk*).

(44) ড «-ṛ-» (i) > -ড়া «-ṛā», ড়ী «-ṛī», ড়িয়া > ড়ে «-ṛiyā > -ṛē».

439. The «-r-» affix in a number of words indicates habit or profession, or some sort of connexion : e.g., বাসাড়ে < বাসাড়িয়া «bāsārē > bāsārīyā» *dweller in a lodging house or hired apartments* (< *bāsā* *lodging house*, < *vāsa*-); যোগাড় «jōgārṭ» *arrangement, supply* (< *ts. yōgra*); যোগাড়ৈ < যোগাড়িয়া «jōgārē < -riyā» *an organiser, a man clever at arranging things*; তুখড় < *তিখড় «tukhārṭ < *tikhārā» *sharp one, clever one* (< *tikkha* = *tikṣṇa*); বাকুড়া Bākura» *name of a person* in M R. «bāṅka, vaṅka, vakra» : when the place name, = *Bankurah*, the affix would seem to be of different origin : see under «-r-» [ii] below ; আগড় «āgārṭ» *baskei-work door of hut* (agra-); ফাঁসড়িয়া > ফাঁসড়ে «*phāsārīyā > phāsūrē» *one who strangles and robs*

travellers (phāsṣ *halter-rope with loop*); বাসিরাড়া > বেসেড়া < ghāsiārā > ghēsērā > *grass-cutter* (ghāsṣ, *ghāsi *grass*); নৌড়ে < nāūrē < *nāwārīā > a *boat-man*; MB. ধাউড়, ধাউড়িয়া < dhāūrṣ, dhāuriyā > a *runner*; খেলোয়ার < khēlōārṣ > a *player, an expert* > a *smart and sharp person* (slang); জুয়ারী < juārī > *gamester*, see p. 668; সাপড়িয়া < সাপড়ে < *sāpāriyā > sāpurē > *snake-charmer*; লুঠেরা < *লুঠিরাড়া < luṭhērā < *luṭhiārā > < √/luṭh > *plunder*, cf. Hindi < luṭērā > *robber*; ভাগড় < bhāṅ(g)ārṣ > one who indulges in 'bhāṅg'; কেওড়া < kēōrā > a *low caste* (*kēvaṭa-), beside কেওট < kēōṭṣ > (< kēvaṭṭa, kāivarta); etc.

The source of this < -r- > would seem to be the OIA. < √vṛt >, in a form like < vṛtā > = *work, labour, movement*, found in the Rig-Vēda, which would give a MIA. < *vaṭā > *vaṭā > *vaṭā > By extension with < -ā, -iyā, -ī < -ika > etc., we get the ডা, ডিয়া, ডী etc.

(45) ড < -r- >, ডা < -rā >, ডী < -rī > (ii).

440. This occurs in some place-names, and it comes from a Late OIA. and Early MIA. < vāṭa > *enclosure* which is found in Sanskrit as a < guṇa > formation from < vaṭa < vṛ-ta >, < √vṛ > to *cover, to enclose*. ডী, ডি < -rī, -rī > as an affix in Bengali would therefore represent < vāṭikā > compounded with words. Examples: আখড়া < ākhṛā >, Hind. < akhārā > *enclosed ground for physical exercise, club* (akṣa-vāṭa-); ভাগড়া < bhāgārṣ > *place outside village where dead cattle are cast away* (? < bhagna + vāṭa > : connexion with হাড় < hārṣ > *bones* is popularly suggested); গোয়ারী < gōārī > *place-name = Gowari near Krishnagar in Nadiya* (gōpa-vāṭikā); খোয়ার < khōārṣ > *pig-sty* (? Persian < xug > *swine* > Bengali < *khōgā, *khō, khō > + < vāṭa >). The Sanskritised < nāu-vāṭa > a *fleet of boats or ships, a dock*, met with in old Bengal inscriptions, represents an Old Bengali < *nāwa-wāṭa >, which was Persianised into < nawwārah > by the Mohammedans: < *nāwa-wāṭa > may be connected with the dialectal word নৌড়ে above (§449).

The word < vāṭa > may equally be the source of ডা < -rā > in place names, although a non-Aryan origin, Kōl or Dravidian, for that affix is not unlikely (see *supra*, p. 66).

The word বাটোরাড় < bāṭōrāḍ > *high-way robber* (bāṭa < vartman) has nothing to do with < r >, (i) or (ii), although < -r- > (i) might have been confused with it: it comes from MB. বাটপাড় < bāṭa-pāṛā >, in which form it still occurs in NB. (< causative root < pāṭaya- >).

(46) ড < -ṛ- >, ড় < -ṛā >, ড়ী < -ṛī > (iii).

441. Pleonastic affix, derived from < -ḍa- >, which was widely used in Late MIA.: *e.g.*, < vaccha-ḍa (vatsa), diaha-ḍa (divasa), gōra-ḍ-I (gāurī), nēha-ḍ-ā (snēha), hiya-ḍ-ā (hṛdaya), dōsa-ḍ-ā (dōṣa), pārakka-ḍ-ā (parakīyā), bhumha-ḍ-I (bhūmi), tēva-ḍ-u (tadvat), bh(r)anta-ḍ-I (bhrānti), nidda-ḍ-I (nidrā), dēsa-ḍa (dēśa), sandēsa-ḍā (sandēśa) >, as in the Apabhraṁśa fragments in Hēma-candra; < dukkha-ḍ-ā (duḥkha) >, as in the 'Saṁjama-mañjarī'; etc. The < -ḍa- > affix seems to have come into special prominence in the *spoken dialects* of Northern India in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium A. C. It is also very likely that it was largely used in the spoken language in the earlier stages of MIA., but the remains of First, Transitional and Second MIA. do not use it lavishly; and in Third MIA. literary remains, where the style is exclusively artificial and is modelled on the Prakrit *kāvyaś* (as in the Jaina works like the 'Bhavisatta-Kaha'), it is not so common either. The Ap. verses in Hēma-candra's grammar form specimens of genuine popular poetry, and hence the < -ḍ- > words are so much in evidence there. All NIA. speeches show numerous forms with < -ḍa- > -r- >; and some kinds of NIA., *e.g.*, the Rājasthānī dialects, employ it more lavishly than the rest, affixing it to passive participles quite freely.

The Second and Third MIA. < -ḍa > rests on a First MIA. < -ṭa- >, which would normally represent an OIA. < -ṭa- > (or a dental < -ta- >, with or without a < r > or < ṛ > to cerebralise it). (Cf. Pischel, §599.) In Skt., we have a number of words with a < -ṭa- > affix, words which are mostly late, but a few like < marka-ṭa > undoubtedly go back to pre-Buddhic times: *e.g.*, < marka-ṭa > (regarded as being Dravidian in origin: cf. Tamil < maram > *tree*); < kaṅka-ṭa, karka-ṭa > (see p. 368); < karpa-ṭa > *rag* (< *√[s]karp); < parka-ṭi; karva-ṭa; kukku-ṭa; lak-u-ṭa > < lag-u-ḍa;

muk-u-ṭa (?); cip-i-ṭa *flattened rice*; vadhū-ṭi; kula-tā (explained as being from « kula + √at »); barba-ṭa; etc. This « -ṭa » is not found in Vedic. There is nothing in the non-Aryan languages, Dravidian and Kōl, to warrant any influence from that side. And such a characteristic IA. suffix, so persistent in all the forms of NIA., can reasonably be expected to have an OIA. source. It seems quite possible that this « -ṛa < -ḍa < -ṭa » is only a form of a « -ta », undoubtedly the same as the passive participle affix, which was used as a secondary affix in some noun and adjective formations in Vedic (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1176, § 1245; Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, § 209): *e.g.*, « eka-tā, dvi-tā, tri-tā; muhūr-tā; ava-tā *well*; raja-tā; pārva-ta ». Some sense of connexion with or modification of the original idea is implied by this « -ta », which also is not absent in the NIA. « -ṛa ». By spontaneous cerebralisation (see *supra*, pp. 487-488), « -ta » can very well give « -ṭa » in dialectal OIA. and in Early MIA. Thus we have OIA. « vibhī-ta-ka (beside « vibhīdaka »: < « √bhid » ?) » > *vibhī-ṭa-ka » > MIA. « bahēḍaa- » > NIA. « bahērā »; OIA. « āmr-ā-ta-ka » > *āmṛā-ṭa-ka » > MIA. « ambāḍaa- » > NIA. अम्र [āmr] « āmrā »; and OIA. « śṛṅg-ā-ta-ka, śṛṅg-ā-ṭa-ka- » > NIA. « śṛgārā ». Throughout the whole history of IA., « -ta » > -ṭa » > -ḍa » > -ṛa » would seem to have been fairly common in the *spoken* language; and after phonetic decay had put an end to most of the characteristic OIA. affixes in the Second NIA. stage, the « -ḍa » affix, with its strong cerebral sound, seems to have become quite a prominent and a popular one. The large number of names in « -ḍa », Sanskritised to « -ṭa » during the Second and Third MIA. periods (see *ante*, p. 89), would also indicate its popularity in the Indo-Aryan speech from the early centuries of the first millennium A.C.

Hoernle's derivation of this affix from a Skt. « -dṛṣa » (Gaudian Grammar, § 218) is phonologically inadmissible; there is also the fact that the earlier form of « -ṛa < -ḍa » was « -ṭa ».

Examples of « -ṛa- » from Bengali: OB. (Caryā 38) « nāva-ṛ-i » (nāva, nāu); (Caryās 10, 20) « bāp-u-ṛ-ā » a *Kāpālika* (cf. Śaurasēni Ap. vappuḍā); (Caryā 10) « pākh-u-ṛ-i » *petal* (pakṣa = parva); MB. (ŠKK.) মূড়ী « mudārī » beside মুড়ি « mudi » *ring* (mudrā); MB. দিৱড়ী

• *diyārī* > *lamp* (< *dipa*); *মাকড়* < *mākārṣ* > (*markaṭa*); *কাপড়* < *kāpārṣ* > (*karpaṭa*); *রাজড়া* < *rājṣṛā* > *king, rich men* as in *রাজা-রাজড়া* < *rājā-rājṣṛā* > *kings and swells*; so *গাছ-গাছড়া* < *gāchṣ-gāchṣṛā* > *plants and herbs* (*gaccha*), *কাঠ-কাঠড়া* < *kāṭṭṣ-kāṭṭṣṛā* > *wood and timber* (*kāṣṭha*); *পাতড়া* < *pātṣṛā* > *leaves and sticks* (< *patra*); *আঁকড়ী* < *āṅkṣṛī* > *loop in writing* (*aṅka*); *শাশড়ী* < **শাশড়ী* < *śāśṣṛī* < **śāśṣṛī* > *mother-in-law, beside* *শাশ* < *śāśṣ* > in compounds (*śvaśrū*); *চামড়া* < *cāmṣṛā* > *hide, skin* (*carma*); *পাখড়া* < *pākṣṣṛā* > *scapular-bone* (*pakṣa*); *বাগড়া* < *khāgṣṛā* > *reed, marsh plant with sharp edge* (*khaḍga*); *বাগড়া* < *bāgṣṛā* > *obstruction* (*sts.* < *vyāghāṭa* + *-rā*); *বগড়া* < *jhāgṣṛā* > *quarrel* (see p. 478); *আতুড়ী*, *আতুড়ী* < *āt(u)ṛī* > *entrails* (*antra*); *বহড়ী* < *bā(h)uṛī* > (*vadhūṭī, vadhūṭī, vadhūṭikā*); *ঝিউড়ী* < **ঝিউড়ী* < *jhiuṛī* < **jhiṣṛī* > (< *dubhiṛ*); *মোহড়া* < *mōhṣṛā* < *muhṣṛā* > *vanguard* (*mukha*); *কেওড়া* < *kēōṛā* > (*kētaka*); *চিড়া*, *চিড়া* < *cīṛā, cīṛā* > *flattened rice* (*cipiṭa*); *চুমকুড়ী* < *cumkuṛī* > *making the sound of kissing > assuring* (as a horse) (*cumba*-); *ফুসকুড়ি* < *phuskuṛī* > *a small boil beside* *ফোসকা* < *phōṣkā* > *a large boil or sore*; *মামড়া* < *māmṣṛī* > *crust on the surface, as on a healing sore* (*marman sensilive or exposed part*); *চুপড়ী*, *চুবড়ী* < *cupṣṛī, cubṣṛī* > *basket* (from a *dēṣī* root meaning *to cover*? cf. *চুপ* < *cupṣ* > *quiet, hidden*; *চাপ* < *√cāp* > *press*); *চাঙ্গড়া* < *cāṅ(ḡ)ṣṛā* > *large basket*; *হিজড়া* < *hijṣṛā* > *hermaphrodite* (< Pers. < *hīz* >); etc.

The < -r > affix also figures in verb-roots: *দৌড়* < *√dāu-r-* > *run* (*davaḍa, drava-* < *dru*); see *infra*, under ‘Verb: Roots.’

In some cases, < -r > figures as *র* < -r > apparently through originally dialectal pronunciation: e.g., *কাঠরা* < *kāṭṭṣṛā* >, see *supra*; *গাঁঠরী* beside *গাঁঠড়ী* < *gāṭṭṣṛī, -rī* > *baggage* (*granthi*); *টুকরা* < *ṭukṣṛā* > *a piece*, beside *Hindōstānī* < *ṭukṛā* > (see p. 489); *ছোকরা* < *chōkṣṛā* > *a boy* (conn. with < *śāba* > < *chā* > ?); *চাঙ্গারী* < *cāṅ(ḡ)ārī* > *little basket*, beside *চাঙ্গড়া* < *cāṅ(ḡ)ṣṛā* > *above*; *পেটরা* < *pēṭṣṛā* > *box* (**pēṭṭa* = *pēṭṭa* = *pēṭa*-); *বাঁশরা* < *bāṣṣārī* > *bamboo flute* (*vaṇśa*); *ছায়রা* < *chāyṛā* > *shade* (see p. 342); *ভায়রা* < *bhāyṛā* < *bhāī* > *wife's sister's husband*; etc.

(47) ত < -tṣ >, তী < -tī > (i).

442. Found in a few words, in the abstract sense. From MIA.

« -tta » < OIA. « -tva » : *e.g.*, MB. আইহত > আয়ত > NB. ঐহত « āihātā » > ঐয়ত > ঐত (avidhavatva), also with তী « -tī » with « -I < -ikā » ; *sls.* † « raizot » (= rājya + tva) in the 'Crepas Xaxtrer Orthbbhed.' This affix was later reinforced by the Perso-Arabie affix noted at p. 656.

(48) ত « -tā », তা « -tā », তী « -tī » (ii).

443. From « patra- » as well as « pātra- », a decayed word figuring in some disguised compounds in which it has acquired the force of an affix : *e.g.*, নামতা « nāmātā » *multiplication table* (nāma-patra-); রঞ্জতা « rāṅ(g)ātā » *tinsel, copper-foil* (raṅga-patra-); চাকতি « cākṭi » *some flat or mashed object cut into a ring* (cakra-patra + -ikā); চূনতি « cūnāti » *lime-box (for betel)* (cūrṇa-pātra + -ikā); MB. চামতি « cāmāti » *thong* (carma-patra + -ikā) : cf. also করাত « kārāt » *saw* (kara-patra).

(49) ত « -tā », ত « -tā », তী « -tī », উতি « -uti » (iii).

444. From « -putra, -putrika, -putrikā » : a decayed word in disguised compounds : *e.g.*, জেত, খুত, মাস্ত, পিস্ত « jēṭhut(ā), kḥurūt(ā), māsut(ā), pisut(ā) » respectively, = *son of father's elder brother, father's younger brother, mother's sister, father's sister*, also with তা « -tā » (see p. 503); MB. (SKK) একুইতি « ēkūiti » (ēka-putrikā); বালতি « bālṭi » as in « rārī bālṭi » *widow, and having small children only* (bāla-putrikā); চাটুতি « cāṭuti » *a surname = Chatterji* (« caṭṭa-putra- » : see p. 409).

(50) নী, নি « -nī, -ni », ন « -nā » ; ইনি « -i-ni » ; অনী, অনি, উনি « -ānī, -āni, -uni ».

445. In OIA. « -nī » and « -ānī » are two feminine suffixes which occur with a number of forms, *e.g.*, « pat-nī » (< pat-i); « parūṣ-ṇī » (parūṣa); « rōhi-ṇī (fem. of « rōhi-ta » : may be from « *rōh-in »); « asi-k-nī, har-i-k-nī » ; and « indr-ānī, varuṇ-ānī, rudr-ānī, bhav-ānī, upādhyāy-ānī, mātul-ānī », etc. (Cf. Whitney, § 1176 d, § 1223 b, c.) Here « -ī » is the proper feminine-indicating affix, and the « -n-, -ān- » apparently belonged to the base of the noun. Practically no form in NIA. has come down with

this « -nĪ, -ānĪ » of OIA. (cf. the word सत्, सती « sātā, sātā », Hind. « saut » < MIA. « savattī » < OIA. « sa-patnī »).

The OIA. feminine affix « -ā » was lost (see *supra*, pp. 305 ff.), and « -ī » also has generally not come down to NIA.,—it was weakened to « -i » in Late MIA., and when not after a vowel, it has dropped off in Bengali (see *supra*, pp. 307 ff.). OIA. « -ikā » gave, through Late MIA. « -iā », the most common, it may be said the most characteristic feminine affix of NIA., namely « -ī, -i » (cf. pp. 307, 672).

But there was the large class of nouns in OIA. with the attributive suffix « -in », giving in the masculine nominative singular « -ī » (« māli, yōgi » etc.), and feminine nominative singular « -in-ī » (mālinī, yoginī). This supplied to MIA. numerous feminine forms differentiated from the masculine only by « -inī, -inī », especially when the nominative came to be used for all the cases in the masculine, the « -in- » of the base being totally lost. Some common isolated words like « raṇṇī », NIA. « rānī » (rājñī-), fem. of « rāa, rāja » (rājan, rājā) also helped to establish this « -nī » as a feminine affix. So that in Late MIA., « -inī (-nī, -ānī, -nī) » also was a well-marked feminine affix, side by side with « -ia < -ikā ». Moreover, « -inī (inī) » was partly generalised, and came to be attached to nouns to which it did not properly belong; and when added to masculine nouns in « -ā », the « -i- » was dropped, making it « -ā-nī ». NIA. thus inherited this « -inī, -a-nī (-inī, -a-nī) », although more restricted than « -ī », from Late MIA. In most NIA. of the recent period ('New' NIA.), the final vowel « -ī, -i » has dropped, leaving the affix at « -n (-ṇ) »; and when in a language like Bengali, we have the full form in « -nī, -nī », it is due only to the influence of *ts.* feminine words in « -in-ī, -ānī ».

The « -i-nī, -a-nī » affix in the older periods of NIA. was not so common, and its improper use (that is, in the « -a-nī » form with original OIA. vowel bases) was less frequent; in the older periods we have commonly « -ī ». Gradually the « -n- » form, as more distinctive, came to dispute the field with « -ī », and to oust it from many words, and now it may be said to be equally important with « -ī » in most NIA. speeches; and in some, it is even more important. The loss of the gender sense

in the *adjective* in Bengali is also partly responsible for the curtailment of «-I», and «-nī» is becoming more prominent in distinctive feminine *nouns*.

Examples : cases of «-nī» < -in-I » in OB. : « jōinī » (yōginī); « kariṇī », masc. « kariṇā » (kariṇī), cf. « hariṇī », masc. « hariṇā » (hariṇa); « gharīṇī, MB., NB. ঘরনী gharānī » (ghriṇī); « suṇḍini » (« suṇḍin-I »; also « sāṇḍika » > *śoṇḍia, *śuṇḍī », fem « suṇḍi-nī »); MB. and NB. examples : NB. গোয়ালিনী, গয়ালিনী « gōālīnī, gāylānī », fem. of গোয়াল, গয়াল « gōālā, gāylā » *milk-man* (the old feminine form is গোআলী « gōāl-I », which occurs 15 times in ŚKK., whereas the new form গোআলিনী « gōālīnī » is found in the same work 12 times); MB. (ŚKK.) কালিনী রাতি « kālīnī rāti » *black night*; চোরনী, চুরনী « cōranī » > curānī », ŚKK. চুরণী, চুরিণী « curāṇī, curiṇī » *woman thief*; NB. চাঁড়ালনী « cāṇḍālānī » *Caṇḍāla woman* (OB. = চণ্ডালী caṇḍālī); NB. স্ত্রী. অভাগিনী « abhāginī », besides the older আভাগী, আবাগী « āb(h)āgī » (< abhāgya); MB. টেটনী « tēṭānī », *bad woman* beside older টাঁজী « ṭhāṭī-I » (< dhr̥ṣṭa ?); NB. ডোমনী, ডুম্নী « ḍōmānī, ḍum-nī » *Ḍōm woman* (= OB. ডোম্বী ḍōmbī); NB. পাগলিনী « pāgālīnī » beside older পাগলী « pāgālī » *mad woman* (the first is a literary word, the second commoner, and is used also affectionately—পাগলিনী would be regarded as being from পাগল *mad*, *mad one*, and পাগলী from পাগল *the mad one*, *madcap*); NB. মেছুনী « mēchunī » < *māchuā-nī » *fish-wife*; NB. বেহাইন, বেহান, বেহান্ « bēhāin, bē(h)ān » (vāivāhika > বেহাই bēhāi + -nī); NB. বাঙ্গালিনী « bāṅgālīnī » *Bengali woman*, a new, literary form, beside বাঙ্গালনী « bāṅ(ḡ)ālānī » *woman from East Bengal* (but OB. বঙ্গালী « baṅgālī » *woman from East Bengal*, as in the Caryās, < বঙ্গাল « baṅgāla » *East Bengal people*, or *land*); সোহাগিনী « sōhāginī » *woman beloved by her husband*, beside older সোহাগী « sōhāgī » (< sāubhāgya-); ননদিনী « nānādinī », a new formation, literary, beside the proper word ননদ « nānādī » (nanandr); সতিন « sātīn » *co-wife* (sapatnī + -nī), also সতিনী « sātīnī » : cf. Bihārī « sawatīnīyā », Hind. « santin » beside Bengali সং, সত্য « sātī, sātā » and Hind. « saut »; নাতিন « nātin », MB. (ŚKK.) নাতিনী « nātinī », also নাত্নী « nātnī », *grand-daughter* feminine of নাতী « nāti » (naptī-): here we have NB. loss of final «-I» of MIA.; so মিতিন্ « mitin » *girl friend* (< mitra), ঠাকুর(ত)ন, ঠাকরন, ঠান্ < ঠাকুরাণী « ṭhākran, ṭhākran, ṭhān < ṭhākura-ānī » *Madam, Lady* (< « ṭhākura +

-āni > the wife of a < ṭhākuraṣ > a cook, or a Rajput would be ṭhākuraṣ < ṭhākuraṣ-nī >, a modern formation); গুড়ুনী > গুন্নি (Chittagong) < ghur-nī > gunni > = < *ghōḍa-nī > mare, beside older গুড়ী < *ghōḍī < ghurī < *ghōḍī > (= *ghōṭīkā); বাঘিনী < bāghinī > tigress (< vyāghra); সাগিনী < sāpini > female snake (< sarpa); সিংহিনী < siṅhini > (< siṅha); etc.

(আ)নৌ < -āni > has become the common affix to denote a woman of a particular caste or profession: সেকরানী < sēkaraṇī > woman of the goldsmith caste (< sēkyakāra >, see pp. 194-195); ধোবানী < dhōbāni >, woman of the washerman caste; কায়েতনী < kāyetaṇī > a Kāyastha woman; বড়িনী < bādyi-nī > woman of the Baidya caste; কুমোরনী < kumōraṇī < kum(h)ārā-nī > woman of the potter caste (< kumbha-kāra); চামারনী < cāmāraṇī > woman of the leather-worker caste (< carmakāra); মেথরনী < mēthār-nī > sweeper-woman, beside মেথরাণী < methāraṇī > (< Persian < mihtar > prince, by euphemism, commonly spelt like রাণী < rāṇī > with the cerebral < ṇ >); চৌধুরাণী < caudhuraṇī > lady of the Chaudhuri family; ডাক্তারনী < dāktār-nī > Lady Doctor; মাস্টারনী < māstār-nī > school-mistress.

A great many common forms, however, have retained the old < -ī > and have not taken up the < -nī >: e.g., মামী < māmi > mother's brother's wife has not been ousted by MB. (ŠKK.) মামলানী < māulāni > (mātulāni); কাকী < kākī >, খুড়ী < khurī > father's younger brother's wife; জেঠী < jēṭhī > (= jyēṣṭhikā), জেঠাই < jēṭhāi > (= jyēṣṭhāyikā) father's elder brother's wife; শালী < śālī > wife's sister; খুকী < khukī > girl baby (< khōkā); রামী < Rāmi > (< Rāma), শামী < Ś(y)āmi > (< Śyāma), বামী < Bāmi > (Vāmā + -ī), forms of women's names among the lower classes; দুলালী < dulālī > darling, etc. In many feminine adjectives, the MB. < -ī > has now been dropped with the weakening of the gender-sense, as in MB. (ŠKK.) বিতপনী < bitāpāni > (= vitapanā), পাতলী < pātālī > slim (< patra-la-), বিকলী < bikālī > (= vikalā), দারুণী < dāruṇī > (= dāruṇā), কোঁঅলী < kōāli = kōāli > (= kōmalā), আনাথী < ānāthī > (= anāthā), etc. In Late MB. and in NB., when through the influence of Sanskrit, the < -āni, -inī > affix was regarded as an elegant form, *bbh.* formations like ননদিনী, পাগলিনী, etc., etc., were evolved by the dozen in the literary language, as well as *sts.* ones like নাগিনী, চণালিনী and চণালনী, বিহঙ্গিনী, চাতকিনী, কায়াহিনী, প্রেতিনী (> colloquial

(পত্নী), পণ্ডিতানী, অনাথিনী, হতভাগিনী, রজকিনী, নাপিতানী (colloquial নাপিত্তী, নাপ্তিনী), ভিক্ষুণী (< MIA. Pali « bhikkhunī »), ঋষ্যানী (Sūnya-Purāṇa), etc., and quite a host of others, some of which are not Sanskrit at all (e.g., বন্দিনী « bāndinī » *woman prisoner* from Persian « bandī »); but they are very freely used. (See Lalit-Mōhan Banerji, 'Vyākaraṇ-Vibhīṣikā,' Calcutta, San 1320, pp. 40 ff.)

The « -nī » affix is not to be confused with « -ānī » (13a, 14) discussed before, and also with the « -nī » in some isolated words, like রানী « rānī » (see p. 674), কাহিনী « kāhinī » *tale* (< * kathinikā = kathānikā), etc.

(51) পনা « pānā ».

446. This well-known NIA. affix, indicating state or function, is from OIA. « -tvana- ». From the change of « tv- » to « -pp- », it would seem to have originated in the South-western IA. region during the First MIA. stage, whence it spread elsewhere (see p. 508, *supra*). Examples ; চটপনা « ḍhṛṣṭa-pānā » (dhṛṣṭa + -tvana-); গিন্নীপনা < গৃহিণীপনা « ginnī-pānā < gṛhīṇī-pānā »; etc.

There is an affix পান, পনা « -pānā, -pānā » meaning 'like,' 'resembling,' 'similar to,' which seems to be a blend of পনা « -pānā » (in an extended, adjectival use) and the *sts.* word পারা « pāra » *like* < « *parāa < prāya- »: e.g., চাঁদপানা « cāḍḍa-pānā » beside চাঁদ-পারা « cāḍḍa-pāra » *moon-like*; কুলাপানা, কুলাপনা, কুলোপনা « kulā-pānā, kulā-pānā, kulō-pānā » (*flat and broad*) *like a winnowing fan*; লালপানা « lālā-pānā » *reddish*; etc.

(52) যত « -mātā, -mātā », যন « -mānā » < যন্ত « -māntā ».

447. Occurring in some pronominal adjectives and adverbs, like এযত « ē-mātā » *like this* যেযত « jē-mātā » *like that*, etc. The form in « -nā » is due to influence of MB. « kēhānā, jēhānā » etc. See *infra*, under the 'Pronoun.' It is used as an independent word as well, e.g., আমার যত « āmarā mātā » *like me, of my sort*. A blend যতন « mātānā » = « mātā + mānā » is also found. It is from MIA. « -manta » (< OIA. « -mant- »), which figures also as a stereotyped form in some adjectives and some names, e.g., শ্রীযন্ত « śrī-māntā » *prosperous*, পয়যন্ত « payā-māntā » *lucky*,

luck-bringing (pada status, position), হানুমন্ত(১) « Hānumānt(ā) » *Hanuman* ; etc.

The MIA. affix « -vanta », influenced by the Skt. form of it, also gave the Bengali বন্ত « -bāntā » in words like গুণ্যবন্ত « guṇā-bāntā », ভাগ্যবন্ত « bhāgyā-bāntā », etc.

Persian « -mand », cognate with the Indo-Aryan « -mant- », reinforced these affixes in Late MB., e.g., « ʾaql-mand, dāniš-mand », etc.

(53) রূ > রু > উর « *-rū > -ru, -urḍ ».

448. Originally implying ‘similarity, intensity,’ from OIA. « rūpa » *form, shape* > MIA. « -rūva », this affix is generally used pleonastically in NIA. in which it occurs in only a few words: e.g., *গোরু > গোর, « *gō-rū > gō-ru » *ox, cow, cattle*, wrongly spelt গরু in Bengali: cf. Hindī गोरु « gō-rū » (< « gō-rūpa », originally meaning *buffalo*); সাঁজারু « sājā-ru » *porcupine*, beside the simple form †সঁজা, হেঁজা « sējā, hējā » (śalyaka- + rūpa: p. 476); বাছুর < *বাছুরু « bāch-urḍ < *bācha-rū » (cf. Hindōstānī « bach-rū », Marāṭhī « vās-rū »), beside MB. বাছা « bāchā » *calf* (vatsa-rūpa); MB. শশারু « śaśā-ru » *hare* (śaśa- + rūpa); MB. ঘোড়ারু « ghōṛā-ru » *a kind of deer* (ghōṭaka- + rūpa); also MB. তুলারু « tulā-ru » *a kind of deer* (< ?); †গাবুর, গাভুর, MB. গাভরু « gāb(h)-urḍ < gābhā-ru » (cf. Hindōstānī « gabh-rū ») *young person* (« garbha-rūpa » *children, young persons* as in the ‘Divyāvadāna’); MB. (ŠKK.) জিঙ্গালরু « jingālā-ru » *the ‘Jingini’ or ‘Jiger’ tree*; MB. কাঁউর, কাঁড়রু « Kā-urḍ, Kāṛ-urḍ < OB. কামরু « Kāmaru = *Kāwa-rū » (as in Caryā 2: « Kāma-rūpa » i.e. West Assam: see *supra*, p. 299). Cf. also Marāṭhī « pākḥ-rū » *bird* (pakṣa-rūpa), Bhōjpuriyā « meherā-rū » *wife*, beside « meher » (mahilā-rūpa, mahilā), Skt. « hr̥ṣṭa-rūpa » *exceedingly glad*.

(54) ল « -lḍ », লা « -lā », লী « -lī ».

449. A common OIA. affix (with a variant « -ra »), « la » is found in the adjectival sense, meaning also ‘possessing.’ The pleonastic (svārthē) value also is very common; as well as a slightly modifying sense. The affixes « -ila » (see pp. 676-71) and « -ula » (< MIA. « -ulla », Bengali

«-ulṣ», as in MB. লাজুলী «lājūli» = «lajjā-śīlā», and রাতুল «rātulṣ» *red* < MIA. «*rattulla» = OIA. «rakta + -ula») are forms of this affix, with «-i-» and «-u-» themes. The affix is in some cases found in the form of «-r-», due probably to Bihārī influence, original Māgadhī «-l-» becoming «-r-» in Bihārī (see *supra*, pp. 536-538). Examples: আদল «ādālṣ» *resemblance (as of one face to another)* (OB. ādaa < advaya + -la), beside আদরা «adārā»; আধলা «ādhālā» *half, half-piece*, beside আধেলা «ādhelā» (*ardha*); MB. উতরলী «utārāli» (fem. in «-ī < -ikā»), NB. উতরোল, উতরল «utārōlṣ < utārālṣ» *anxious* (uttvara-la); ছাওয়াল «chāwālṣ» *child*, ছাওয়ালিয়া > ছালিয়া, ছেলে «chāwāliyā > chāliyā, chēlē» *boy* (śāba- + -la + -iyā); পোলা «pōlā» beside পো(রা) «pō(ā)» *son, child* (pōta-la-); MB. ছেলি «chēli» Bhōjpurīyā «chēri» *she-goat* (chagalikā < chaga); গাড়ল, গাড়র «gārālṣ, gārārṣ» *sheep* (cf. Late Skt. «gaḍḍalikā < gaḍḍala» *rolling animal, as in the entire flock*); দীঘল «dīghālṣ» *long* (dīgha-la); OB. fem. আগলি «āgali» *advanced* (Caryā 32: < agra-la-); পাকল «pākālṣ» *ripe, well-ripened* (pakva-la); হাঁড়ল «hārālṣ» *big, open-mouthed pot* (cf. হাঁড়ী, হাঁড়া «hārī, hārā» *large pot*); পাতলা «pātālā» *lean and thin < like a leaf* (patra-la-), MB. fem. পাতলী «pātāli»; MB. নহলী = নখলী «nā(h)āli», fem. *fresh, new* (*navali-kā); MB. (KKC.) সোহাগলী «sōhāgālī» *wife beloved by her husband* (sāubhāgya + -li); MB. বিজুলী, NB. বিজলী «bijulī > bij(ā)li», also বিজুরী «bijurī», beside Hindōstānī «bij, bijli» (MIA. vijjulia, OIA. vidyut + -la + -ikā); ফাটল «phātālṣ» *crack (on a wall, on the roof)* (ফাট √phāt *split*); *সহিলা > সহেলা > সয়লা, সহিলী > সহিলি, সহিলি «*śāhilā > śāhēlā > śāylā, śāhili > śāhili, śāli» *friend (among women)* (sakhī + -lā, -likā); MB. মাতল «mātālṣ» (*matta-la*); ধকল «dhākālṣ» *strain* (cf. ধাকা «dhākā» *push*); বাঁধুলী «bādhulī» *a flower* (bandhuka + -likā); দাঁদলান «dāddālānā» *to be on the aggressive, to be fighting and quarrelling, to oppress* (dvandva-la-); ফাঁদল «phāddālṣ» *circumference* (< ফাঁদ «phāddṣ», cf. Late Skt. «phanḍa < *phandra» *belly*); হাতল «hātālṣ» *handle* (hasta-); পয়রা «pāyṛā» *liquid (as of treacle)* (< payas); etc., etc. We have this affix apparently in বাদল, বাদলা «bādālṣ, bādālā» *cloud, rainy weather* (Late Skt. vardala-), মাদল «mādālṣ» *a deep-toned drum* (mardala), কাতল, কাতলা «kātalṣ, kātālā» *carp fish*; etc.

(55) স < -sṣ >, সা < -sā >, ছা, চা < -chā, -cā >.

450. This affix, meaning ‘likeness, similarity, resemblance,’ is derived by Hoernle from OIA. < sadṛśa > (Gaudian Grammar, § 292); but this derivation is not tenable phonologically. As a source of this NIA. affix, I suggest the OIA. affix < -śa >, as in a limited number of words in Skt., e.g., < lōma-śa, kapi-śa, karka-śa, yuva-śa, arva-śa, ēta-śa, lōpa-śa, ? giri-śa, ? kala-śa >. This < -śa > affix was both pleonastic and adjectival, with an implication of similarity: e.g., < kapi-śa > *tawny*, ‘*monkey-like*,’ < karka-śa > *harsh, grating*, ‘*gravel-like*.’ (This < -śa > is derived from an Indo-European < -ko [-kō] >: cf. Brugmann, ‘Vergleichende Grammatik der idg. Sprachen’, II, Strassburg, 1889, § 83.)

Examples: < -a + -śa > -śaṣ >, feminine < -ās-i >: খোলস < khōl-āsṣ > *covering, slough of snake* (< khōlṣ cover); মুখস ts. < mukha > + < -sṣ > *mask*; তাড়স < tāṛā-sṣ > *force, influence, sympathy, as in fever due to a pain or wound* (< তাড় √ tāḍ drive, beat); ঘেঁড়স < dhēṛā-sṣ > *a vegetable, ‘lady’s fingers,’* beside ঢেঁড়ি, ঘেঁড়ি < dhēṛi, dhēṛi > *a kind of ear-ornament*; আপস < āpā-sṣ > *friends, people of the same group or family* (appā < ātman, *ātma-śa); sts. রূপসী < rūpāsi > *a beautiful woman* (*rūpa-śa- + -ikā).

< -ā-śa + -āka > -ās-ā > -ṣā >: also altered to the affricates ছা < -chā >, চা < -cā >, in the feminine, সী, চী < -si, -ci >: e.g., পয়সা < pāysā > *pice* (< pāi-sā, Hind. paisā); আলিসা > আলসা, আলসে < āli-sā > ālīsā, ālsē > *parapet on a terrace* (< āli, ālī embankment); চিপসা, চূপসা < cipṣā, cupṣā > *lean, pressed* (√ cip press); ভাপসা < bhāpṣā > *foetid, rank, dank (like vapour) with a bad odour* (*bāspa-śa-); পানিসা > পান্সে < pāni-sā > pānsē > (by Vowel Harmony) *watery* (pāniya + -śa-); চামসা < cāmṣā > *like untanned hide in smell* (*carma-śa); চকসা < cākṣā > *clearing of the sky* (cf. চকচক < cāk-cāk > reduplicated form = *to be bright*); ফরসা < phārṣā > *light, dawning*, beside Chakma dialect < pār = phār > *light* (see p. 512); ঝাপসা, ঝাপসা < jhāpṣā, jhupṣā > *hazy* (cf. ঝোপ < jhōpṣ > *wool, grove*); আবছা < ābṣchā > *hazy, < cloudy* (cf. ঝাভ < ābhṣ > = < abbha > *thin cloud*); লেঙচা < lēṅṣ-cā > *to limp, to be like a lame man* (cf. লেঙড়া < lēṅṣṣā > *lame man*, লেঙ < lēṅ > *kick, foot, shin*); তেংচা, ভাংচা < bhēṅ-cā, bhāṅ(g)ṣ-cā > *make faces or wry-*

mouth (cf. *bhangī*); कपटा « kâṭṭcā » *to chatter* (√k|p, kalp); घुमसी, घुंसी « ghumṣī, ghunṣī » *waist-string, 'winding thread'* (< √ghum *to wander about*); आलंगोहा « ālāṅgōchā » *without touching, from a distance might be from* « *ālāṅgā-śā » *distinct-like* (alagna + -śa): cf. however आलंगोहे at p. 551; एकसा « ēkṣā-sā » *rolled or united into one* seems to have been influenced by, if not actually derived from, the Persian « yak-sān ».

There are extensions of this affix: असिरा > চে « -ā-s-iyā » > -cē », and आसिरा > आसे « -ā-s-iyā » > -āsē »: लाल्चे « lālṭcē » = *lālā-siyā » *reddish*; so काल्चे « kālṭcē » *blackish*; फाँकसिरा > फेँकासे « phāṅkāsiyā » > phēṅkāse » (also without nasalisation) *pale, colourless*, cf. Hindōstānī « phakk » *colourless*.

In the words सातासे, आटासे « sātāsē, āṭāsē » *a child prematurely born after seven months or after eight months*, the « -āsē » represents मासिरा « mā-s-iyā » < « māsa » *month*. In a few onomatopoeics, however, we have an आस « -āsṣ » and उस « -usṣ » which seem to be connected with this « -sṣ » affix: e.g., धपास « dhāpāsṣ », धड़ास « dhārāsṣ » *with a loud thud*, पटास « pātāsṣ, kātāsṣ » *with a crack*, धुप्स « dhupus » *with a gentle thud* etc. Cf. « -āṭṣ » (p. 655) and « -ākṣ » (pp. 681-682).

(56) सहे, सहि « sāi, sāhi ».

451. OB. « *sahI », from OIA. « sahita », as in जलसहे « jāḷṣ-sāi » *immersed in water*, बुक्सहे « bukṣ-sāi » *reaching up to the breast*, रुल्सहे « rūḷṣ-sāi » ('Hutōm-Pēcār Naksā,' 1862, p. 74) *belabouring with a cudgel* (« rūḷṣ < English ruler »): etc. This is confused with another सहे « -sāi » from the Perso-Arabic, for which see below.

(57) सर, सरा « -sārṣ, -sarā ».

452. From OIA. « sara < √sr » *moving*. This affix forms ordinals, and a few other adjectives and nouns: e.g., MB. एकसर « ēkāsārā » *alone, by one self* (wrongly Sanskritised in MB. to একেখর, also একখর « ēkēśwārā, ēkāsāwārā »); दोसर « dōsārṣ » *a second, a supporter, a double, second*, दोसरल « dōsārṣrā » *second, second day of the month*; त्रेसर, त्रेसरल « tēsārṣ, tēsārṣrā » *third (day of the month)*; चोसर « cāusārṣ » *fourth, square*; MB. सोसर « sōsārā » *equal*, lit. *moving along with* (= sama-sara); etc. Hoernle

derives this from « sṛta » (Gaudian Grammar, §271), but in MIA. this would give either « saṭa > saṭa », or « sata, sita > sa(d)a, si(d)a ».

(58) সোঁআ « -sŏā ».

453. Found in MB., as in (ŠKK.) কানাসোঁআ « kânā-sŏā » *reaching the brink* (=kaṇa- + -sama-).

(59) হার, হারা « -hārṣ, hārā ».

454. It occurs in a few words like একহারা, দোহারা, তেহারা, চৌহারা « ēkṣhārā, dōhārā, tēhārā, cāuhārā », to mean ‘fold.’ (দোহারা « dōhārā » also means *stout, robust, ‘double-sized’*). The source seems to be the Skt. « hāra » *division, portion* (Yōgesh Chandra Vidyānidhi, Bengali Grammar, VSPd., p. 178). Cf. MB. ষাঠিহার « ṣāṭhi-hāra », *ষাঠিহার « ṣāṭhihārā » > NB. ষেটের « ṣeṭērā » *sixth-day ceremony and worship after child-birth*. The affix occurs in Hindōstānī also, where it is agentive: e.g., « sirjan-hār » *Creator*, « dēnē-hārā » *giver*, « pālan-hār » *one who maintains*, etc. The Hind. « hār(ā) » is commonly derived from « kāra- » *doer*: but the aspiration in this case would be difficult to explain. There seems to have been a confusion between « kāra > -ārā » and « hāra » in Early NIA.: cf. Bengali জোকার, জাঁকার « jōkārṣ, jāṅkārṣ » *shout or song of triumph*, beside জোহার « jōhārṣ » *salutation*, Hind. « juhār », found also in Kōl as « juhar » *salutation*; দোহার « dōhārṣ » < « *dhuārā » *singer in a chorus* (< dhruva-kāra).

In দেহার « dēhārā » < দেহরা « dēhārā » *temple*, we have « ghara, gr̥ha »; and দোঁহার « dōhārṣ » *of two* is from « dōṇha, dōṇṇa + (k)ara ». Hoernle derives « hārṣ » from Skt. « vidha + ra » (Gaudian Grammar, §412), but this derivation offers phonological difficulties.

455. There are in addition a number of affixes which are in most cases mutilated forms of words forming parts of compounds, and these are found mainly in place names (e.g., আস, সা, সৌ « -āsṣ, -sā, -sai » < « -āvāsa, -vāsa- », as in ইন্দাস, « Indāsṣ » = « Indrāvāsa », পাকড়াশী « Pākṣṛāśī » a surname = « Parkatāvāsa + -ika »; -দৌ, দৌরা > দে « -di, -diyā < -dē » as in ন’দে < নদৌ « Nōdē < Nādiyā », from « dvipa- »; etc.);

but as these are not found in derived verbal or nominal forms of the language, and have long lost all force of affixes, they are not considered here. (See Y. C. Vidyānidhi, *Bengali Grammar*, VSPd, pp. 188-199). Affixes like ভর, ভরা < -bhārṣ, -bhārā > (e.g., পেট-ভরা < pēṭṭa-bhārā *belly-full*, দিন-ভর < din-bhārṣ > *all day long*), করা < -kārā > (as in শত-করা < śatṭa-kārā > *by the hundred, per cent*, where < kārā = Bengali passive participle of কর < √kār >, corresponding to < kṛta > : Hindōstānī has < kaḍa- > as in < sai-kaṛā, sai-kaṛṭ >, where < kaḍa > curiously enough preserves the old Māgadhī equivalent of < kṛta > which is lost to Bengali) are but compounded words, and are self-explaining; and they need no further discussion.

[II] TATSAMA SUFFIXES.

456. From the large and ever-increasing *tatsama* element in Late MIA. and in NIA., a number of common Sanskrit affixes were familiarised, and gradually these have been adopted into the language, their naturalisation being indicated by the formation of hybrids with *bbh.* or foreign roots or words. There seems, moreover, always to have been present in the minds of speakers of Late MIA. and Early NIA. a sense of some vague connexion between the < -ā, -ā > of nouns and adjectives and Skt. < -ākā, -ākā >, and between the < -a-, -ia- > of the passive participle with < -ta, -ita > : a connexion which the scholars have always noted and indicated.

In Second and Late MIA., as a single unvoiced stop would not be allowed intervocally (at least in orthography), the < -k- > or < -t- > of the *ts.* affixes would be written < -kk-, -tt- >, and free use of this device would be made for purposes of metre or rime. This practice was continued to the Early NIA. stage: the 'Prākṛta-Paṅgala' has spellings like < rūakka (rūpaka), Mēnakka (Mēnakā), Sārāggikka (Sārāggikā), ghitta (ghṛta), āatti (āyati) >, and in Old Hindī, Old Rājasthānī, etc. we find instances where this tradition is carried on, like < matti (matī), Sarasatti (Sarasvatī), Manmaththa (Manmatha), sukkha (sukha), hayaggaya (haya-gaja), jagga (jagat), uṛaggana (uḍa-gaṇa), saddāi (sadā) > etc., and even in foreign borrowings like < surattāna (sultān),

Arabbi (Perso-Arabic « ‘arabī »), Turakki (Turkī) », etc. There are, however, also cases of doubling of other consonants than stops and aspirates in Late MIA. and Early NIA. In OB. of the Caryās we find also a few cases (see below, under « -ta, -ita »).

(1) ইমা « -imā ».

457. From OIA. « -iman », with the force of the English *-ness*: found also in MIA., e.g. « munisima (= manuṣyatva), gahirima (gabhīratva), vaḍḍhimā (vaḍḍhi-bhāva) », etc. OB. (Caryā 34) « pārima » (= pāra); MB., NB. বন্ধিমা « baṅkimā » (vakra-tva), লালিমা « lālimā » *redness*, রাক্তিমা « rātimā » *redness* (raktiman), beside কালিমা « kālimā » *blackness*, নীলিমা « nīlimā » *bluish tinge*, চাঁদিমা « cādimā » *moon-light, moon-sheen*. This affix is found in other NIA. languages, but it is literary rather than popular. In Bengali, « -imā » has also a slightly diminutive force.

(2) ইয় « -Iyā » [io, io].

458. This is affixed to foreign and other names, forming adjectives: রুশীয় « Ruṣīyā » *Russian*, আরবীয় « Ārābīyā » *Arabian*, মিসরীয় « Miṣārīyā » *Egyptian*, খ্রিস্টীয় « Khrīṣṭīyā » *belonging to Christ, Christian*, ইটালীয় Itāliyā » *Italian*, ডেনীয় « Dēnīyā » *Danish*, হেগেলীয় « Hēgēliyā » *Hegelian*, etc.

(3) ক « -ka ».

459. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether the pleonastic « -ka » of Bengali comes from MIA. « -kka » (see p. 683), or is an OB. or MB. employ of the *ts.* affix. The Skt. « -ka » undoubtedly sustained in Bengali this MIA. borrowing from it, and helped to extend its use. When it is in connexion with *ts.* words, the « -ka » might be regarded as the *ts.* affix: e.g., রাজনৈতিক « rājānaitikā » beside -নৈতিক « -naitikā » *political*; আদিক « -ādi-ka » > দিগ « -digā » in the oblique plural base of nouns; Skt. words with « -ka, -ika », like « bāla-ka, pañca-ka, saḥāya-ka, mās-ika, pākṣ-ika, dain-ika, dōla-ka, sthāpa-ka, māpa-ka, jñāpa-ka, pāitṛ-ka, vāisay-ika, lāuk-ika, sāgni-ka, tīrth-ika, māukh-ika », etc., etc. form a whole host in Bengali,

and since many of these words are freely used in the colloquial, «-ka, -ika (with modification of root vowel) » have become quite familiar as adjectival affixes.

In a few words like পেটুক «pēt-ukṣ» *glutton*, মিষ্টক «miś-ukṣ» *sociable*, লাজুক «lāj-ukṣ» *shy*, মিথ্যুক «mithy-ukṣ» *liar*, we have probably the Skt. affix «-uka» ; cf. also হিংসুক «hiṁs-ukṣ» *envious*.

See also below, under 'Verb: Pleonastic Affixes.'

(4) ত, ইত «-t(ā), -it(ā)».

460. The passive participle affix of OIA. (Skt.), it is in very common use. It was apparently re-introduced in the Late MIA. period, in which it was written «-tta, -itta». This affix is frequently used with *bbh.* and *sts.*, as well as foreign roots and words, showing its complete naturalisation. Examples: OB. (Caryā 8) ভরিত্তি «bharitṭi» *filled*, fem. in «-ita» + «-ī» ; (Caryā 9) নিবিত্তি «nibitṭi» (nirvṛta, MIA. *nivitta-); so (Caryā 12) পরিনিবিত্তি «parinibitṭi» ; (Caryā 30) উইত্তি «uitṭi» (MIA. «*uitta-» for «uia» = «udita»); MB., NB. থকিত «thakit(ā)» *astonished* (thakka < *stabh-kṛta + -ita), খলিত «khālitā» *slipped* (√skhal), লখিত «lakṣhitā» *seen, noticed* (√lakṣ), জানিত «jānitā» *known* (see p. 654), করিত «kār-it(ā)» as in করিত্ত-কর্ম্ম karitṭ-karmā «*experienced* (= kṛta-karmā), জন্মিত, জন্মিত «jānmit(ā), jāmmit(ā)» *begotten*, উজলিত «ujālitā» *brightened* (< ujjvala), অবিবৃত «ābiyātā» *unmarried* («ā- + biyā < vivāha + -tā»: cf. Hindi «byāh-it» *married*); এলায়িত «ēlāyitā» *dishevelled* (where «ēlā» < আলা, আউলা «ālā, āulā» = «ākula-», see p. 383, + «-itā»); etc. ; নিকাহিতা স্ত্রী «nikāh-itā strī» *woman or wife married in the nikāh form* (< Perso-Arabic «nikāh»); বাপ্তাইজিত «bāptāij-itā» *baptised*; and even আইনানুসারে রেজেষ্ট্রিত «āinānusāre rējēṣṭritā» *registered in accordance with law* (Perso-Arabic «'aīn»: রেজিষ্ট্রীকৃত «rējēṣṭrikṛtā» is more common, however). A number of wrong forms in «-i-tā», created by Bengali writers, have become well-established in the language, like খনিত «khanitā» (= khāta), ইচ্ছিত «icchitā» (= iṣṭa), দংশিত «daṁśitā» (daṣṭa), অনুবাদিত «ānubādītā» (anūdita), সিঞ্চিত «siñcitā» («sikta», causative «sēcīta»), নমিত «nāmitā» (nata), আহরিত «āhāritā» (āhṛta, āhārita), একত্রিত «ēkatritā» (= ēkatra), নিঃশেষিত «niḥśēṣita»

(<niḥśeṣa), etc., etc. The « sēt » and « an-iṭ » bases of the Sanskrit grammarians have been entirely ignored. (See *supra*, p. 201).

(5) তব্য « -tābyā » [-tobbo].

461. The Skt. « -tavya » is combined in the colloquial rather than in the literary speech with a few *tbh.* roots, through an extension of its employ in *ts.* forms : বলতব্য « bālā-tābyā », কহতব্য « kāhā-tābyā » (√bāl, kāh=brū, kathaya-), সহতব্য, সহিতব্য « sähā-tābyā, säh-i-tābyā » for « sōḍhavya »; rarely with other roots, as *e.g.*, like খাতব্য « khātābyā » (khāditavya), imitating « dātavya ».

(6) তা « -tā ».

462. The affix of abstraction, used mainly with *ts.* and *sts.* words, often wrongly : *e.g.*, সখ্যতা « sākhyā-tā » *friendship*, আধিক্যতা « ādhikyā-tā », colloquially among women আদিখ্যেতা « ādikhyētā » *excess, effusive or gushing affection*, জাতীয়তা « jātiyā-tā » *nationalism*, রোমান্টিকতা « rōmāntikā-tā » *Romanticism*, মানবিকতা « mānābikā-tā » *human character*, ভদ্রতা « bhādrā-tā », সৌজন্যতা « sāujānyā-tā » beside সৌজ্য « sāujānyā » *courtesy*, etc.

(7) ত্ব « -twā » [-tto].

463. Quite common in Bengali with *tbh.* and even foreign words : *e.g.*, নতুনত্ব, নোতুনত্ব « nātunā-twā, nōtunā-twā » *newness* (<nāutunā : p. 345); হিন্দুত্ব « hindu-twā » *Hinduism, Hindu ideas and practices* (Persian « hindū »); বামুনত্ব « bāmunā-twā » *Brahmanism, Brahmanishness*; মুসলমানত্ব « musālmānā-twā » *Mohammedan notions and ways*; ছোটত্ব « chōṭā-twā » *smallness*, বড়ত্ব « bārā-twā » *bigness*; একঘেষেত্ব « ēkṣṛhēyē-twā » *monotony* (<« ēkā-ghā-iyā » *with the same beat*); কর্তৃত্ব, কত্তাত্ব « kārtā-twā, kāttā-twā » *domineering manner* (« kārtā », *sts.* « kāttā » = ‘boss’ + « -twā »), which, through influence of words ending in consonant + « -yā » changing the final syllable into « -i » (like সত্যি « sātyi » [jōtti], পথি « pāthyi » [potthi], অবিজ্ঞি « ābiśyi » [obiḥḥi] = « satya, pathya, avāśya », see p. 406), is frequently found as কত্তাহি [kottatti] in the Standard Colloquial.

(8) পাৱা < -pārā >.

464. A *sts.* form, form Skt. < prāyah > > < *parāa >, meaning 'like,' 'almost as': see under পান < -pānā >, p. 696. In Oriyā, this appears as < pārā >. Example: পাগল-পাৱা < pāgālāṣ-pārā > *like a mad person*, also পাগলের পাৱা < pāgālērāṣ-pārā >; < pārā > is thus used as a separate word, as it is also in Oriyā.

(9) ময় < -māyā >.

465. In the sense of 'full of,' 'spread about in or with': জলময় < jālā-māyā > *covered with water*, পথময় < pāthā-māyā > *throughout the street*, কাদাময় < kādā-māyā > *all covered with mud*, দেশময় < dēśā-māyā > *all over the land*, ইউরোপময় < Iurōpā-māyā > *all over Europe*, etc.

(10) সহ < -sāhā >.

466. The Skt. particle is loosely compounded with nouns to indicate inclusion: কাপড়-সহ < kāpārāṣ-sāhā > *with the garments on*, বাছুর-সহ গোরু < bāchurāṣ-sāhā gōru > *a cow together with the calf*, ঢাকীসহ বিসর্জন < ḍhākī-sāhā bisārjanāṣ > *casting the image (of Durgā or other goddess or god, after the annual worship) into water, with the drummers and all* = *making a thorough end of an affair*; also ঢাকীসহ < ḍhākī-suddhā >, see below; etc.

(11) শুদ্ধ < -śuddhā >, শুদ্ধা < -śuddhā >.

467. Also used in the inclusive sense: আমি-শুদ্ধ < āmi-śuddhā > *including me*, সব-শুদ্ধ(ী) < sābāṣ-śuddhā, -ā > *including all*, সাজশুদ্ধ ঘোড়া < sājāṣ-śuddhā ghōrā > *horse with harness and all*, etc. This usage apparently originated from the sense of *entire, complete* which the Skt. word has. The word is also spelt with a dental স < s- >, and a *sts.* or *lth.* from শুধু or শুধু < sudhu, śudhu > also occurs, meaning 'only.' In Hindōstānī we have the same word in < suddhā >, also < sūdhī >; in Sindhī it occurs as < sūdhā > *along with*. Hoernle derives it from a MIA. < *saūddha, *saūwaddha >, from Skt. < sam-ā-dhā > (Gaudian Grammar, p. 226), but does this not look likely.

See also under 'Post-positions,' *infra*, under 'Noun.'

[III] FOREIGN SUFFIXES: PERSIAN.

468. Persian suffixes, and some words which have almost become like suffixes in Bengali, are given below.

(1) আন, ওয়ান < -ān, -wān > *possessing* (< -wān, -bān >): গাড়ীআন, গাড়ী-ওয়ান, গাড়ওয়ান, গাড়আন < gārīān, gārīwān, gārīwān, gārān > *cab-man*; বাগান < বাগোয়ান < bāgān < bāgwān > *garden* (= bāgwān); the word কোচুয়ান < kōcuān > beside কোচমান < kōc-mān > *coachman* seems to the English word, with influence of the Persian < -wān >, found in দরওয়ান < dārīwān > *gate-keeper* (darwān, darbān).

(2) আনা < -ānā > *pertaining to, having the nature of* (= -ānah): with an extension আনী, আনি < -ān-I, -ān-i > (= -ānah + -I), indicating abstraction: e.g., বড়-বয়ানা < bārā-ghār-ānā > *pertaining to rich or high families*; হিন্দুয়ানী < hindu-ān-I >, হিঁহুয়ানী < hīdu-ān-I > *Hindu ways*; বাবুয়ানা < bābu-ānā >, বাবুয়ানী < bābu-ān-I > *the ways of a gentleman, luxury and dressiness*; সাহেবয়ানা < sāhēbi-ānā > *Europeans ways, extravagance and haughty ways, etc., etc.* See p. 592 for the intrusive < -i >, giving rise to the form < -iānā >.

(3) খানা < khānā > *place, abode* (= xānah): শুঁড়ীখানা < šūrī-khānā > *vintner's shop*; মুদীখানা < mudī-khānā > *grocer's shop, oilman's store*; ডাক্তারখানা < dāktār-khānā > *dispensary*; ছাপাখানা < chāpā-khānā > *printing establishment*; বৈঠকখানা < bāiṭhāk-khānā > *drawing-room*; etc.

(4) খোর < khōr > *eater* (= xōr): গুলিখোর < guli-khōr > *opium-smoker*; আপিম-খোর < āpim-khōr > *opium-eater*; ঘুষ-খোর < ghuṣ-khōr > *bribe-taker*; etc.

(5) গর < gār > *maker* (= gar), frequently altered to an Indian কর < -kāra >: কারিগর < kārigār > *artisan, craftsman* (Skt. < kāru > *maker* + Pers. < gar >) beside কারিকর < kārikār >; বাজীগর, -কর < bājī-gār, -kāra > *magician, acrobat*.

(6) গিরি < giri > *business, craft, trade; manners, ways* (= Pers. < gar-I >; also < gir > *taking, holding, seizing > taker, holder* + nominal affix < -I >): মুটিয়া-গিরি < muṭiyā-giri > *the calling of a porter*; মুচিগিরি < mucī-giri > *a shoe-maker's calling*; বাবুগিরি < bābu-giri > *the ways of a gentleman = soft living*; কেরানীগিরি < kērānī-giri > *the profession of a clerk*; etc.

salted (as of curry) (a-lavaṇ-ika); আকাচা « ā-kācā » *not washed (as a dhōti)*; অবন্তি « ā-bānti » *disagreement* (বন √bān to make up); আকাঁড়া « ā-kāṛā » *not cleaned (as of rice)* (a-kāḍḍhia, *a-kaṇḍia = a-kṛṣṭa); MB. sts. আবুদ্ধি « ā-buddhiyā » *without intelligence*; অশুধ « āśudh » *mourning, ceremonial uncleanness*, often written ওশুধ « ōśudh » (a-śuddha); MB. (ŠKK.) আদেখ « ā-dēkhā » *not seen*, আদিবস « ā-dibāsā » *bad day*, আবেলা « ā-bēlā » (NB. অবেলা « ā-bēlā ») *bad time*; আধোয়া « ā-dhōā » *not washed*; একেজো « ā-kējō < *ā-kāj-uā » *good-for-nothing*; MB. আকারণে « ākārāṇe » *without any reason*; আজান(ী), অজানা « ā-jān(ā), ā-jānā » *unknown*; অঘর « ā-ghārā » *bad family*; আঘাট « ā-ghāṭ » *a bad 'ghāt'*; অবিয়ত « ā-biyā-tā », see p. 704; etc.

We have also hybrids like অহিন্দু « ā-hindu » *non-Hindu, un-Hindu*, অখুশী « ā-khuśī » *displeased* (Persian « xūšī »), অহিসাবী *unmethodical* (Perso-Arabic « ḥisāb » *accounts*).

OIA. « ān- », before vowels, is the source of the Bengali অনা « ānā », through the occurrence of forms like « an-āgata, an-āvṛṣṭi » etc.: sts. অনামুখ « anā-mukhā » *evil-face*, অনাছিত্তি, অনাসৃষ্টি « anā-chiṣṭi, anā-sṛṣṭi » *extraordinary (in a pejorative sense)*.

(2) অ, আ « ā-, ā- » : Intensive > Pleonastic.

470. It is found in some MB. and dialectal NB. words. See *supra*, p. 378. Possibly it is a semantic development of the negative অ, আ above. The OIA. particle (later prefix) « ā » could not continue its force in NIA., as it was assimilated through phonetic decay in MIA. Examples: অমন্দ « ā-māṇḍā » *bad*; অবৃথা, আবৃথা « ā-bṛthā, ā-bṛthā », « obretha » in the 'Crepax Xaxtrax Orthbhed' (see p. 234) = « vṛthā »; অঘোর নিদ্রা « ā-ghōrā nidrā » = « ghōra nidrā » *deep sleep*; অরঙ্গা, আরঙ্গা « ā-rāṅgā, ā-rāṅgā » *coloured*; অকুমারী, আকুমারী « ā-kumārī, ā-kumārī » *virgin*, « ocumari » in the 'Orthbhed.'

Connected with the above would seem to be an অ « ā- » prefix, indicating 'similarity' or 'resemblance': e.g., আকাঠ, -ট « ā-kāṭ(h) » *like a log* > *idiotic*; আখ(ী)লা « ā-khāmbhā, -khāmbhā » *like a pillar* (slang);

আভাজা < ā-bhājā > *slightly fried* < *not properly fried* (here = the privative or pejorative < ā- > ?).

(3) কু < ku- >.

471. Pejorative, from OIA. < ku- >. This prefix also is used as a noun in Bengali, meaning 'something bad.' Examples: কুকাৰ < ku-kāṇḍ > *bad deed*, কুচাল < ku-cālḍ > *bad ways*. There are also hybrids—কুনজর < ku-nājar > *bad sight* > *eye of displeasure* (or of sensuality) (Perso-Arabic < nazr >), কুকেছা < ku-kecchā > *scandal* (Perso-Arabic < qissah >), etc. (The OIA. < duṣ-, dur- > *bad* has not been naturalised in the same way.)

(4) দর < dārḍ- >.

472. A diminutive prefix, meaning *half, a little*, from MIA. < dara > (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 222) from OIA. < √dṛ > *to break*: e.g., দরকাঁচা < dārḍ-kācā > *half unripe*, also ‡ দরকচা, দরকোচা < dārḍ-kācā, dārḍ-kōcā >, *not properly matured*; দরপাকা < dārḍ-pākā > *half-ripe*. It is a rare and practically an obsolete affix.

(5) নি < ni- >, sts. নিৰ্ < nir- >.

473. Privative affix, from OIA. < niḥ, nir >. Through Skt. influence this affix also occurs as নিৰ্ < nir >. Examples: নিভুল < ni-bhulḍ > *faultless, without a mistake* beside নিৰ্ভুল, 'নিব্ভুল' < nir-bhulḍ, nibbhulḍ >; নিখুঁত < ni-khūtḍ > *without a blemish*; নিগাঁই, নিগাঁঞি < ni-gāī, nir-gāni > *without any village home*; নিখাতি, নিখাউতি < ni-khā-(u)nti >, feminine from < *ni-khā-wāntā > *one who does not eat*; নিনাই, নিনায়, নিনাও < ni-nāi, ni-nāy, ni-nāo > *one without a boat*; sts. ‡ নিউদ্ভিষ < ni-uddiṣḍ > beside নিরুদ্ভিষ, নিরুদ্ভিষ < nir-uddēṣḍ, nir-uddiṣḍ > (= nir-uddōṣa); ‡ নিখাইক < ni-khāikḍ > *one who does not eat*; MB. (SKK.) নিমাত্ৰি, নিমাত্ৰিতী < ni-māthi, ni-māthiti > *woman without protector* (ni + māthā < mastaka- + ikā, etc.); নিলাজ < ni-lājḍ > *shameless*; নিদয় < ni-dāyḍ >, নিকরুণ < ni-kāruṇa > *pitiless*; etc., etc.

It is found also in verbs and other forms, like নিবা < nibā > *to extinguish* (nir-vā), where its force as a prefix is now lost.

(6) বি « bi- », rarely ব « bē- ».

474. Privative and pejorative = OIA. « vi- »: e.g., বিবোধ « bi-jōṛḍ » *without a match, odd*; MB. বিবুধি « bi-budhi » (=dur-buddhi); বিকরুণ « bi-kāruṇā » (=niṣ-karuṇa); বিহড় « bihāṛā » *to turn wrong* (=vi-ghaṭa-); sts. বেজন্মা « bē-jāmmā » *beside* বিজন্মা « bi-jānmā » *bastard* (=vi-janman); etc. Cf. OB. (Caryā 32) « khāla-bikhalā » = « khāta- + vikhāta ».

(7) স « sa- ».

475. Skt. « sa- », *along with*, is used in Bengali in an intensive or ameliorative sense: e.g., সঠিক « sâ-ṭhikā » *beside* ঠিক « ṭhikā » *true, correct*; সকাল « sâ-kālā » *early, morning* (as opposed to বিকাল « bi-kālā » *afternoon, evening*); so সবেৰ « sâ-bērā » *morning, early*, as opposed to অবেৰ « â-bērā » (< vėlā); sts. সাবকাশ « sâbākāśā » (=avakāśa), সক্ষম « sâ-kṣāmā » (=kṣama); etc. From the Persian « nābālig » > নাবালক « nābālākā » *minor*, a form সাবালক « sâ-bālākā » *major*, as if with this prefix, has been formed.

The old sociative or instrumental use of « sâ- » has been partly revived in Bengali, and we have even a hybrid form like সবুট « sâ-but » *with boots on* (< English *boot*, as in সবুট পদাঘাত « sâ-but pādāghātā » *a kick with the boot on*), সজোরে « sâ-jōrē » *with force* (Persian « zōr »), on the model of ts. forms like « sa-vastra, sa-bala, sa-daya », etc.

(8) সু « su- ».

476. Ameliorative affix, used also as a noun = *something good*, (like « ku »). Examples: সুছাঁদ « su-chāḍā » *of good-shape*; সুজন « su-jānā » *good man*; সুমন « su-mānā » *good-minded* (predicative adjective), *good mind* (su-manas); সুদিন « su-dinā » *good day*; সুনাם « su-nāmā » *good repute*; সুডোল « su-ḍōlā » *of good shape*; etc. Hybrids—সুনজর « su-nājārā » *good glance, kindly glance* (Perso-Arabic « nazr »), সুখবর « su-khābār » *good news* (xabr), etc.

(9) হা « hā- ».

477. Explained as the interjection হা « hā » *alas*, which is a very likely source. It might have, however, originated from a MIA. « ha »

(=hata). Used with a few words to indicate absence of something, and a consequent yearning for it: e.g., হাপুতি < hā-puti > a woman who mourns or longs for children; হাতাতিরা > হাবাতে < hā-bhātiyā > hābātē > a beggar for bread (lit. rice); হাবরিরা > হাব'রে < hā-ghāriyā > hāghōrē > homeless vagrant; হাপুস as in হাপুস নয়নে কঁদা < hā-pusā nāyānē kādā > weep with flooded eyes, where হাপুস may be from *হাউস < hā-wūsā > from < hā, ha(t)a > + < √vṛṣ > rain; etc.

Some independent words like ভর < bhārā >, as in ভর-সাঁঝ or -সন্ধ্যা < bhārā-sāñjā, -sāndhyā > in the middle of the evening, আধ < ādhā > (ardha) as in আধ-কোটা < ādhā-phōṭā > half-open (flower), etc., occur in compounds, and these strictly speaking are not prefixes.

[II] FOREIGN PREFIXES: PERSIAN.

478. (1) গর < gār- >, from Perso-Arabic < gair > without; গরমিল < gār-milā > disagreement; cf. গরহাজির < gār-hājir > absent (gair-hājir).

(2) দর < dār- > under, within; দরপত্তনৌ < dār-pāttānī > sub-tenancy.

(3) না < nā- > not: e.g., না-পাখ্যামানে < না + পাখ্যামানে < nā-pājjimānē < nā + pāryamānē > when one is not able, on the model of নাহক < nā-hāk > without reason, without right (nā-hāq), নাবালক < nābālāk > minor (nā-bālīg), etc. In forms like না-টক না-মিষ্টি < nā-ṭākā nā-miṣṭi > neither sour nor sweet, we have, however, the native Bengali negative particle rather than the Persian affix.

(4) ফি < phi- >, from Perso-Arabic < fi >, used in Bengali to mean each: ফি-লোক < phi-lōkā >, ফি-জন < phi-jānā > (for) each man, ফি-হাত < phi-hātā > at each hand, at each step, etc.

(5) বদ < bād- > evil (Persian < bad >): বদ-রীত < bād-rit > bad ways, বদ-রাগী < bād-rāgī > one who flies into a passion, বদ-গন্ধ < bād-gāndhā > bad odour, etc.

(6) বে < bē- > without: also used pejoratively. This affix is assimilated to the cognate Skt. < vi- > > বি < bi- >. Examples: বেহাত < bē-hātā > out of reach; বেচাল < bē-cālā > evil ways, waywardness; বেরসিক < bē-rāsikā > one who is impervious to willicism; বে-হেড < bē-hēḍ > (slang) off one's head, losing control over oneself (< hēḍ > < English head); বে-টাঁটম, -টাঁটন

« bā-tāim, -tāin » *in improper time* (< English *time*); etc. The word বেরাড়া « bēārā », of course, represents the native « vikāṭa- ».

(7) হর « hār- » *each*, from Persian « har »: হরবোলা « hārḍ-bōlā » *ventriloquist*; হর-দিন « hār-dinḍ » *daily*; etc.

There are other Persian words like « bar-, sar-, kam- », but these have not as yet acquired the force of an affix, at least so far as native words or roots are concerned.

ENGLISH.

479. The English words *head*, *full*, and *half* are used in a number of compound forms with Bengali words, and have almost become affixes: e.g., হেড-পণ্ডিত « hēḍ-pāṇḍitḍ » from the Anglo-Indian *Head Pundit*; so হেড-বাবু « hēḍ-bābū » *chief Indian clerk in an office*; হেড-মুহুরী « hēḍ-muhurī » (Pers. « muḥarrir », see p. 610); হেড-গোমস্তা « hēḍ-gōmāstā » (Pers. « gumāstah »); হেড-মোলবী « hēḍ-māulābī » *Head Moulvi*; ফুলবাবু « phul-bābū » *a fop, a 'Full Babu'*; ফুল-আখড়াই and হাফ-, হাপ-আখড়াই « phul-ākḥḍḍrāi, hāp(h)-ākḥḍḍrāi » *two styles of poetical and singing contest much in vogue in mid-19th century Bengal* (*full, half* + « ākhḍḍrāi » *gathering* < « ākhḍḍrā = ākhḍḍrā » *club*). The prefix *sub-* (as সব, সাব « sāb-, sāb- ») is quite well-known through the occurrence of words like *sub-division*, *sub-deputy*, *sub-assistant*, *sub-overseer*, *sub-inspector*, *sub-registrar*, etc., etc., which are familiar to Bengali speakers everywhere, but it has not yet been used with an Indian word.

CHAPTER II

DECLENSION OF THE NOUN

[A] STEMS.

480. Bengali like most NIA. languages may be said to have started *de novo* in its morphology, having preserved but very little of the declinational system of OIA.; and the little that it has preserved consists of a few inflexions which have been generalised. MIA. considerably curtailed the elaborate declension of the noun of OIA. The various vowel and consonant stems of OIA. (as in Vedic), considerably over a dozen, were reduced to a bare six (◀ -ā, -ī, -ū; -ā, -ī, -ū > stems) in Early MIA., when ◀ ṛ > became ◀ -ā, -ī, -ū >, and final consonants dropped off; and there were just a few relics of the other stems. They were further simplified in Late MIA., when the final long vowels were shortened (see *supra*, p. 301), and there was a general tendency to bring all declensions under the ◀ -ā > type. Stems in ◀ -i, -u > were gradually approximated to the ◀ -ā > declension; ◀ -i, -u > nouns were often extended to ◀ -ia, -ua > by adding of ◀ -ā < -kā, -kā >; and new affixes in ◀ -a > replaced older ones in ◀ -i, -u >, like ◀ -ira > in literary Apabhraṃśa of Gujarat removing affixes like ◀ -in, -ālu > (cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Lectures,' pp. 111-114; Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' pp. 30* ff.; C. D. Dalal and P. D. Guṇē, 'Bhavisayatta-kahā,' Baroda, 1923, Introduction, pp. 17 ff.). Final ◀ -i, -u > even tended to disappear from the stem, giving place to ◀ -ā >: so that Early NIA. could inherit from Late MIA. (and from MIA. changing to NIA.) many stems in ◀ -ā > like ◀ rāsā (= rāsi); munā (= muni); dhunā (= dhvani); gurā (= guru); sāhā (= sādhu); bāhā, bāhā (= bāhu); sūdhā (= śuddhi); dēvā, dē (dēvi < dēvi) >, etc. The OIA. stems were in this way reduced to the bare ◀ -ā, -ī, -ū > stems in Early NIA., with ◀ -ī, -ū > taking up the affixes of the ◀ -ā > stem and at times even being suppressed in favour of the ◀ -ā >. This is what happened in all OIA. words inherited through MIA. Late MIA. ◀ -āā, -āā, -īā (-rā),

-uā (-ūā) > became the long vocalic stems < (-ā), -ā, -ī, -ū > of Early NIA., and these long stems are preserved in most MIA. In Bengali, however, these final long vowels became weakened: < -ā > of course remained as অ| < -ā > in writing (as the original short < ā > sound had become a vowel of a different quality, অ=[a]), but it was not, and is not pronounced fully long; and < -ī, -ū > became < -i, -u >, indifferently written long or short.

In MB., we have frequent examples of this levelling of the < -ī, -u > stems to < -ā >. The nominative, through the influence of Sanskrit, may preserve or may even have restored the original vowel; but the stem, forming the basis of the other cases, is plainly an < -ā > stem. Even *ts.* words follow this tendency. Thus, we have commonly ধূলি < dhuli > beside ধূল < dhūlā, dhūlā > *dust*, nominative and accusative, but in locative it is ধূলে < dhūlē > (=dhūlā + -ē); দিঠি < diṭhi > *sight*, nominative, but locative দিঠে < diṭhē > (=diṭha + -ē); বেলি < bēli < *bēli > *time of the day*, (= *vēlikā) (beside বেল < bēlā >, as well as বেলা < bēlā > with < -ā > from Skt.), locative বেলে < bēl-ē >; *ts.* nominative বুদ্ধি < buddhi >, locative বুদ্ধে < buddhē >, genitive বুদ্ধের < buddhērā >; *ts.* অপমৃত্যু < āpa-mṛtyu >, locative and instrumental অপমৃত্যো < āpā-mṛty-ē > (as in the 'Caitanya-bhāgavata' of Vṛndāvana-dāsa); so in the 'Crepax Xaxtror Orthbhed,' we find < xotro > = শত্রু < śātru >, but locative < xotre > = শত্রে < śātrē >; etc. Such modifications of < i, -u > to < -ā > in the oblique are fairly common in MB. In MB., epenthesis no doubt gave to original < -ī, -u > nouns (*ibk.* or *sts.* and *ts.*) the appearance of being < -ā > nouns in the inflected forms: e.g., চক্ষু < cākkhu, cākhu > *eye* > চউখ, চৈখ < cāūkh, cāikh >, genitive চক্ষের < cāk-khērā >, চউখের, চৈখের, চোখের < cāūkhērā, cāikhērā, cōkhērā >; সাধু < sādhū >, genitive সাধের < sāldhērā >, instrumental সাধে, সেধে < sādhe, sēdhe >, etc., which would suggest as stems *চৈখ *cāikhā >, *সাধ < *sāidhā >; so ষাঠি < Ṣāṭhi > *the Goddess of children* (ṣaṭhi, ṣaṭhikā) gives ষাইঠের, ষেঠের, ষাঠের < ṣāiṭhērā, ṣēṭhērā, ṣāṭhērā > as if from *ষাঠ < sāiṭhā >; and quite a number of similar cases.

481. The inflexions of the seven (or eight, including the vocative) cases of OIA. tended to disappear in NIA., but some occur as survivals. Although we have in NIA. here an old instrumental or there an old

locative affix preserved, the two characteristic forms from point of view of most NIA. are (i) the nominative, and (ii) the oblique. The former roughly represents the old nominative, and the latter, frequently the sole representative of other case inflexions of OIA., rests on the original genitive or dative, locative or instrumental inflexion, to which the new case-forming post-positions are added. The juxta-position of these two stems, nominative and oblique, is the regular rule in Western and Central NIA., in Marāṭhī, in Gujarāṭī and Rājasthānī, in Western Hindī, in Panjābī, in Lahndī, in Sindhī, and in Western and Central Pahārī. It is much confused in Eastern Pahārī. In Eastern Hindī, it has fallen into disuse in the singular noun; and it is absent in the Eastern languages, Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese. The declension of the noun has thus become considerably simplified in the last group.

Distinction between masculine and feminine forms is absent in Bengali and other Magadhan languages. The same inflexions serve for both masculines and neuters as well as feminines. Thus the instrumental « -ē, -ē » is found in feminine nouns like « ghadiē, āliē, kāliē » in the Old Bengali of the Caryās; and the old feminine inflexions (although at times found in a form like « samāhia » [=samādhyā], which is a sporadic survival in the literary language) are entirely lost.

482. Bengali nouns thus have come to have one declension only, irrespective of stem and gender. There are in the NB. Standard Colloquial just a few phonetic modifications in the inflexions, and these are noted below. We have in Bengali—

(1) Consonantal stems = mainly « -ā (-ā) » bases of Early MB. and OB., and Late MIA., and partly also OIA. « -i, -ī, -u, -ū » bases (see pp. 301, 305, 307, 308, 310); and *ts.* words with quiescent « -ā »; and also foreign words ending in a consonant.

So long as the final vowel was pronounced, the genitive affix was « -rā < -ārā » (kāṛā), as *e.g.* MB. হাতর, রামর « hātārā, Rāmārā », as well as « -ērā < -kēra » (kārya), as in হাতের, রামের « hātērā, Rāmērā »; but NB., which has dropped the final vowel, now does not use « -ārā » র-রā, but only « -ērā » এর -ērā ».

(2) Vowel stems, simple and diphthongal :

[i] < -ā > or < -o, -ō > stems, in *tbh.* forms, representing an earlier < -aṃ > ; and in *ts.* and *sts.* forms, the Sanskrit < -ā > (see *supra*, pp. 302, 304, 347) ;

[ii] < -ā > stems, in *tbh.* nouns representing < -āḥ, -āḥ, -āḥ > of MIA. (see *ante*, pp. 302, 307) ; in *ts.* nouns, representing Skt. < -ā > ; and in foreign nouns ending in vowels [-ā, -ə], etc., normally changing to < -ā > in Bengali (see *supra*, under 'Phonology of the Foreign Element') ;

[iii] < -ī, -i > stems, representing, in *tbh.* words, the MB. < -i > after a vowel or after < -h- > (= OIA. < -ī, -i > : see pp. 308-309), or the OB. < -ī > < -ikā, -ikā > of OIA. (see pp. 302, 303, 352) ; in *ts.* stems, the Skt. < -ī, -ī, -in > are properly represented by < -ī, -ī > ; and in foreign words, < -ī, -ī > remain as < -ī, -ī > (see *supra*, 'Foreign Element') ;

[iv] < -ū, -ū > stems, the history of which is parallel to that of the < -ī, -ī > stems : they represent in *tbh.* words the MB. < -u > after a vowel or after < -h- > (= OIA. < -ū, -ū > : see p. 310), or the OB. < -ū > < OIA. < -ukā, -ūpā, -ukā, -upā > (see pp. 310, 311, 352) ; in *ts.* words, Skt. < -ū, -ū > remain < -ū, -ū >, pronounced [u] in Bengali, as well as foreign < -ū, -ū > ;

[v] a few < -ē > nouns ; and

[vi] < -ō > nouns ; both in *tbh.* forms representing the contracted < -ā > bases of Late MIA. (cf. pp. 311, 352, 353).

Foreign words with < -ē, -ō > bases are also found.

In addition, there are [vii] diphthong stems, in *tbh.*, *ts.* as well as foreign words (see *supra*, pp. 415 ff., under 'Bengali Diphthongs'.)

NB. *tbh.* vowel stems in < -ā, -ā, -ē, -ō > as a rule take the < -r > affix for the genitive, and not < -ēr > : e.g., ভালর, পনেরর, ঘোড়ার, কালোর, আলোর, দেৱ (= the surname, < -dēva >) < bhālā-r, pānērā-r, ghōrā-r, kālō-r, ālō-r, dē-r > ; but monosyllabic words in < -ā > can take both < -r > and < -ēr > : e.g., মায়ের, ঝীরের, ঘায়ের < mā-ēr, jhī-ēr, ghā-ēr > (of a blow or sore) beside মার, ঝীর, ঘার < mā-r, jhī-r, ghā-r >. OB. and MB., of course, used both < -ār = -r, -ēr = -ēr >, the < -r > form being found compounded with Late MIA. bases in < -ā >. In OB. and

MB. (unlike NB.) « -ērā » seems to have been preferred with *tôk*, as well as *ts.* forms in « -i, -I, -u, -ū »: *e.g.*, Caryā 19 « ðōmbīērā » = NB. ডুম্বীরা « ðumḍnīrā » of a Dōm woman; মুনীর beside মূনির « muni-ērā, muni-rā » of a sage; বহুর beside বহর « bāhu-ērā, bāhu-rā » of many; etc. Except in the case of diphthongs ending in « -i, -u », and in the diphthongs « -æo, -āo » with which euphony in NB. demands that « -ērā » is to be used, all NB. « -i, -I, -u, -ū, -ē, -ō » words take « -rā ». *Tatsama* or foreign words in « -ā », however, can use either « -ērā » or « -rā ».

The instrumental-locative in Old and Early Middle Bengali was « -ē, -ē », in the case of all nouns ending in « -ā » or in any other vowel. NB. continues the « -ē » in what were originally « -ā » nouns (now nouns with a consonant ending through loss of the « -ā »); and in the case of nouns originally ending in other vowels, it uses the post-positional affix তে « -tē » rather than the organic one « -ē » for the instrumental and locative cases, to avoid the hiatus, always after « -i, -u, -ō » vowels, and optionally after « -ā »¹: *e.g.*, লোকে « lōk-ē < lōkā » on, by or with a man; but ঘোড়ায়, ঘোড়াতে « ghōṛā-ē > ghōṛāy, ghōṛā-tē » on or with a horse; মায়ে বীয়ে « māē jhīē » mother and daughter both (instrumental and nominative), beside মাতে বীতে and মাতে বীয়েতে « mā-tē jhī-tē, mā-ē-tē jhī-ē-tē »; Early Bengali বাবুয়ে « bābu-ē », NB. বাবুতে « bābu-tē » on or by a gentleman; Early Bengali মূনিএ « muni-ē », NB. মুনিতে « muni-tē » on or by a sage, etc. Assamese, and numerous dialectal forms of Bengali as well, stick to the instrumental, and avoid this further confusion between the locative and the instrumental by importing the « -tē » which has now come in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial.

The above are the slight alterations which are noticed in the use of some of the inflexions with the Bengali noun stems, and being recent, and essentially phonological, they cannot be said to mark out any distinction in the stem of the noun in Bengali.

¹ One may compare the importation of [t] in the popular French of Paris to avoid the hiatus (cf. Henri Banche, 'Le Langage populaire,' Paris, 1920, p. 58). See *infra*, under Cases—Nominative, Instrumental, Locative.

[B] GENDER.

483. It has been noted above that the tendency in Apabhraṃśa was to generalise the inflexions of the masculine < -ā > stem. This considerably weakened the grammatical distinction between masculine and feminine nouns, and this distinction has been entirely dropped in Bengali, in its *tdh.* element. Adjectives qualifying feminine nouns (grammatical or natural) are sometimes furnished with an < -ā > or < -ikā > (*tatsama*) or an < -ī, ī > or < -nī, -nī > (*tatsama* or *tadbhava*) affix, e.g., পরমা সুন্দরী < pāramā sundārī >, তরুণী স্ত্রী < tārūṇī strī >, বৎসহারী গাভী < bātsā-hārā gābhī > a cow which has lost her calf, ‡ ভাগিয়ানী মেয়ে < bhāgyimānī mēyē > a woman happy in her husband's love (a form used by women in the Standard Colloquial, < = bhāgyavatī strī >); but these feminine forms are confined to *ts.* and *sts.* words, and are entirely against the spirit of the language. (Cf. Lalit Mohan Banerji, 'Vyākaraṇ-Vibhīṣikā,' pp. 27 ff., for examples of wrong use of the Skt. feminine affixes in Bengali). In the Western Magadhan dialects, predicates referring to nouns or pronouns in the feminine gender have the feminine affix < -ī, -ī >, but in the declension there is no distinction, such as we find for instance in Western Hindī and Marāṭhī.

Grammatical gender may be said to be preserved in all NIA. except Magadhan. In most of them, however, the neuter has merged in the masculine: in some, like Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Sinhalese, the neuter is preserved. Thus in Western Hindī, < pōthī, bāt > are feminine, as they represent the earlier < potthiā, vattā = pustikā, vārtā >, and verbal predicates referring to them (in the past participle or future) as well as genitive and other adjectival forms qualifying them must be put in the feminine. This is thus a survival of MIA. conditions: and there is no survival of this kind now in the Eastern Magadhan speeches, Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā, although it exists in the older phases of the above speeches, and is still found to some extent in the Central and Western Magadhan speeches. We have in OB., and to some extent also in Early MB., a state of things almost identical with that obtaining in Western Hindī or in Apabhraṃśa. In the Caryās, there are numerous cases showing that nouns in < -ī, -ī < -ikā > and in < -ā = *ts.* -ā > preserved their grammatical gender, and were in the

feminine: e.g., « diṭi (=diḍhi < *dr̥dhikā) tāṅgi » *strong axe* in Caryā 5 ; « sōnē bhariti nāwī » *boat filled with gold* (Caryā 8) ; « mēlili kēcchi » *the hawsers was loosened* (Caryā 8) ; « tōhōri kuḍiā » *thy little hut*, « tōhōra antarē mōḍē ghalili hādēri māli » *for thy sake the chaplet of bones has been cast away by me* (Caryā 10) ; « tōhōri bhābhariālī » *thy coquetry*, « ḍombi-ta āgali nāhi echiñālī » *before the Dōm woman there is no (greater) wanton* (Caryā 18) ; « māi dibi piricchā » *a question (or statement) is to be rendered by me* (29) ; « ṭuṭi gēli kaṅkhā » *the desire was destroyed* (37) ; « āgēli āgi » *the fire caught* (47 : āgi=āgi < aggia=agnikā) ; « nia gharinī caṇḍālī lēli » *as (thy) own wife, a Caṇḍāla woman has been taken (by thee)* (49) ; « phiṭili Śābarālī » *the Śābara's nature was destroyed* (50) ; etc. These would indicate that the sense of grammatical gender was quite strong in the language. Inanimate nouns, abstract, material or concrete, like « kaṅkhā, piricchā, nāwī, āgi, māli, tāṅgi » etc., are feminine only because of their affixes,—as much as names of persons of the female sex like « echiñālī » and « caṇḍālī » ; and they as a matter of course take feminine forms of the genitive-adjective (tōhōr-i, hād-ēr-i) or attributive adjective (āgal-i, diḍh-i), or verbal predicate of participial and adjectival origin (dib-i, gēl-i). But in Early MB., this is changed, and names of inanimate objects cease to have any grammatical gender, in spite of the affix. Grammatical tradition yields to reason. In Early MB. (SKK.) there are cases like গেলী or ঢালী রাহী « gēli, cālili Rāhī » *Rādhā went*, তার পিসী নিয়োজিলী « tāra pisi niyōjili » *her aunt was appointed*, রোষিলী রাধিকা « rōṣili Rādhikā » *R. angered*, etc., where predicates take the fem. affix « -i, -ī » when they qualify feminine nouns, names of sentient beings. In other MB. and NB., occasional cases of similar use crop up : e.g., VSP., p. 166, ব্রাহ্মণের নারী « brāhmāṇ-ēr-i nārī » *a Brāhman's wife* ; and there are also in MB. stray relics of grammatical gender, like SKK. (p. 381) চুড়ী « curī » *bracelet* being qualified by the feminine adjective জড়ী « jāṛī » *encrusted with gems* (jaḍita+-ikā), and বরণে উজলী কনক বউলী « bārāṇē ujālī kanākā-bāuli » *a floret of gold shining in its lustre* (KKC., p. 64).

This early abandoning of grammatical gender in the eastern speeches has been regarded as a heritage from the non-Aryan languages current in the East, and has been connected with conditions in Tibeto-Burman, which

(=carma-kārṣṇām). The instrumental supplies the nominative plural affix « -ē » of W. Hindī, as noted above ; but the genitive plural never invades the domain of the nominative plural. This distinction is preserved in Marāṭhī, Sindhī and other Western speeches, and also in the Eastern speeches ; although in the latter, the old genitive > oblique is found in some cases to encroach into the domain of the nominative ; e.g., Eastern Hindī nom. sg. « ghōṛā », nom. pl. « ghōṛawan = ghōṛakānām », beside « ghōṛawē = ghōṛa(ṣ)ahi = *ghōṛakēbhiḥ » ; Maithilī « lōkani » pl. genitive originally, is commonly used as plural affix ; however, it may be said that the plural oblique is used for the oblique only. Thus in Oṛiyā, we have « puruṣā », plural « puruṣē < *puruṣahi = puruṣēbhiḥ » but « puruṣāṅ-kā(rā) » where the form « puruṣān- < puruṣāṇām » retains its genitive function.

Evidence of Western Hindī and the Eastern languages would show that in Northern India, from the Panjab and the Midland eastwards, the instrumental assumed the place of the lost nominative, at least in masculine « -ā » nouns, from the Early NIA. or Late Apabhraṁśa stage. But in Bengali, this instrumental « -ahi, *-ai, -ē » no longer figures as an affix, although it is found in its immediate neighbour and relation Oṛiyā, as well as in forms of the Bihārī speeches. It is just possible that in a NB. expression like লোক বলে « lōk-ē bālē » *people say* we have in Bengali the plural « -ē < -ahi ». Cf. also expressions like চল সব « cālā sabb-ē » *come all* ; সব মিলি ভারত সন্তান « sabb-ē mili Bhārātā-sāntānaḥ » *all united Sons of India* ; দশে মিলি করি কাজ, হারি জিতি নাহি লাজ « dāś-ē mili kārī kajḥ, hārī jiti nāhi lājḥ » *ten people united we do the deed, we lose or we win there is no shame* ; ŚKK., p. 192, সবই কহিব আইহনের মাএ « sabb-ē kāhibā Aihānērā māē » *we shall all tell A.'s mother*. But this form can also be explained as a sg. instrumental-nominative « -ē < -ē < -ēna ». Cases of instrumental nominative like the above can thus be regarded as representing both « -ēna > -ē > -ē, -ē » in the singular and « -ēbhiḥ > -ahi > -ai > -ē » in the plural. In the ŚKK. there occur two cases সবই, সবজী « sabbāi, sabbāi » (pp. 66, 336), which may represent the « *-a(h)i » stage, rather than the emphatic particle « hi » (saba + hi) ; for in MB. the latter is commonly preserved as « hi ». Relics of the instrumental plural are found in the pronoun (see *infra*) ; but

in general, it can be said that the plural instrumental affix of OIA. is lost to Bengali and Assamese.

486. The genitive plural affix «-ānām > -nā, -nā» is better preserved in Bengali. It is found (though as a rare form) in nouns in dialectal MB. and NB., and also occurs in the pronouns; but in the noun, its proper genitive force is now lost. It is used mainly as a secondary affix added to the nouns of multitude which are used to form the plural: *e.g.*, Standard Bengali গুলি, গুলান «-gul-i-nā, -gul-ā-nā» beside গুলি, গুলা «-gul-i, -gul-ā», plural affix (< Skt. kula-); dialectal (East Vanga) Bengali আইন < আনি «-āin < -āni» as in স্কলাইন, ইকলাইন «śākkāl-āin, hā-» *all*, হোলাইন «hōl-āin < *pōlāni» *sons*; Western Bengali (LSI., V, I, pp. 89, 100) মিতান-রা-কে «mit-ān-rā-kē» *to friends*, সাংগানগার «sāṅg-ān-gā-rā» *of friends*, etc. We have also in MB. সতান «śābhā-nā» *all*, gen. সতানের «śābbhān-ērā». The genitive force is preserved in the pronoun: *e.g.*, তান «tānā» *his* (honorific), but even in the pronoun, the genitive in «-nā» has supplied the (honorific) nominative, as তিনি «tin-i». The forms «-n-i» and «-ān-i > -āin» have their «-i» apparently from the old instrumental plural «-hi» which in this way modified the genitive before being itself lost. Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā as well as Western Hindi also show this «-n-i» for the plural. We have another modification of «-na» in Bengali, viz. «*-nha > -hā, -hā» as in pronominal forms like যেহ, তেহ, ইহ «jēhā, tēhā, ihā» *who, he, this* (honorific), দৌহ «dōhā» as in দুহে «dōhē» *two* (nominative), দৌহার «dōhārā» *of two*, which may be compared with the Eastern Hindi «-nha, -nhi» as in Tulasī-dāsa. The «-ha, -hi» is difficult to explain: but it can well be due to contamination with the instrumental plural «-hi», or the singular locative «-hi» which became the accusative (oblique) in Bengali (see under 'Locative' below).

The «-na, -n-i, -nha > -hā, -hā» form is practically obsolete in Bengali as a plural affix for the noun, agglutinated words of multitude having taken its place. In the respectful form of the verb, which represents an original plural, we have ন «-nā»: করেন, গেলেন, দিবেন, বলিতেছেন «kārenā, gelēnā, dibēnā, bālītēchēnā» *gives or give, went, will give, is or are telling*: this «-nā» represents the OIA. «-anti», but phonologically it

cannot be the Bengali development of « -anti », we would expect « -āt » or « -at » or « -it » (*supra*, p. 502) ; it is certainly the genitive plural « -na » extended from the noun to the verb to indicate the plural or the honorific. In certain forms of MB. (as for example in the 'Padmā-Purāṇa' of Baṇśī-dāsa), this verbal affix occurs as আই, আঞি « -āi, -āñi », e.g., দিলাঞি « dilāñi », করিলাঞি « karilāñi » : here it is unmistakably a modification of the nominal « -nā » > « -ni » as added to the verb.

The genitive « -na, -na » certainly existed in OB., but no sure example is found in the Caryās. (Cf. Caryā 18, « kājaṇa kāraṇa » = « kāryāṇām kāraṇam » ?). So far as NB. is concerned, it occurs only sporadically, in some stereotyped plural forms, like « gulā-nḥ, guli-nḥ », and it figures in a few forms like নানান্ « nānā-nḥ » *many, several* (nānā). Words like ভোটান « Bhōtānḥ » *Bhotan country* < 'Bhōt' or *Tibetan people*, কোলহান « Kōlhānḥ » *tract inhabited by the Kōls* (see *supra*, p. 2) are instances of this « -nḥ < -ānām » ; phonetically a form like ভোটান « Bhōtānḥ » cannot represent a Skt. « Bhōtānta » *Bhōta frontier*, as it has been suggested by some.

487. In the word সবাই « sabbāi » *all* (MB. সন্ধাই, সন্ধাঞি « sāmḥāi, -āñi », as in the ŚKK.) beside an emphatic সবাই « sabbāi » (see *supra*, p. 448), we have possibly a unique relic of the OIA. nominative plural affix : « sarvē hi » > sabbā hi (generalised « -ā ») > sab(b)āi ». The force of the « -hi » > « -i » is no longer present. The form सब « sabb » noted above (p. 724), may be a contracted form of it, rather than « *sabahi ».

In the ŚKK. (p. 176) we have the following : মারন্তাক কে না মারে । তার পানী না লঞ পীতরে ॥ « mārāntā-kā jē nā mārē, tārā pāñi nā lāē pītārē » *the fathers do not accept the water (offered in the Śrāddha) of him who does not strike an aggressor*. Here of course পীতরে is merely a *sts.* form from the Skt. « pitarah », familiar in many a *ślōka* current among the people.

488. Original nominative plural affix was lost to OB. Original plural instrumental certainly was used for the nominative, but it also became obsolete in OB. itself. Original genitive plural had only a very restricted use for the plural of all cases down to Early MB. To indicate the plural, which had come to be indistinguishable from the singular, some new devices came in. Of these, the most noteworthy was the affixing of

some noun of multitude to the noun. This method of indicating the plural by composition is already found in OB. as in the Caryās. Where the noun was qualified by a plural numeral, there was no necessity of compounding with a noun of multitude: e.g., « pañca vi dāla » (*with*) *five branches indeed* (Caryā 1); « bēni pakḥā » *two wings or sides* (pakṣa-: Caryā 4); « cauṣaṭṭhi pākhuḍi » *sixty-four petals* (Caryā 10); « pāñca janā » *five men* (Caryā 12: « janā=jana+ā », see pp. 658-659; it is not the MIA. plural nominative « -ā »: cf. NB. একজন *ekaj janā* » *one man*, সে জন *sē jānā* » *that man*, and পাঁচ জন *pācḥ jānā* »); « pañca tathāgata » (Caryā 13); « pāñca kēḍuāla » *five oars*, « dui māga » *two ways* (Caryā 14); « batisa tānti » *thirty-two strings* (Caryā 17); « tini bhuana » *the three worlds* (Caryā 18); « tia dhāu » *three natures* (dhātu) (Caryā 28); etc. But in the other cases, where it was felt necessary for the plural idea to be specified, we have compounding or periphrasis: e.g., « maṇḍala-saēla bhājai » *all the maṇḍalas are broken* (Caryā 16); « kuḷiṇa-jana » *people of good family*, « bidujana-lōa » = « vidvajana-lōka » (Caryā 18).

« Saēla=sakala, jana=jana, lōa=lōka » seem to have been established as plural-forming words in OB. In MB. we find গণ « gāṇā », সকল « sākāla », সব, সভ, সঙ্ক « sabbhā, sabbā, sāmḥā » (see p. 319), আদি(ক) « ādi(ka) » and কুল « -kulā », among others. The last is the source of the common pan-Bengali affix for the plural, গুল « -gulā » (-kula-ka > MB. -kulā, -gulā), extended to গুল *gul-ā* < (*kulāka): by Vowel-Harmony গুলো « gulō », গুলান্ « gulā-nḥ », †গুলাইন « gulāin < *gulā-n-i » with the « -na » from the old genitive (see p. 725), and গুলি « -guli » (to denote pettiness, loveliness or prettiness of the object whose plural it indicates is really the feminine: < « -*kulikā »: see pp. 672, 673, 686), and we have further an extension গুলিন « -gul-i-nḥ ». In addition, we have extensions of « -gulā » with the pleonastic ক « -kḥ » (গুলাক « -gul-ā-kḥ », গুলিক « -gul-i-kḥ ») which are found mostly in West Rāḍha. This *s/s* form with the « -k- » in an intervocal position softened to « -g- », seems to have been quite common from Early MB. times; but literary Bengali preserves the *ts*. « kulā > kulḥ » as well, as in অলিকুল « āli-kulḥ » *bees*, কামিনীকুল « kāmīni-kulḥ » *ladies*, ধেনুকুল « dhēnu-kulḥ » *cows*, পাখীকুল « pākhi-kulḥ » *birds*. In dialectal

Bengali, « -gulā, -gulā, -gulān » become গুলো « -gunō » (Calcutta and surrounding tracts), গিলা, গ্লা « -gilā, -glā » (North Bengali), and উন্, গিন্ « -un, -gin » (Chittagong).

489. There is in NB. the affix দিগ « -digā », genitive দিগের « -digērḥ » which is used with names of animate, preferably sentient and intelligent beings, in the plural forms of the *oblique* cases. The affix is never used for the nominative. দিগ, দিগের « -digā, -digērḥ » are « sādhu-bhāṣā » forms ; in the specimens of prose in the Late MB. and Early NB. periods, a form দিগর « digārḥ » also occurs side by side with দিগ « -digā ». The equivalents of দিগ, দিগের « -diga, -digērḥ » are common in West Bengali, specially in the Standard Colloquial, and are দি, দিগ্ and দেয় « -di, -dig-, -dērḥ ». The affix seems to have been of Central Rāḍha origin : it is not found in East and North Bengali dialects, where its occurrence at the present day can without difficulty be explained as being due to the influence of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » as well as of the Standard Colloquial. The use of this affix, both with organic inflexions and with post-positions, is indicated below, with the word মানুষ « mānuṣḥ » *man*.

Accusative and Dative : Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগকে « mānuṣḥ-digā-kē », মানুষদিগেরে « mānuṣḥ-dig-ēr-ē », archaic মানুষের দিগরে « mānuṣ-ērḥ digār-ē », মানুষের দিগরকে « mānuṣērḥ-digārḥ-kē » ; Standard Colloquial মানুষদিকে « mānuṣḥ-di-kē », মানুষদিগে « mānuṣḥ-dig-ē », মানুষদিগকে « mānuṣḥ-dig(ā)-ke », also « mānuṣḥ-dikkē », beside the genitive মানুষদের, মানুষদেরে « mānuṣḥ-dērḥ, mānuṣēdērḥ », and the genitive *plus* the dative or accusative post-position কে—মানুষ(ে)দেরকে « mānuṣ(ē)-dērḥ-kē » ;

Instrumental : Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগ-দ্বারা, -কর্তৃক « mānuṣḥ-digā-dwārā, -kārtṛkḥ » মানুষ, মানুষের দিগর (দিগের) দ্বারা « mānuṣ(ērḥ) -digārḥ (-digērḥ) dwārā », etc. ; Standard Colloquial মানুষদের দিগে < দিগা, -দ্বারা « mānuṣḥ-dērḥ-diyē < diyā, -dwārā », etc. ;

Ablative : Like instrumental, with হইতে, হ'তে « hāitē, hōtē », থাকিয়া, থেকে « thākiyā, thēkē » etc., in the place of instrumental post-positions.

Genitive: Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগের, মানুষেরদিগের « mānuṣ(ērṣ) -digērṣ », মানুষদিগর « mānuṣṣ-digārṣ », archaic and rare মানুষের দিগের « mānuṣērṣ digārērṣ »; Standard Colloquial মানুষদের, মানুষদের « mānuṣ-ēdērṣ, mānuṣṣ-dērṣ », মানুষেরদের « mānuṣērṣ-dērṣ, mānuṣēddērṣ »;

Locative: Sādhu-bhāṣā মানুষদিগতে, -দিগেতে « mānuṣṣ-digā-tē, -digē-tē », archaic মানুষের দিগে, মানুষের দিগেতে « mānuṣērṣ digār-ē, -digār-ētē »; Standard Colloquial মানুষদেরতে « mānuṣṣ-derṣ-tē », মানুষদিগেতে « mānuṣṣ-digētē » (rather uncommon for the locative: the Standard Colloquial would prefer the form মানুষ-গুলিতে, গুলিতে « mānuṣṣ-guli-tē, -gulā-tē » etc.)

The affix is thus in three forms, -দি -দ « -di-, -d- », দিগ « -dig(ā)- » and দিগর « -digārṣ ». The last form apparently has a র « -rṣ » which is not the genitive affix. It is frequent in letters and documents and in prose generally from the 18th century onwards, but it became obsolete by the middle of the 19th century. This দিগর « -digārṣ » is only an artificial form built on the proper genitive দিগের or দিগর « -dig-ērṣ, -dig-ārṣ ». It came to be established through a confusion with the Persian « digar » *another, more, and the rest*, etc. Persian « digar » occurs frequently in the highly Persianised Bengali of the law courts: a form like মানুষের দিগরকে « mānuṣērṣ digārṣ-kē » *to men* arose probably in the early 18th century in the law courts; and when a prose style came into being in Bengali about that period, it had to be based as a matter of course on the only prose that was current, viz., in legal and epistolary documents. The curious form দিগর « digārṣ », which is thus merely the native দিগ-র, দিগের « -dig-ārṣ, -dig-ērṣ » mistaken for the Persian word, in this way came to be accepted in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » in its formative and early periods. The confusion between the native affix দিগ « -digā » and the Persian « digar » is plain: we have তাহাদিগকে, তাহাদিগের « tāhā-digā-kē, tāhā-dig-ērṣ » *to them*; and a Persianised expression তাহার দিগরকে « tāhārṣ digārṣ-kē » = *to the others of his (group)* > *to them* could easily be evolved when the form « -dig-ārṣ » was handy in the language. With the decay of Persian influence upon Bengali, the form দিগর « digārṣ » has become obsolete.

The persistent use in many Late MB. and Early NB. prose documents of the form *দিগর* « *digārṣ* » as a separate plural forming post-position, like *সব, সকল* « *sābṣ, sākālṣ* » and the rest, has thrown some Bengali scholars off their guard, and has been responsible for the assumption that *দিগর* « *digārṣ* » and *-দিগ, -দিগের, -দি, -দের* « *-digā, -dig-ērṣ, -di, -dērṣ* » etc. are derived from the Persian word.

There is no affix corresponding to *-দিগ, -দিগের, -দি, -দের* « *-digā, -di, -dig-ērṣ, -dērṣ* » in any other NIA. language. It does not occur in OB. There has been some speculation about the origin of this group of affixes. (Cf. Beames, 'Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India,' II, London, 1875, p. 200, Bengali Grammar, Oxford, 1894, p. 20; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, Wilson Philological Lectures delivered in 1877, Bombay, 1914, pp. 238-239; A. F. R. Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, pp. 190-191; Chintāmaṇi Gāṅguli, Bengali Grammar, Bengali year 1288, p. 40; Rabindranath Tagore, 'Śabda-tattwa,' pp. 85-90.) But there is nothing in MB. to warrant an affiliation to an obsolete genitive affix « *-dā* » (Hoernle), to a plural form « **-nhi-kēra > *-ndigēra > -digērṣ* » (Rabindranath Tagore), or a derivation from a Skt. « *diś, dik* » *direction* (Beames and Bhāṇḍārkar), or from a Skt. « *dirgha* » (Gāṅguli).

The proper source of *-দিগ, -দি* « *-digā, -di* » is undoubtedly the *ts.* word « *ādi* » which came into wide use in Eastern Rāḍha from the Second MB. period. Rai Bahadur D. C. Sen suggested « *ādi, ādi-ka* », so commonly found in MB. literature from the 16th century onwards (and certainly earlier still) as having developed into the NB. affix. (Cf. 'Vanga-bhāṣā Ō Sāhitya⁴,' pp. 33, 34, 235, 332). It would be noted that in MB., *আদি* « *ādi* » and its extension *আদিক* « *ādi-ka* » are used for the nominative as well. The words are used in MB. mainly after proper names, but they are found with other nouns, masculine as well as neuter. The sense is not exactly of the plural, but of 'and the like,' 'and the rest.' Thus, in the 'Narōttama-Vilāsa' of Narahari Cakravarti (c. 1614-1625), we have—

এঁহে কত কহি অধ্যাপকে স্থির কৈল।

প্রাতঃকালে জানাদিক করি সজ্জ হৈল ॥

বিনা যানে রাজা অধ্যাপকাদি সনে ।

গেলেন খেতরি শীঘ্র গৌরাজ প্রাঙ্গণে ॥.....

মহাবিজ্ঞ রামচন্দ্র গোবিন্দাদি তথি ।

কৈল সমাদর সব হৈলা হৃষ্ট অতি ॥ (VSP., II, pp. 1244-1245)

◀ āichē kātā kahi, ādhyāpākē sthirā kailā |
prātāḥ-kālē snānādika kārī śajjā hailā ||
binā yānē rājā ādhyāpākādi sānē |
gēlēnḍ Khētari śighrā Gaurāṅgā-prāṅgāṇē ||.....
māhā-bijñā Rāmā-cāndrā Gōbindādi tāthi |
kailā sāmādārā, sabbē hailā hr̥ṣṭā āti ||

*In this way saying a great deal, he made the scholars quiet ;
In the morning-time, having finished his bath and other duties, he was dressed ;
Without a vehicle the king, with the scholars and the rest,
Went quickly to Khetari, to the courtyard of Gaurāṅga ;
The very wise Rāma-candra, and Govinda and the rest there
Did honour, and all were very glad.*

In some cases, we find the phrase আদি করি সবে ◀ ādi kārī sabbē ▶ *all with so-and-so at the head=so-and-so and others*, rather than the simple আদি or আদিক ◀ ādi, ādi-kā ▶. This ◀ ādi-kārī ▶ must have had something to do with the evolution of দিগর ◀ digārā ▶ discussed above.

As yet the more common plural-affix is গণ ◀ gaṇā ▶, at least in literature ; but the ◀ ādi, ādi-kā ▶ > ◀ -dā, -digā ▶, for the plural oblique seems to have been well-established by the end of the 15th century : তোমাদের ◀ tōmādērā ▶ *your*, for instance, is found in Kṛttivāsa's 'Rāmāyaṇa, Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa' (pp. 29, 30, VSPd. edition, MS. of c. 1602 A. C.) as well as in 'Uttara-kāṇḍa' (e.g., p. 194 ; MS. of c. 1580 A.D. ; the MSS. are late, and it cannot be ascertained whether ◀ -dērā ▶ was actually in use in Kṛttivāsa's time, 15th century, but in all probability it was).

MB. *ts.* ◀ ādi ▶ would naturally become ◀ āidā, āid ▶ by epenthesis : মানুষাদি ◀ mānuṣādi ▶ would become মানুষদ ◀ *mānuṣāid ▶, genitive মানুষদের ◀ *mānuṣāidērā ▶, whence NB. মানুষদের ◀ mānuṣēdērā ▶, which is still common, and then by dropping of the ◀ -ē ▶, মানুষদের ◀ mānuṣā-dērā ▶.

We even now invariably say *রামের* « *Rāmēdērṣ* » of *Rāma and his people* = « **Rāmāidērṣ* < *Rāmādi*, *Rāmāid* + -ērṣ »; and *রামের* « **Rām-dērṣ* » is not heard at all : the old full form is preserved in this case, where we have a proper name, and the sense too is the old one of a group rather than of the plural. The « *ā* » of « *ādi*, *āid* » came to be linked with the preceding word, and gradually « *-di*, « *-d* » alone had the force of an affix. Then it came to be used with nouns ending in vowels like « *-i*, « *-u* » : e.g., *পাখীদের* « *pākhi-d-ērṣ* » of *birds*, *গোরুর* « *gōru-d-ērṣ* » of *cows*. The intermediate stages are not preserved in MB. literature, as the literary language scorned to have colloquial forms as yet not fully established. The form *দি* « *-di* » without epenthesis, is found, but it is rather rare in the Standard Colloquial (see under accusative above, p. 728). *আদিক* « *ādi-kā* » became *আদিগ* « *ādīgā* » by voicing, as in the case of *কুল* < *কুল*- « *-gulā* < *kulā* ». The « *ā* » was assimilated with the ending of the preceding word, and there was not much scope for epenthesis here (to a possible « **āidgā* »): and the « *-kā* » form seems to have been rather a learned and artificial one than colloquial—the result of an attempt to give a respectable look with the all-useful « *-ka* » to a vernacular form in « *-di*, « *-ādi* ». *দিগ* « *digā* » also came to be generalised, like *দি*, *দ* « *-di*, « *-dṣ* » with words in « *-i*, « *-u* » vowels. The genitive form of *দিগ* is *দিগের* « *digērṣ* » = *digā* + -ērṣ; and *দিগর* « *digārṣ* » = *digā* + -ārṣ also is found. It would not be correct to derive *দিগের* form *আদি-কের* « *ādi-kēra* », regarding the case as one of retention of the older MIA. form of the common Bengali genitive affix « *-ērṣ* »; the occurrence in MB. of *আদিক* « *ādi-kā* » is against such a derivation. Rai Bahadur Y. C. Vidyānidhi, while accepting « *ādi* » as the source of the Bengali affix, suggests that « *ādi* + *kāra* » > *দিগার* « **digārā* » was the original form of *দিগের* « *digārṣ* » (Bengali Grammar, VSPd., p. 196), which has the « *-ā* » changed to « *-ē* » through Vowel Harmony (see pp. 400 *supra*); but the need to postulate a MB. « **digārā* » is equally unnecessary.

490. The *bbh.* word *দব* « *sābṣ* », strengthened in MB. by the *sts.* *সভ* < *সভা* « *sābhā* < *sābhā* », the *bbh.* or *ts.* words *কুল* > *কুলা* « *kulā* > *gula* », *জন* « *jānṣ* » and *গণ* « *gānṣ* », and the *ts.* or *sts.* *আদি*, *আদিক* > *দ*, *দিগ* « *ādi*, « *ādi-ka* > *-d*, « *-digā* », have thus furnished to Bengali a set of new

agglutinated plural affixes. There are other *ts.* words of multitude loosely agglutinated to indicate the plural in the « sādhu-bhāṣā »—*e.g.*, « samasta, sakala, samūha, varga, lōka, caya, nicaya » etc. The Perso-Arabic « maḥal » is also similarly used, though in a restricted way, *e.g.*, বন্ধু মহল « bāndhu-māḥālā » *society of friends = friends*, রাজনৈতিক মহলে « rājñāitika-māḥāl-ē » *among politicians*, etc.

The case affixes and post-positions are placed after the noun of multitude agglutinated, and this system has its parallel in the agglutinative system of Dravidian, *e.g.*, মানুষ-গুল-কে « mānuṣ-ḡulā-kē » *to men*, cf. Tamil « manidaṅ-ḡal-ukku ». Here of course we have only a fortuitous resemblance, there being no genetic connexion whatever between the very late Indo-Aryan « -ḡulā, -kē » and the Dravidian « -ḡal, -ukku ».

Of the above nouns of number, সব « sabbā », সকল « śakālā » sometimes সমস্ত « śamastā », and অনেক « ānekā » (MB. আনেক « āṇēkā ») which indicate merely number and not grouping, are loosely compounded with nouns as attributives to express the plural. This is found from the oldest period of Bengali: *e.g.*, (Aryā 1, « saula-samāhia » *with (all) samādhis*; ŚKK., p. 1, সব দেবী মেলি সভা পাতিল আকাশে « sabbā-dēbhē mēli śābhā pātīlā ākāśē » *the Gods having met held a gathering in the sky*; *ibid.*, p. 1, ব্রহ্ম সব দেব লইয়া গেলান্তি সাগরে « Brāhmā sabbā-dēbhā lāyīā ḡēlānti sāḡarē » *B. taking the Gods went to the sea*. In NB., the noun qualified can optionally take a second word at the end, or the affix « -ērā, -rā » (see *infra*).

Other forms of periphrasis are found from the Early MB. period: the pronominal adjective জত, যত « jātā » *as much* is used attributively, singly or with সব « sabbā », গণ « ḡaṇā » etc.: *e.g.*, Early MB. (ŚKK. p. 19), যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাএ « jātā nānā phulā, pānā kārāpurā, sabbā pēlāilā pāē » *all the various flowers, betel-leaves, and camphor she scattered with her foot*. *ibid.*, p. 237, কাহ্নাঞিক দেখি যত গোপগোপীগণে । হরবেঁ হইলা ভবেঁ সজল নয়নে ॥ « Kāṇhāṇikā dekhi jātā ḡōpā-ḡōpi-ḡaṇē, hārāṣē hāyilā tāḡē śājālā nāyānē » *Seeing Kṛṣṇa, all the herdsmen and herdswomen through joy then had moistened eyes*. The loss of a genuine plural-forming affix had placed the language in this difficulty.

« chālā-rā ») *children* (p. 12), কাজীরা « kājirā » *the Qāzīs* (p. 55), বাপুয়া « bāpurā » *good men, fathers* (a term of address: p. 149), কামারেরা « kāmārērā » *black-smiths* (p. 169), শিবেরা বাপে বৌ « Śibērā bāpē jhī » *they together, Śiva the father and (Padmā or Manasā) the daughter, lit. the Śīnas, father and daughter* (p. 219), etc., beside ত(হা)রা « tā(hā)rā », মোরা « mōrā » (pp. 53, 54), তারা « tōrā » (p. 71), etc., etc. In MB. from the 16th century the use of « -rā, -ērā » is steadily on the increase, although it looks as if it was not favoured by literary Bengali of the Late MB. period. The « sādhu-bhāṣā » of the 19th century similarly preferred compoundings with « gāṇḍ, sāmūhā, sākālā » etc.; but « -rā, -ērā » are at the present day commonly used both in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial and it is found in all the dialects. In the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and the Standard Colloquial « -rā, -ērā » are used only for the nominative, but in many forms of dialectal (colloquial) Bengali, we have the « -rā, -ērā » bases employed for the genitive as well by adding the usual « -rā »: e.g., Standard Colloquial *nomi ative* তারা « tārā » *they*, genitive তাদের « tādērā » *their* (= « sādhu-bhāṣā » তাহারা « tāhārā » and তাহাদের « tāhādīgērā »), but East Bengali তারা « tārā », genitive তারার « tārā-rā »: the last is therefore a double genitive form. Similarly, there is Western Bengali (Dhalbhum) আমরাকে « āmarā-kē » *us, to us* = Standard Colloquial আমাদের « āmāderā »; so Malpaharia চাকররা « cākārā-rā-kē » *to servants*, মিতানরা « mitān-rā-kē » *to friends* (LSI., V, I, p. 100), etc.

The use of a form of the genitive for the nominative plural is not an isolated fact in Bengali. Apart from the genitive plural in « -rā, -ērā », we have in Bengali itself, in the Western dialects, plural forms by extension from the obsolete genitive in « -kā »: e.g., Western Bengali (Dhalbhum, LSI., V, I, p. 79) ইগা « i-gā < * i-kā » *these*; (Malpaharia, Santal Parganas, LSI., V, I, p. 100) বেহিয়াগা « bēhiyā-gā » *courtesans*, ইহাগা « ihā-gā » *these*, সাঙ্গানগা « sāngānā-gā-rā » *of friends*; (Manbhum, LSI., ibid., p. 97) হাংগা « hāt-gā » *hands*; S.W. Bengali (LSI., ibid., p. 110) ইগা « i-gā » *these*; etc. Among the sisters and cousins of Bengali we have similar instances, e.g., Magahi « hamar-nī » *we* < « hamar » *of us* + genitival affix « -nī »; Bhōjpuriyā « hamānī-kā, hamānā » *we*, « unhā-kā » *they*,

« kēkaṇī, kekaṇī-kā » *who ?* (pl.); in the Baghēlkhaṇḍī form of E. Hindi, we have similarly « hamārē, tihārē » *we, ye* (cf. Kellogg, ‘Hindi Grammar’ p. 193). In Eastern Pahārī (Khas-kurā or Nēpālī), the plural affix is « -hēru, -haru » and « -ēru », with which are connected the dialectal Rājasthānī (Mālvi) plural affix « -hōr, -hōrō, -hōnō » and the Early Kanaui (W. Hindi) plural affix « -hwār » (cf. LSI., IX, IV, p. 23; IX, II, p. 55). The source of the above would seem to be the old genitive and adjectival post-position of MIA., namely « -kara, -kēra »,—the source equally of the Bengali « -rā, -ērā »: the « h-, hō-, hē- » being possibly the « -h- » of the old oblique (cf. Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, pp. 191, 192).

The evolution of the « -r-ā, -ēr-ā » affix for the plural is comparatively a late thing in Bengali, and its derivation from « kara, kēra < kārya » is clear; and it cannot be in its origin a Dravidian borrowing, nor should it be compared with the Dravidian plural « -ār, -ār », found in Tamil as well as in the Dravidian speeches adjoining Bengali, viz., Oraon and Maler.

492. In dialectal Bengali there is an affix for the plural, মীন « mīnā » (West Bengali, Manbhum Dist.), or মন « mānā » (South-Western Bengali of Midnapur). This is undoubtedly the same as the affix « -māna- » which is found in Oṛiyā as a common plural affix (in the nominative « mānē »): e.g., « puruṣā », pl. nom. « puruṣ-ē, puruṣ-ā-mānē », genitive pl. « puruṣāṇ-kā(rā), puruṣa-mānāṇ-kā(rā) ». In the Early Oṛiyā of the 15th century inscriptions (see *supra*, p. 107), the form occurs as both « māṇa » (with a cerebral « ṇ ») and « māna ». The source of this form is the OIA. « mānava », compounded to indicate the plural, like « jana, lōka ». The *tbh.* form in Oṛiyā gave « *māṇā = *māṇā » (« ava, āwa > ā »: see p. 346): but when it became an affix, it was possibly confused with a *ts.* « māna » *measure*, and this has led to the spelling with a dental « -n- » which obtains now: « *mānavahi, māṇāhi » gave « māṇē, mānē ». In OB., the word is found with the « -ā » affix, e.g., in Caryā 46: « mōha-vimukkā jāī māṇā, tabē tuṭai āvaṇā-gamaṇā » *when a man is freed from ignorance, then (his) coming and going (= saṁsāra) is broken*. The word is found in the Haijong dialect of East Bengali (Maimansing) as মন « mānā » *man*, and possibly it occurs in other dialects. In Bhōjpuriyā, we have « manāi », a common word for *man in general*, which

represents either a « *mānavika » or the old Māgadhi nominative singular « mānavē » *mānawī » : and « man » for the plural is found in the Nāgpuriyā dialect of Bhōjpurīyā, as well as in the contiguous Chattisgarhi form of Eastern Hindī. We have thus a tract of IA., embracing the Oṛiyā, West Bengali (in part), South-eastern Bhōjpurīyā and Chattisgarhi speeches, in which « mānava » has come to be a plural indicating word : and considering that « mānē » is in full force in Oṛiyā, it may be presumed that this employ originated in the old West Rāḍha form of Māgadhi Apabhraṁśa, which was the source of Oṛiyā, and thence it spread to the contiguous dialects.

493. Early Assamese uses the words « gaṇa, saba (samha, sama), sakala » etc. to indicate the plural, just like Bengali. The use of these affixes has become obsolete now. New Assamese employs instead the words « -bilākṣ, (-blākṣ), -bōrṣ » and « -hātṣ ». All these are rare in Middle Assamese. « -bilākṣ » is of obscure origin. North Bengali has a dialectal form for the Common Bengali « -gulā, -gulākṣ », namely, « -gilā, -gilākṣ, -glā », and a connexion between « -gilākṣ » and « -bilākṣ » has been suggested ; but apart from the phonetic difficulty of the change of « -gi- » to « -bi- », there is a wide difference in the employment of this word — « -gulā » in Bengali is contemptuous, but « -bilākṣ » in Assamese is honorific. In Early Assamese, again, « -gulā(ka) » is not found at all. The Skt. work « vilōka » has been suggested as the source of « -bilākṣ » (Devānanda Bharāli, 'Asamiyā-bhāṣār Maulik Vicār,' Dibrugarh, 1912, p. 35). The use of the *ts.* « lōka » as an honorific plural affix in Assamese lends support to this derivation (e.g., « tai » *thou*, « tumi » *you*, honorific « tumi-lōkṣ » ; so « mantri-lōkṣ » *ministers*), but the change of « ō » to « ā » is not justifiable, and this precludes the above derivation.

« -bōrṣ » may be from an IA. « bahula » or « bahala » *many*, rather than from « bhūri » (as suggested by Devānanda Bharāli, *op. cit.*) Or can it be that « -bōrṣ » and « -bilākṣ » are connected with each other, and are to be referred to a non-Aryan (Tibeto-Burman) source ? There is the common Boḍo plural affix « frā, for, fūr » which comes up in this connexion : Boḍo formed an important (if not the largest) non-Aryan element in Western Assam where the Assamese dialect was characterised.

Assamese «-hātā» represents «*ahanta», present participle of «√ah =as», corresponding to Bengali হৈতে, হইতে «hāitē», apparently used as a genitive-ablative post-position in the Eastern Magadhan dialects, and later stereotyped into the plural affix in Assamese.

494. By reduplicating the adjective, we have the sense of the plural distributive in Bengali, as in other NIA. languages: e.g., বড় বড় ঘোড়া «bārā bārā ghōrā» *horses, each a big one*; OB. (Caryā 28) «ūcā ūcā pābata (sts.)» *hills, each a high one*; MB. (ŚKK., p. 388) বড় বড় গাছের «bārā bārā gāchērā» *of trees, each a big one*.

[D] CASE INFLEXIONS: INHERITED FROM MIA., AND NEWLY CREATED.

495. Following the method of the Sanskrit grammarians, the Bengali noun is declared to have seven cases (eight, including the vocative), which are formed by adding both inflexions and postpositions. The following are the case affixes which are added to the noun in New Bengali, like organic inflexions, as distinct from the detachable post-positional words:

Nominative: এ, য «-ē, -yā»;

Instrumental: এ, য «-e, -yā»;

Locative: এ, য «-e, -yā»; ‡ত, তে «-tā, -tē», এ-তে «-ā-tē», extended also to the Instrumental and the Nominative.

Oblique-Locative: এ, য «-e, -yā», occurring as the Accusative and Dative, and also in the Instrumental with the post-positional verb করিয়া «kāriyā» or করে «kōrē»;

Genitive: য, এর «-rā, -ērā»: in the plural, ‡গা, গো «-gā, -gō»;

Dative: কে, রে, এর «-k-ē, -r-ē, -ēr-ē».

496. Of the above, the Genitive, Dative, and Locative affixes «-rā, -ērā, -gā, -gō»; «-k-ē, -r-ē, -ēr-ē»; «-tā, -tē» are of recent, Late MIA. origin, having developed, not from OIA. case inflexions, but from help-words which came to be combined with the stems or inflected forms of the noun in the period immediately before the NIA. stage. The other affix, the affix এ «-ē», occurring also as য «-yā» after the «-ā» and «-ō» vowels in New Bengali, which is found in the Nominative and Instrumental, and in the

Oblique-Locative and Accusative, is the sole representative in Bengali of the OIA. case affixes, into which several OIA. cases have merged.

NOMINATIVE.

497. Bengali and Assamese nominative affix has the characteristic affix « -ē ». It has become rather obsolete in West Bengali, but it is still a living form in East Bengali and in Assamese. Instances are exceedingly common in the OB. of the Caryās and in MB. of all periods. In other Magadhan Languages, « -ē » as the nominative affix (singular) is obsolete now, but the older literatures of Oṛiyā and Maithilī show that it was formerly as much a living form as in Bengali and Assamese. See *infra* for examples.

In the old Prācya or eastern speech of the First MIA. Period, the OIA. nominative masculine and neuter affixes « -aḥ, -am » both became « -ē ». The specimens of the Eastern dialect that we have all show this « -ē »—Aśōkan Eastern speech, Old Māgadhi as in the Śutanukā inscription (see p. 59), 'Māgadhi' and 'Ardha-māgadhi' as in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas (p. 59), Jaina Ardha-māgadhi, and Māgadhi of the Sanskrit drama. In Late MIA., i.e., during the Apabhraṃśa Stage, this « -ē » in all likelihood became « *-i », as we find from the evidence of some of the Prakrit grammarians. Thus Mārkaṇḍēya (17th century) in his 'Prākṛta-sarvasva' notes for Māgadhi that « sāu puṃsy ēd-itāu : puṃsi sāu parē 'kāra ēd-itāu syāt »: i.e., in -su, or nominative singular, masculine (and neuter), the final « -ā » becomes « -ē » and « -i »: e.g., « śili muṇḍidē = śiraḥ muṇḍitam » (Vizianagram ed., p. 102); and further, he says that in the Śābarī dialect, a form a Māgadhi, « -ā- » in the nominative singular becomes both « -ē » and « -i », and this is a rule which is common to both masculine and neuter nouns: « māṇuśē, māṇuśi; vaṇē, vaṇi » beside « māṇuśō, vaṇam », for Skt. « mānuṣaḥ, vanam » (p. 108: « ataḥ sāv ēd-itāu ca, puṃ-napuṃsaka-sādhāraṇō' yaṃ vidhiḥ »). Paralleling the weakening of the OIA. locative « -ē » to « -i » in Late NIA. of both the East and the West, and that of Śaurasēni and Mahārāṣṭrī and other Western MIA. « -aḥ » to « -u »

in the Apabhraṃśas of the West (see pp. 311-312), the Māgadhi « -ē » can reasonably be expected to have also become « -i », as the grammarian has noticed it. A form like « putra > puttē » would therefore result in Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa as « *putti », in Māgadhi NIA. (including OB.) as « *pūti ». This « -i » form for the nominative (by extension, serving as the base for the other cases also) seems to have actually survived in a few words: e.g., OB. vocative « Kānhi » (Caryā 7: < Kāṇhē, Kṛṣṇa); N.B. ‡ পুতি « puti » beside পুত « put » son; চাটুতি « Cāṭuti » (see pp. 409, 692); গাঁই « ṭhāi » place < « *thāwi, ṭhāmē=sthāman » (but cf. W. Hindi « ṭhāw < *thāwu »); নেই « nēi » indulgence < « *nēhi=ṇēbē=snēhaḥ » (but cf. MB. দে « dē » < « dēha »; « dēhi » is found in Early Oṛiyā); and a few similar forms in MB., NB. A form like « putra-kaḥ » with pleonastic « -ka » would give Māgadhi Pkt. « putta(g)ē » which would become in Māg. Ap. « *puttai », and the Old Bengali transformation of it would be « pūtē » = MB. and NB. পুতে « putē ». And probably in this way the « -ē » is mostly to be derived from a Māgadhi « -aē » = Skt. « -a-kaḥ ». Thus, OB.: « jē ajarāmara hōi ḍiṭa-kāndha » (= « diḍha-kāndhē », to rime with « sāndhē » in preceding line) so that he becomes ageless and deathless, and strong in his shoulders (Caryā 3: < *diḥha-kandhaī < diḍha-kandhaē = dṛḍha-skandhakaḥ); « Bhādē bhanaī » sups Bhāda (Caryā 35: < Bhaddaē = Bhādrakaḥ): « kumbhīrē khāi » the crocodile eats (Caryā 2: < kumbhīlāc = kumbhirakāḥ); MB. (ŚKK.) কংসের কারণে হএ সৃষ্টির বিনাশে « Kaṇsērā kārāṇē hāē sṛṣṭirā bināśē » through the reason of K. the destruction of the world takes place (p. 2); বাঢ়এ মধনে « bāṛhāē māḍānē » love increases (p. 30); না ছাড়ো নান্দেৰ পোএ « nā chārē Nāndērā pōē » Nanda's son does not leave (p. 38); ‘Crepas Xaxtrer Orthbhedh’ — « xadhue eq crux bhanaia boner moidhe raqhilo » = সাধুৱে এক ক্রুশ বানাইয়া বনের মধ্যে রাখিল the saint made a crucifix and kept it within the forest, « xtrie zigguiaxa corilo » = জ্বীয়ে জিজ্ঞাসা করিল the woman asked; etc., etc.;—such instances from MB. and NB. are extremely common. A noun without any verb, in the usual nominal phrase-building of NIA., is frequently found with this « -ē » in Bengali.

Examples from Oṛiyā: « ...Uttāmā-kumārē...upujilā » Prince Uttama was born (‘Dhruva-caritra,’ p. 4); « bicārā nāśā kāribārē, ētā nōhāi subicārē »

you think of killing, this is not justice (Jagannātha-dāsa, 'Bhāgavata,' the Story of the Birth of Kāṣa, Contai ed., p. 19); « ēmāntā bhāli jānē jānē, buddhi āṇṭilā mānē mānē » *so viewing, each individually formed the plan in his mind* (*ibid.*, p. 7); « bājṛā pārilā jēnhē śirē, bādānē nōhilā uttārē » (text = uttārā) *as if a thunder-bolt fell on the head, there was no reply in the mouth* (*ibid.*, Rāsa-līlā, p. 7); « sujānā jānāṅkārā hitē, kāhāi bipṛā Jāgānnāthē » *for the good of virtuous men, the Brāhman Jagannātha narrates* (*ibid.*, p. 10); « ēkā gōpī āgāsāri jāi, khōjāi puṣpā-bāri » *one herdsman goes advancing and seeks flowers and water* (*ibid.*, p. 12); etc. This « -ē » for the singular nominative has already become rather rare in Early Oṛiyā.

Examples from Maithili: « jani Manamathē mana bēdhala bānē » *as if Love pierced (her) mind with an arrow* (Vidyāpati, VSPd. ed., p. 39); « kāpala parama rasālē » *(he) trembled, filled with love* (*ibid.*, p. 40); « sajanē-hu na purāla manaka sādhe, nayana dēkhala Hari, ēta aparādhē » *even in a dream the heart's desire was not fulfilled; (she) saw Hari with (her) eyes, (was that) such a crime?* (*ibid.*, p. 51); « cintāē bikala hṛdaya nahi thirē, bādana nihāri nayana baha nīrē » *the heart agitated with thinking is not steady; seeing his face, tears flow from the eyes* (*ibid.*, p. 52); etc., etc.

An « -i » affix inherited from the Māgadhī « -ē » disappeared in the OB. period, possibly through confusion with the locative « -i < -ē », and « -akāḥ > -aē > * -ai > -ē » was fully established. In establishing this « -ē » as the characteristic nominative affix, there was the influence of the « -ē, -ē » affix of the instrumental. The nominative was replaced by the instrumental in the passive construction which occurred in OB. in the past tense of the transitive verb, following the MIA. conditions: e.g., OB. « * Kānhē (for * Kānhi) pōthi paḍhai » *Krishna reads a book* would become in the past tense « * Kānhē pōthi paḍhili ». The difference between the nominative and instrumental affixes in OB. (Kānhē < Kaṇhāē = Kṛṣṇakāḥ, Kānhē = Kaṇhē[ṇa]m = Kṛṣṇēna) was one of nasalisation only, and the cases could be easily confused, and then affixes interchanged. And as a matter of fact, « -ē, -ē » interchange, and are used one for the other from the OB. period. The tendency also was to drop the affixes « -i, -ē » for the nominative when the construction was active: thus, beside

« kumbhirē khāi » (Caryā 2) and « Bhādē bhaṇai » (Caryā 35), we have the simple « -a » base: e.g., « Saraha bhaṇai » (Caryā 32). But this tendency may be said to have been resisted by the « -ē, -ē » of the instrumental nominative of the past transitive: e.g., OB. « cōrē nila » *a thief took away* (Caryā 2); Kukkuri-pāṣē gāḍa » *Kukkuri-pāda sang (ibid)*; « Kānhē gāi » (= Kṛṣṇēna gītā : Caryā 18); « Bājulē dila » *Bājula gave* (35); « Ājadēvē saala bihariu » *everything Ārya-dēva has taken away* (48); MB. গায়েন চৌদাশে « gāiḥ Cāṇḍidāśe » *C. sang*, etc. The nasalisation of the instrumental « -ē » was entirely dropped during the 15th century, and this made the fusion of the two cases complete.

In the gradual merging of the two cases, it is not unlikely that there was some influence of masses of Bengalised Tibeto-Burmans in North and East Bengal, who adopted the Aryan speech of Bengal during the formative period of Bengali. In Tibetan, for instance, the 'verb must be regarded as denoting, not an action, or suffering, or condition of any subject, but merely a coming to pass, or in other words, they are impersonal verbs, like *taedet, miseret* etc. in Latin, or *it suits* etc. in English. Therefore they are destitute of what is called... the active and passive voice, as well as of the discrimination of persons... From the same reason the acting subject of a transitive verb must regularly appear in the Instrumental case, as the case of the subject of a neutral verb, —which, in European languages, is the Nominative—ought to be regarded, from a Tibetan point of view, as Accusative expressing the object of an impersonal verb, just as 'poenitet me' is translated by 'I repent'... The subject of a transitive verb, in Tibetan, assumes regularly the form of the instrumental, of a neutral verb that of the nominative which is the same as the accusative.' (H. A. Jäschke, 'Tibetan Grammar', London, 1883, p. 40).

The possibility of the « -ē » of the nominative also preserving the Māgadhī Ap. instrumental plural « -ahi » (> nominative, as in Oṛiyā) has been noticed before (p. 724). The instrumental in MB., through overlapping of function with the locative and through confusion with the « -ē » of the locative, assumed the postpositional affix « -ta, -t-ē » which is proper to the latter: e.g., MB. (ŚKK.) হাথত « hāthētā » *in or with the*

hand, NB. হাতেতে < hātēte >. This as a matter of course was taken up by the nominative in the Second and Late NB. periods, after nouns ending in a vowel (i.e. the vowels < -ā, -i, -u, -ō >, after < -ā > had dropped off) : e.g., ঘোড়াতে ঘাস খায় < ghōrā-tē ghāsḥ khāyḥ > *the horse eats grass*, earlier ঘোড়ায়=ঘোড়াএ < ghōrā-yḥ=ghōrā-ē > and ঘোড়া < ghōrā >, which are still used ; so গোরুতে < gōru-tē > or গোরু < gōru > (the earlier গোরুএ < gōru-ē > is no longer found in the Standard Colloquial : see *supra*, p. 719).

Old Bengali shows a number of instances of nominatives in < -u > and < -ō > : these are literary impositions from Western or Śaurasēni Apabhraṇṣa ; and although they crop up in the artificial Braja-buli dialect, they are not found in the Bengali speech proper, either in MB. or in NB. (see *supra*, pp. 115-116 ; 103-104).

INSTRUMENTAL.

498. The instrumental < -ē, -ē > occurs in numerous instances in the Caryās : e.g., < dārē > *in fear* (2), < bēgē > (5 : vēgēna), < mānsē > (6 : mānsēna), < akilēsē > (9 : =aklēsēna), < nāvē > (10 : = nāvēna), < bōhē > (12, 35, =bōdhēna), < suraa-pasangē, jōṇi-jālē > (19 : =surata-prasangēna, yōginī-jālēna), etc., etc. This < -ē > is used also for the plural number : e.g., < tiṇīē paṭē > *with or in three beings* (16) ; and it has been generalised for feminine nouns as well, e.g., < sāṇē > (Caryā 2 : saṁjñā + -ēna) < michē > (22 : =mithayā), < hēlē līlē > (18 : = hēlayā līlayā), < bhāntiē > (41 : = bhrāntyā) ; etc., etc. (see *supra*, p. 717).

The < -ē > represents the OIA. < -ēna >, instrumental singular : < -ēna > is found in MIA. as < -ēna, -ēnaṁ, -ēm > ; in Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali it still retains the nasalisation— < -ē > ; e.g., হাতে মারে < hātē mārē > *strikes with the hand*, eMB. হাথে মারে < hāthē mārē >, OB. < hāthē mārāi >, MIA. < hatthēm mārēi > = OIA. < hastēna mārayati >.

The change of < -ēna > to < ē > has been through the nasalisation of the vowel by the < -n- >. The nasalised form already occurs in Apabhraṇṣa. A parallel case is the change of < -ānām > of the genitive plural

to the forms « -ā, -ā » in NIA. (See p. 373.) The full « -n » also is preserved, for both « -ēna » and « -anām », in NIA. : *e.g.*, in Awadhī (Lakhimpurī dialect) « ḍarēn » *through fear*; and « -n(a), -n-i < ānām » is quite common.

The instrumental « -ē » is the sole relic of a true inflexion of OIA. which has survived in Bengali without contamination.

Instrumental « -ē, -ē » is preserved in Bihārī, *e.g.*, Maithilī « nēñ » *by a child*. It is found as « -ē » commonly enough in Early Oriyā. Traces of it occur in the Western Languages : *e.g.*, Hindi « dhīrē calō » *walk slowly*. For Marāṭhī, cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 193, and R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' pp. 204-205.

The locative and instrumental were confused through the possession of the common affix « -ē, -ē », and in some cases a form could be equally either locative or instrumental. This resulted in the employment of the post-positional locative affix « -ta » in the instrumental as well, which has been noticed above. The Caryās show one or two instances : *e.g.*, Caryā 1, « sukha-dukhētē » *through joy and misery*; Caryā 15, « biārētē » *by discrimination* (vicāra-). In MB. and NB. « -ta, -tē, -ē-tē » become established for the instrumental, and for words ending in vowels (esp. « -i, -u, -ō »), « -tē » has become the characteristic instrumental affix (see *ante*, p. 719).

In Caryā 14 « bāha tu cchandā » *row thou with pleasure*, and in Caryā 45 « bāḍhaī sō taru śubhāśubha-pāṇī » *that tree grows through the water of good and evil*, we have exceptional cases of the simple base being used for the instrumental.

LOCATIVE AND OBLIQUE.

499. It represents in all probability an old locative suffix, an OIA. « *-a-dhi », not found in Sanskrit, but attested from MIA. (Pali) « -dhi » and from the Greek « -thi ». It has been also surmised that there was in OIA. an affix in two forms, « *-bhi, *-bbhim » (which is represented in Homeric Greek by « phi, -phin », and is found in Latin in « ti-bi » : it occurs also in Armenian). Its use, as can be seen from the Greek and

other Indo-European languages, was in the sense of 'by, along with,' in the Locative and Ablative, as well as Instrumental, and rarely in the Genitive and Dative : and it was not of a definite number. This « *-bhi, *-bhim » would become « -hi, -hiṃ » in MIA., and it seems this suffix is partly also the base of the MIA. ablative and locative affixes : the nasalised « -hiṃ » would certainly seem to go back to it. (Cf. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, p. xx; Herman Hirt, 'Handbuch der griechischen Laut- und Formenlehre,' Heidelberg, 1912, § 304.) Thus, घरे « ghārē » in *the house*, MB. घरे, घरे « ghārē, ghārē » = Late MIA. « gharāhi, gharahiṃ » < OIA. « *gr̥ha-dhi(m), *gr̥ha-bhi(m) ».

It is very likely, however, that we have in addition the OIA. locative singular affix « -asmin » here, = « *-assim, -aśsim, -amhi, -ammi » in Early MIA., which has merged into the Late MIA. « -ahi, -ahiṃ ». There is some difficulty of deriving « ahī, -ahi » from the Eastern form « *-assei, *-aśsi » as well as the Western « -amhi, -ammi ». The genuine Māgadhī form in the oldest period was « *-aśsi », and « -amhi » was a Western one (cf. Truman Michelson, JAOS., 1909, pp. 77 ff.); but later Prakrit grammarians note « -ammi » for both Māgadhī and Mahārāṣṭrī. The form « -ahi » is found in Early Maithilī in the locative, and « -e, -ē, -aī, -ahi, -ahi » occur in Old Bengali. Oṛiyā uses now « ṭhā-r-ē » for the locative, but « -ē » is quite common for the locative in Early Oṛiyā.

Old Bengali has also « -i » < « -ē » of OIA. for the locative : this « -e > -i » later dropped off in MB. (see *supra*, p. 312).

Instances of the inflected locative from the Caryās : « cīē » in *the mind* (1); « divasāi » (2); « eku hiahī » in *one heart* (2 : printed text = « ekuḍi ahī », but « -ḍi ahī » must be for « hiahī », as the commentary has « bṛdayē »); « ghaḍiē, bākalaī » (« balkalē » : Caryā 3 : printed text = « bākalaa »); « gharē » (2,11); « khaṇahī » (4 : « kṣaṇē », or « kṣaṇam »); « mājhē » (5, 14, 18, 30); « hiahī » (6); « niaḍi » (5), « ṇiaḍi » (7) = « nikaṭē »; « acārē, caraṇē » (11); « pahilē » (12 : = prathamē); « mangē (= mārge), kulē » (14); « caṛilē » on *having mounted* (5) « jivantē, mailē; jāma-maraṇē » (22); « kaṇṭhē » (28); « sājhē » in *the evening* (33); « āiē » at *the beginning* (41 : < ādi); etc., etc.

There is in Bengali from the earliest times an accusative or dative form in « -ē, -ē̃ » : e.g., OB. « sahajē thira kari » *making the sahaja steady* (Caryā 2) ; « sahajē kahēi » *describes the sahaja* (Caryā 27) ; « bindhaha parama-nibāṇē̃ » *pierce the supreme Nirvāṇa* (Caryā 28) ; « balada biāēla gaviā bājhē » *an ox made a barren cow to bear* (Caryā 33) ; « Bhādē bhanāi, abhāgē laīlā » *Says Bhāda, I have taken bad-luck* (Caryā 35) ; « sākhi kariba Jālandhari-pāē » *I shall make Jālandhari-pada my witness* (Caryā 36 : see p. 121 *supra*) ; « sadguru-baanē dhara patavāla » *grasp the word of the good master as an oar* (Caryā 38) ; etc. MB. (ŚKK., p. 46), দেহ ঘোরে সরস বচনে « dēhā mōrē sārāsā bācānē » *give me a pleasant reply* ; *ibid*, p. 100, কান্দিয়া জাগায়িতো কাশে । পাছে কাহাঞি যোকে না দিহে দোষে ॥ « kāndiā jāṇāyibō Kāśē, pāchē Kāohāñi mōkē nā dihē dōṣē » *I shall cry and inform Kāśa, afterwards Kṛṣṇa will not (be able to) put blame on me* ; (Kṛttivāsa, ‘Uttara-kāṇḍa’) বাতুষ হঞা জিনিলে তুমি হেন রাবণে « mānuṣṣ hāñā jinilē tumi hēnā Rābāṇē » *being a man, you could defeat such (a foe as) Rāvaṇa* ; (KKC.) কোষ নাহি দেখ্য কেন কর অপমান « dōṣā nāhi dēkhyā kēnā kāṛā āpāmānē » *why do you do me insult, seeing no fault ?* ; *ibid*, বোল উপচার দিয়া ছাগল বহিষে « sōlā upācārā diyā chāgālā-māhiṣē » *making the sixteen offerings (and sacrifices of) goats and buffaloes* ; NB. অন্ধজনে দয়া কর « āndhā-jānē dāyā kāṛā » *have pity on a blind person* ; etc., etc. We have also an « -ē » in instrumental forms with করে or করিয়া « kōrē, kāriyā », like হাতে করে « hātē kōrē » *with the hand* (never হাত করে « hātā kōrē »), বোকার করে « jhōṛāy kōrē (< jhōṛā-ē) » *in a basket*, etc.

This « -ē, -ē̃ » affix recalls the oblique (accusative, dative, instrumental and locative cases) in « -(a)hi, -(a)hī » which is found in Early Awadhī and W. Hindī : e.g., Awadhī (Tulasīdāsa), « taba Rāmahi bilōki Baidēhi » *then Vaidēhi, seeing Rāma* ; « nṛpahi bacana priya, nahī priya prānā » *to the king his word is dear, not dear his life* ; « nāi munihi siru, sahita samājā » *having bowed his head to the sage, together with his companions* ; « aīsē prabhuhi bilōkaū jāi » *I shall go and see such a lord* ; « pūchata prabhuhi » *they are asking the lord* ; etc.

W. Hindī (‘Chatra-prakāśa,’ ed., Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā, p. 88) : « utari Narmadā dēsaḥi āyē » *crossing the Narmadā, they came to the country* ; p. 91,

« jahā sēvakahī nidrā lāgai, sāhiba tahā sangahī jāgai » *where sleeps takes the servant, the Lord even there watches in his company*; etc. The affix is exceedingly common with the pronouns, in the form « -hi », and the present-day Western Hindi oblique « -ai, -ē » is derived from the earlier « -a-hi ». From their nature and employ, it would seem that we have in Bengali « -ē » and the Eastern and Western Hindi « -ahi, -ahī, -ai, -ē » a common inflected form. The use of it has now become comparatively rare in NB., but it was exceedingly common in MB. It is the case of the gradual restricted use in Bengali (as in other eastern dialects) of an oblique form as differentiated from the nominative. We find the same thing in Early Oriyā and in Early Maithilī: what may be called the « -ē » oblique is no longer in use now, but it figures in the older literature in these speeches: as e.g., in Oriyā, Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra': « munin̄ki prāṇāmi kṣhē mādhurā bācānē » *after saluting the sages says sweet words* (Contai edition: p. 17); « muhī jāī bāsibāku dhāīlī āñcālē » *I went and caught the skirt to sit down* (ibid, p. 19); « Uttāmā putrē sāṅgē lēi » *having taken (his) son Uttama with him*, « SunIti putrē kōlē dhāri » *S. having held her son in her lap* (p. 61); « sē kānyā Dhrubē dēlā bibhā » *gave that daughter to Dhruva in marriage* (p. 63); « Guhyākā-gāṇē dāyā bāhi, kāhānti Dhrubā-mukhā cāhi » *feeling pity for the Guhyakas, he says looking at D.'s face* (p. 69); « ēmāntē Kubērā-bācānē Dhrubā bicāri tōṣā-mānē » *in this way D., having pondered on K.'s words, glad of heart* (p. 73); etc.; in Maithilī: Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition): « Rāhu dūri basa, niyarō na āvathi, tai nahi karathi garāsē » *R. dwells afar, does not come near, that is why he does not gobble up* (p. 12); « kāmīni karaē sanānē » = « kāmīni karōti snānam » (p. 23); « āōra pēkhala.... mōtima-bārē » *further I saw the chain of pearls* (p. 28); « lōbhē garāsali lājē » *desire ate up (destroyed) shame* (p. 38); « sunaha, sundari ! Bidyāpati-bacana-sārē » *hear, O fair one, the precious words of Vidyāpati* (p. 38); « lakhala lalita tasu gātē rē » *O, I saw his handsome body* (p. 39); « tējala guru-jana-lājē » *I have given up shame of superiors* (p. 43); etc.

This oblique « -ē » of Early Bengali and of other Magadhan dialects, < « -ai, -ai, -ahi, ahī », seems to be identical with the locative. The trans-

ference from the locative to the dative, accusative and instrumental sense is perfectly clear and intelligible. It has been suggested that this NIA. oblique «-ahi, -ahī» is derived from the OIA. genitive «-sya» (Hoernle, *Gaudian Grammar*, p. 210; Beames, II, p. 221; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures*, pp. 243-244); and again, that the instrumental plural of OIA., «-bhiḥ» > Late MIA. «-hiṃ» has been extended to the singular, and as «-hī, -hi» has become the oblique singular (cf. Baburam Saksena, 'Declension of the Noun in the Ramayan of Tulsidas,' *IAnt.*, 1923, Vol. LII, p. 74; cf. also L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī,' § 59, *IAnt.*, 1914, p. 183; see *ante*, pp. 161-162). But the change of «-sya» to «-hi» presents a phonetic problem which is unexplained, considering that «-sya» remains as «-s-» in a number of forms, e.g. Hindi «kis, jis, tis=kasya, yasya, tasya», Bengali কিস- «kis-» = «kasya» (see *supra*, p. 549; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 182). The extension of an old plural to the singular, again, would be extremely curious, and certainly it is a very unsatisfactory explanation. The locative singular in «-a-hi, -a-hī» (< *-dhī; *-bhi, *-bhim; *-smin) offers the most likely solution of this very characteristic case inflexion of NIA.

In the Bengali dative case forms «-(e)r-ē, -k-ē» we have the same locative affix «-ē», added to the post-positional affixes; and the locative «-t-ē» is case of double locative form (=post-positional locative affix «-ta» + «-ē»). So also the Oriyā «-ṭhā-r-ē», W. Hindi «-m-ē». (Cf. Grierson and Hoernle, *JRAS.*, 1903, p. 617).

500. There are cases of use of the simple base for the locative in OB. and in MB.: e.g., «sāsu gharē ghālī, kōncā tāla (=tālī)» *putting the breath inside the room, and the key in the lock* (Caryā 4); «bēḍhila hāka paḍai cau-disa» *the surrounding tumult falls in the four quarters* (Caryā 6); «kulē kula» *from shore to shore* (Caryās 14, 15); ŚKK. গোহারী করিবো রাজা কংসের দুয়ার «gōhārī kārībō rāja kāṁsērā duārā» *a cry for justice shall I raise at the gate of king Kansa* (p. 328). This is mainly for purposes of rime, and does not indicate any real loss of the vowel, but cf. NB. দোর দোর ভিক্ষা মাগা «dōrḍ dōrḍ bhikṣā māṅgā» *to beg from door to door* (see pp. 311-312).

There is no trace of the locative plural affix «-su, -ṣu» of OIA. in Bengali and its sister-speeches: it seems to have fallen into disuse from the Late MIA. stage. Śaurasēnī Ap. uses the instrumental plural «-ahī, -ēhī» for the locative plural: it may be that such was also the case in Māgadhi Ap. in which «-ahī, -ēhī» could easily become confused with the singular locative.

501. The above are the real inflexions of the Bengali declension. The other affixes were independent words compounded with the noun, and then inflected; but in the genitive, there is in all likelihood an adjectival «-ka».

The locative «-ta» is found in OB. in numerous instances in the Caryās: e.g., «sāṅkama-ta» *on the bridge* (5); «māṅga-ta, bāṭa-ta» (8: mārga-, vartman); «piṭa-ta» *on the vessel* (14); «gaṇa-ta» *in the sky*, «gīva-ta» *on the neck* (28); «ṭāla-ta»? *on high*, «hāḍī-ta = *hāḍī-ta» *in the pot* (33). This «-ta» would seem to be the word «-antaḥ» *within*: it was compounded with the noun-base: «mā(ṅ)gata < *maggaanta = mārga + antaḥ». The loss of the «-n-» here is unexpected for OB. The present participle in «-anta» still preserves the «-n-», and a post position like «antar-ē» *for*, is as yet not reduced to তার «-tārē» (as in NB.) in the language of the Caryās. The fact of the word being agglutinated with the noun-base may have been responsible for its losing its individuality, and any intermediate stage with the nasalised vowel, like «*mā(ṅ)ga-ṁ-āta, *mā(ṅ)gāta» must be pre-Bengali. The «-ta» post-position characterises the Bengali-Assamese group only among Magadhan speeches. This post-position would nevertheless seem to have been a Magadhan (MIA.) inheritance in Bengali. At the present day, it occurs as «-tā» in Assamese and in dialectal Bengali (North, East, South-east). Standard Bengali employs «-tē» (which is a locative form «-ta + -ē», i.e., from «*antahi = antaḥ + dhi»), and also «-ē-t-ē» (=locative in «-ahi» + «antaḥ» + «-ahi»). The word «antaḥ» for the locative is found in Marāṭhi as a recent NIA. formation (see Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 197). R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar's derivation of Bengali «-tē» from the MIA. «taḥ» = locative of pronominal base «ta-» (Wilson Philological Lectures, p. 248), cannot be entertained, considering the existence of «-ta, -tā» side by side with «-t-ē».

The extension of « -tā, -t-ē » to the instrumental and nominative has been noted before. It has also been used with an ablative force from Early MB. times: e.g., ŚKK., p. 264, মাতা বাপত বড় গুরুজন নাই « māṭā-bāpātā bārā guru-jānā nāhi » *there are no greater respected ones than mother and father*; p. 308, আদাত আধিক তোর কে করিবে হিত « āmhātā ādhikā tōrā kē kāribē hitā » *who will do more good to you than I?*; p. 326, আদাতে চাহি বাঁশী « āmhātē cāhāsi bāśī » *askest for the flute from me*; Kṛittivāsa, রাজাতে বিদায় যাবে « rājātē bidāyā māṅgē » *takes farewell from the king* (cf. R. S. Trivedī, ‘Śabda-kathā,’ pp. 102-104).

The Skt. word « madhya » was used as a post-position for the locative in the Apabhraṃśas of Northern India, in the *sts.* form « *maddha, *madha, *mādha > maha, māha ». This is the source of the NIA. locative post-fix « -mē, -mā, -mā », etc. Dialectal Bengali (Haijong) য়ি « -mi » is in all likelihood derived from this (LSI., V, I, pp. 214 ff.): e.g., দেশয়ি « dēś-mi ». This post-fix is otherwise unknown to Bengali, and to Assamese and Oṛiyā as well.

GENITIVE.

502. The OIA. genitive affixes in the singular have not survived in Bengali, as in most other NIA. speeches. The solitary « -a-sya » of « -ā » nouns was carried down to Late MIA., as a generalised affix for all nouns, and even this fell into desuetude. This « -a-sya » became « -aśśa » in Māgadhi, as we can see from the evidence of the Brāhmī seals found in Magadha (see *supra*, p. 59, foot-note) and from the Prakrit grammarians. Side by side with « -aśśa », Prakrit literature registers a form « -āha » for this form of MIA.: and this « -āha » forms an unsolved problem. A change of « -aśśa » to « -āha » is difficult to explain: the change of « -śś-, -ss-, -ś-, -s- » to « -h- » in MIA. continues to be obscure (see *supra*, pp. 549, 550, 555). It seems « -āha » or some analogous form (-ahō?) is found as early as Second MIA. in Māgadhi, as in the dramas of Aśva-ghoṣa. (H. Lüders, ‘Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,’ pp. 34-36); and the fact remains that Māgadhi Pkt. has « -āha », Śaurasēni Ap. has « -āha, -āhō, -āhō », beside « -assu, -asu »; and that Old Bengali shows

PANNIO ZAHAPATAC NAHAPIANAC

Be it as it may, in OB. we find « -ā, -āha » as the genitive affix—« -āha » being found with pronouns: thus, « harinā harinīra nilaa ṇa jāṇi » *the abode of the Stag and of the Doe is not known*, « Bhusuku bhaṇai, mūdhā hiahi na pāisai » *B. says, it does not enter into the heart of a fool* (Caryā 6); « jā ēthu jāma-maraṇē bisanṅkā » = « yasya atra janma-maraṇē viṣaṅkā » (Caryā 22); « jabṣ muṣā-ēra cā(ra) tuṭai » = « yadā *mūṣakasya-kāryaḥ cāraḥ truṭyati » (21); « jāh-ēra bāna-cihna-rūva na jāṇi » = « *yasya-kāryakaṁ varṇa-cihna-rūpaṁ na jñāyatē » (29). In MB. the oblique form of the pronouns has « -āha » side by side with « -ā »: *e.g.*, তাহ, তাহা, তা « tāha, tāh-ā, tā- » = « tasya ». The « -āha, -ā » is thus preserved in the pronoun in Late MB. and in NB., but in the noun it is entirely lost from after the OB. period, except in the verbal noun in « -ibā »—*e.g.*, genitive দিবার, করিবার, বাইবার « dibā-rā, karibā-rā, jāibā-rā », dative †দিবাকে, করবাকে, বাবাকে « dibā-kē, karbā-kē, jābā-kē.

503. From the Transitional MIA. Period we find the use of a number of words, either along with the genitive pleonastically, or compounded with the base to indicate the genitive idea. We have « -santa(+ -ka) » (present participle of « √as » to be) meaning 'belonging to,' in the Nasik inscriptions of the 1st-2nd century A.C., e.g., « amha-sa(n)taka, pitu-sa(n)taka » *our, of the father* (Senart, 'Nasik Cave Inscriptions,' Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 73, 78); and the other words which came in during the Second MIA. Period are « kṛta » > kada, kaa; kārya » > kajja, *kāira » > kēra, kēla; kāra; kara; kṛtya » > kieca; *dita (= Skt. datta) » > dida, dia; karṇa » > karṇa », etc. These words have become transformed into the genitive and other affixes of NIA. (see pp. 163, 164 *supra*). MIA. literature, however, does not notice all of them, but only a few, although certainly they all occurred in the spoken dialects in different parts of the country. The most popular post-positional or compounded word of genitival import occurring in MIA. literature is « kēra- (kēla-) », which is found all over Northern India in later times. The source of this word is « kārya », and it cannot be « kṛta » (which would give « kaṭa, kaḍa », or « kada, kaa, kida, kia » in MIA.); « kārya » came to be used (apparently as a *semi-tatsama* form with epenthesis) in Transitional or Second MIA., as « *kāira », before it became « kēra », in Māgadhī « kēla » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' §176). This « kēra- » is found East in Bengal, and West in Rajputana; « kēra- » also occurs in the speech of the European Gipsies who went with their language from North-Western India during the Second MIA. period. A vernacular or *tlh.* form would be « kayya » or « kajja », and the Sindhī affix of the genitive, « -jō, -jī », is certainly from this « kajja ». (Grierson: cf. A. F. R. Hoernle, JRAS., 1903, p. 616). Māgadhī Prakrit, like the Prakrits of other parts, took up « kēra (kēla) », side by side with some of the other words. As in other dialects, the form was either used after the genitive, as an adjective qualifying the noun governed, or it was compounded with the noun-base into an adjective; but in either case, the whole sooner or later came to be regarded as one word, which brought about the voicing and dropping of the « -k- » in Eastern Magadhan quite early.

In Bengali forms like *মানুষের* « mānuṣēṛṣ », *ঘোঁড়ার* « ghōṛārṣ », making up with the inflexion a single word, as opposed to the Hindi « mānuṣ-kā, ghōṛē-kā » forming a group apparently of an oblique base and a separable post-position, Grierson sees an inherent tendency in Bengali, as an 'Outer' language, towards a synthetic declension, which presents a contrast to Western Hindi as the 'Midland' speech favouring a separate post-position (see *supra*, pp. 161-164; LSI., IX, II, p. 328). But there is nothing in the Prakrit of the dramas, using « kēra(ka), kēla(ka) », to suggest that a particular dialect, Māgadhī, or Śaurasēnī, specially preferred compounding or mere juxta-posing after the inflected genitive. The pronouns, however, generally seem to retain the old inflected genitive which was strengthened by « -kēra (-kēla) », and nouns could have mere compounding. Thus we have, *e.g.*, in the 'Mṛcchakaṭīka,' Śaurasēnī « ajjassa kēraō » beside « vessā-jāna-kērakō » and « paḍivēsi-gahavaī-dāraa-kēriāē », and Māgadhī « ajja-Cāludattāha kēlakē » beside « vappa-kēlakē »: but always « mama, tava, tassa (taśśa), kassa (kaśśa), attañō » + « kera(ka), kēla(ka) ». The pronominal forms in NIA., like Bengali *তার*, *তাহার* « tā-rṣ, tāhā-rṣ » (= tasya + kara), *মোর* « mōrṣ » (= mama + kara), and Hindi « tis-kā » and « mērau, mērā », etc. show that the old usage for pronouns still continues. Besides, 'Outer' speeches do not always show a synthesis: *e.g.*, Oṛiyā « jānāṅ-kā(rā) » (= janānām kara-), which is as much post-positional as W. Hindi « ghōṛē-kā »; and European Gipsy, which is based on an 'Outer' speech allied to Western Panjābī, possesses forms like « cōres-kērō, -kēri » and « cōreṅ-(g)ērō, -ēri » (= cāurasya, cāurāṇām + kēra-). The preservation of the « -k- » in W. Hindi is no isolated thing: we have « -kar, -karā » (rather than « -rṣ » as in Bengali) in the Bihārī dialects. The W. Hindi « -kau, -kā » seems to have retained the « -k- » chiefly through two reasons: firstly, it formed the only consonant in the post-position, and as such intelligibility demanded its retention; and secondly, there was in all likelihood the influence of the adjectival « -kka » affix, which also had a genitival force. The loss of « -k- » in the agentive affix « -nē » of W. Hindi (= MIA. *kaṇṇabī, OIA. *kaṇa-smin :

cf. L. P. Tessitori, 'Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī,' Ind. Ant. 1915, §§ 70, 71) is to be recalled.

Side by side with « kārya » kēra, kēla », the words « kara, kāra » and « kṛta » kaa » were used in Māgadhi Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa to indicate the genitive. It would seem that in Māgadhi Ap. « kara » was used with the pronoun originally, and then was extended to the noun. Reduced to « -ara » -rā, -rā », it occurs as the genitive affix in Assamese-Bengali and Oṛiyā, and also in Maithilī and other Bihārī speeches in the genitive of the first and second personal pronouns. The unreduced form « -kara » is here and there found as a survival in MB., possibly through Maithilī influence; it is met with in Oṛiyā in the plural, where the « -k- » is preserved by the « -n- » of the genitive plural affix (see *supra*, pp. 137, 724); and it occurs in the forms « -kar, -karā, -kārā » in the genitive and dative of the pronouns other than those of the first and second persons in Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpurīyā. « kēra, kāra » have become practically doublets of an identical genitive affix. They figure also in Eastern Hindī side by side. « kara » is still found in its unchanged form in Marāṭhī surnames like « Hōl-kar, Bījāpur-kar, Ciplun-kar, Tālēgāw-kar » etc., meaning 'belonging to, dwelling in': compare the use of the genitive « -kā » in Mārwarī family names like « Khēm-kā, Gōyēn-kā, Himmatsīnh-kā », etc.

The affix « kāra » seems to have been rather rarely used in Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa. It is now found in its unreduced form in a few nouns and pronouns in Bengali: e.g., সকালকার « śākālā-kārā » of the morning, হেথাকার « hēthā-kārā », এখানকার « ēkhānā-kārā » of here, বছরকার « bāchārā-kārā » of the year, সকলকার « śākālā-kārā » and সবাকার, সবাইকার, সবাইকার « śābā-kārā, śā(b)āi-kārā » of all, আপনকার « āpānā-kārā » of self. It does not occur in the other Magadhan speeches: and it may well be a modification of « kārā » itself.¹ The affix « kārā » is used in NB. with nouns indicating

¹ Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, p. 236, foot-note) regards this 'kāra' as being a double genitive, '-kā + -ra.' This explanation cannot be objected to considering that we have '-ka' as a genitive affix in Middle Bengali. But we do not have '-kā' (with the long 'ā') with nouns in Bengali: and although in Early Bengali we sometimes find '-ka,' the words which form the genitive with '-kāra,' as above, never employ the '-ka' form.

time and direction, and besides it has a definitive force (cf. Rabīndranāth Tagore, 'Sambandhē < kārṣ >' in 'Śabda-tattva').

The form < kṛta > MIA. *kaa* > is more important. As a word strengthening the genitive as well as the dative relation it seems to have come up in the Transitional MIA. Period, and probably even earlier. We have quite early < tasya kṛtē dattam = tasmāi dattam > in Sanskrit, an idiom apparently borrowed from a Prakrit or vernacular one; and a Buddhist Skt. form like < udyāna-kṛtam āsanam > shows the early establishment of < kṛta > *kaa* > as a genitive-indicating word. But it is a question whether the < -k- > genitive of the Magadhan languages (Early Bengali < -kā >; New Bengali dialectal ক, গ, ঙ < -kā, -gā, -gō >, Oriyā < -kā >, in the plural; Maithilī < -k >, Magahī < -k, -kē >, and Bhōjpurīyā < -k, kē, -kāī >) is based on the < kṛta > form. < kaa, kṛta > *kaa* >, compounded with the preceding noun-base, could be expected to drop the < -k- >, and to be changed to < -aa > as in the case of < -kēra, -kara > -ēra, -ara >. It seems that the basis of the New Magadhan < -k- > of the genitive is the MIA. pleonastic < -kka >, rather than < kaa < kṛta > (see *supra*, p. 683). The < -kṣ > of the Bihārī dialects would derive better from a monosyllabic < -kka > rather than from the disyllabic < -kaa >. The 'Prākṛta-Pāṇḍala' (14th century) has some instances of the < -ka > genitive which would seem to be an Eastern form derived from < -kka >: *e.g.*, (in the 'Bibliotheca Indica' edition, ASB.), p. 249, < Khurasāna-ka Ollā >; p. 403, < gāī-ka ghittā >; p. 412, < dēva-ka likkhia kēṇa mētāvā >; p. 470, < tā-ka jaṇaṇi ki ṇa thakkaū bañjhaū >, etc. But the presence of a < kaa < kṛta > is not absolutely precluded from consideration; and this < kaa > can of course easily give the Western Hindī < kau, kō, kā >, and also Eastern Hindī and Bihārī < -kē, -kāī >. The < -kā > in an Oriyā form like < puruṣaṅ-kā > may be either the < -kka > generalised as an affix or help-word and employed by extension with the original genitive plural, or it may equally be the word < kaa > used post-positionally (= puruṣānām kṛta-).

About the use of the < -ka > (< -kka, -kaa), there is an agreement between Modern Bengali and Oriyā: it is confined only to the plural (or plural > honorific singular) in Oriyā, and in Bengali now it is found,

although dialectally only, in the plural genitive of the pronouns only. Why this form should be chosen for the plural is not clear : possibly « -ra » and « -ka » (Oriyā « -ṇ-ka », Bengali « -kā, -gā, -gā = -gō ») were gradually adopted for the singular and the plural respectively in the absence or disuse of an affix distinguishing the two numbers.

Examples of « kēra » -ēra, -kara » -ara, -kka (-kaa) » -ka » for the genitive, from OB. and MB. :

« chānda-ka bāndha » *the bonds of (= from) pleasure* (1); « rukhēra tentali kumbhirē khāi » *the crocodile eats the tamarind of (=from) the tree* (2); « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa ṇa jāṇi » *the abode of the Stag and of the Doe is not known*, « hariṇāra khura na disai » *the Stag's hoofs are not seen* (6); « tōhōri kuḍiā » *thy hut*, « kāhari nāvē » *in whose boat ?* (tava + ha, kasya, + kara-), « tōhōra antarē » *for thy sake*, « hūḍēri māli » *chaplet of bones* (haḍḍa + kēra + -ikā) (10); « tōhōri bhābhariāli » *thy coquetry* (18); « ḍombi-ēra saṅgē » *in the company of the Dōm woman* (19); « mōhōra » *my* (20); « muṣā-ēra » *of the mouse* (21); « sō karaū rasa-rasānēri kaṅkhā (text = rasānērē kakhā) » *let him entertain the desire for pleasure and for elixirs* (22); « tōhauri » *thy* (26); « jāhēra » *of which*, « tāhēra » *of that* (29: yasya, tasya + kēra-); « cāndari cānda kānti (reading of the commentary) » *moon-light of the moon* (31); « hāthēra kaṅkāṇa » *the bracelet of (=on) the arm* (32); « Dhēṇḍhana-pāēra gīta » *D.'s song* (33); « mōhērā bādhā » *bound up of (=by, with) ignorance* (34); « pākhi na cahaī mōri pāṇḍiācāē » (see *supra*, p. 121); « kāhēri śaṅkā » *whose fear ?*, « mahāmudēri kaṅkhā » *desire of the mahāmudrā* (37); « tōhōrē dōsē » *through your fault*, « tōhāra biṇāṇā » *your science* (39); « bāsaṇā tōrā » *thy desire* (41); « mōra » *my* (49); « tālā bādīra pāsēra jonhā-bādī tālā (=uēlā? bhūclā?) » *the mansion of moon-light by the side of the third mansion became clear* (50).

It is seen that « -ēra, -ara » like their source-forms in MIA. are adjectives referring to the nouns they qualify, and take the feminine affix « -i = -ī » (see *supra*, pp. 720-721), and also the case-terminations (e.g., « tōhōrē dōsē » in Caryā 39 : = « tava-kērakēṇa dōṣēṇa » in MIA.)

« kēra, kara » occur in a few instances as cases of stereotyped survival in MB. : e.g., ŚKK. নদীকের « nādi-kērā »; লাক্ষকের « lākhē-kērā » *of one*

lakh; 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-vijaya,' বৎসকের < bātsā-kērā > (R. S. Trivēḍī, 'Śabda-kathā,' p. 103); 'Mānik Candra Rājār Gān,' কোড়াকর < kōṛā-kārā > of a cowrie, ঘড়িকর < ghāṛi-kārā > of an hour (VSP., pp. 63, 65); 'Sūnya Purāṇa,' রূপাকর < rūpā-kārā > of silver (p. 38), তামাকর < tāmā-kārā > of copper (p. 39), হীরাকর < hīrā-kārā > of diamond (p. 40), etc. In some of the above instances, e.g., < lākhēkērā, kōṛākārā, ghāṛikārā >, the base may be in < -kā >: < lākhēkā > one lakh, < kōṛākā > one cowrie, < ghāṛikā > one hour, so that the inflexion would be < -rā, -ērā > and not the old < kara, kēra >.

The < -ka > affix for the genitive is rather uncommon in Bengali from the oldest times: it has disappeared from Modern Bengali in the singular, but is found in dialectal forms in the plural only. Examples: OB. < chānda-ka bāndha > the bondage of pleasure (Caryā 1), < samādhika pāṭa > the process of samādhī (comm. to Caryā 21); in the ŚKK., জরমক তরে কুলে কলঙ্ক খুইবে < jārāmā-kā tārē kulē kālāṅkā thuiḍē > will put a stain on the family for all life (p. 127); আপন কাজক লাগি সবই বিকলী < āpanā kājā-kā lāgi sabbai bikālī > every body is anxious for the sake of her own work (p. 253); পরাক লাগিআ সে হারাইবে নাক ঝানে < pārā-kā lāgiā sē hārāibē nākā kānē > he will lose both his nose and his ears for the sake of another (p. 307); নিত্যানন্দ রাম বকৌ রোহিণীক স্তুত < Nityānānda-rāmā bāndō Rōhiṇī-kā sutā > I praise N., the son of R. (Lōcana-dāsa's 'Caitanya-maṅgala'), বিহারক রাজপুরী নামে অত্রাবতী < Bihārā-kā rājā-purī, nāmē Amrābātī > the capital of Bihār, Amarāvati by name (Vira-nārāyaṇa's 'Kirāta-parvan'); গৃহস্থক বর্ষ এহি পুরাণ কহিছে < gṛhasthā-kā dharmā ēhi purāṇā kāhichē > this is the duty of the house-holder, so declares the Purāṇa (Saṅjaya's 'Mahābhārata': the last three examples given in R. S. Trivēḍī's 'Śabda-kathā,' p. 104); etc. NB.: মোর, আমার < mōṛā, āmarā > my, plural † মো(রা)গো, আরা(র)গো < mō(rā)-gō, āmā(rā)-gō >, আমকা, আরগা < āmā-kā, -gā > our; তার < tāṛā > honorific তাঁর < tāṛā >, his, plural † তাগো, তাঁগো < tā-gō, tāṛ-gō >; মানুষের < mānuṣēṛā > of man, plural † মানুষগো, -গা, এর-গো < mānuṣā-gō, -gā, -ērā-gō > of men. The < -gā, -gō > affix for the plural is present in some form or other in the vulgar dialects practically all over Bengal.

504. An affix < -sat-ka >, loosely compounded with a noun, with its base (for the singular) or with the genitive (for the plural), is largely found

in inscriptional Sanskrit all over Northern India from the Second MIA. period: *e.g.*, Inscription of Jayanāga of Karna-suvarṇa (p. 180, *supra*), « brāhmaṇānām-satka-grāma-simā »; Siyadoni Inscription (c. 11th cen. A. C., Lalitpur District, U. P., Ep. Ind., I, pp. 162 ff.): « samasta-kallapālānām-satka-haṭṭānām-upari (= Hindi « kalwārō-kē hāṭō-par), Vighraha-pāla-satka-dramma, bāmana-satka-vīthi, caṇḍāla-satkāvāsānikā », etc., etc. This affix « -sat-ka » is difficult to explain: apparently it is the present participle of « √as »—« santa-+ -ka » (pleonastic), such as we find in the Transitional MIA. (see *ante*, p. 753). It is not unlikely that a vernacular from « santa-ka » became « *santō-ka, *sant-ka, *sakka » which was Sanskritised into « sat-ka » in medieval Sanskrit as in the inscriptions. In Early Assamese we have the affix সাক « -sākā », as in the forms আমাসাক, তোমাসাক « āmā-sākā, tōmā-sākā » *our, your, us, you*, which are obsolete in Modern Assamese. (Dēvānanda Bharāli, ‘Asamiyā-bhāṣār Maulik Bicār,’ p. 32). These would affiliate themselves to a MIA. « *amha-sakka, *tumha-sakka », Sanskritised into « *asma-satka, *yuṣma-satka ». This form সাক « sākā » has not been found in Bengali.

The plural of the genitive has been discussed under ‘Number’ above (p. 725 ff.)

DATIVE

505. The « -ka » genitive of Bengali is used for the dative in OB.: *e.g.*, Caryā 4 « mantiē¹ thākura-ka parinibittā » *the minister (= queen, in chess) has checked the king*; Caryā 21, « nāśa-ka » *for destruction*. This genitive-dative in « -ka » is exceedingly common in MB., as in the ŚKK. and other works: *e.g.*, ŚKK. p. 3, মাহুষ নিয়োজিল মারিবাক তাএ « mānuṣā niyōjilā māribā kā tāē » *appointed men for killing him*; সেই উপদেশ দিব তোমাক তখনে « sei upadēśa dibā tōmhā-kā tākhāṇē » *he will give you advice at that time*; p. 108, ঘরক মন না জাএ « ghārā-kā mānā nā jāē » *the mind does not turn to home*; etc., etc. This « -ka » occurs as « -kā » now, but it is confined

¹ The printed text reads মতিএ: I accept the emendation proposed by Mubammad Shabīdullāh in the VSPdP., 1327, p. 151

to North Bengal and Assam only, and members of the Bengali-Assamese group of dialects in other parts now employ « -k-ē, -r-ē ».

« -k-ē » is an inflected form, the final « -ē » being really the locative affix, as has been noted before (p. 749). It can be the locative of the adjective-genitive with pleonastic « -ka » (*supra*, p. 756); it can be equally the locative of the form « kaa < kṛta » : *e.g.*, তাকে দিল « tākē dilā » = Skt. « tasya kṛtē dattam » for « tasmāi dattam » (cf. Grierson in the 'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung,' quoted by Hoernle in the JRAS. for 1903, p. 615). There is a third likely source of « -k-ē »—the OJA. « kakṣa » (see *supra*, pp. 164, 553) which has been suggested by Beames ('Comparative Grammar,' II, pp. 252-259) and Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, § 375, p. 224), and accepted by Kellogg (Hindī Grammar², p. 130). Hoernle later admitted the « kṛta » derivation (JRAS., 1903, p. 615). R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar would trace the dative « -k-ē » of Bengali and « -kō » of W. Hindī to a MIA. locative « kēhī, kahī » *where, somewhere*, from the interrogative pronoun base « ka » (Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 246-248).

The last derivation does not at all seem convincing. Against it, and in favour of a derivation from « kakṣa », are the forms « kakhu » in OB. (see below), « kākū, kāhu » with « -ā- » in Eastern Hindī, and « kahū » as in Western Hindī. (See also the remark in connexion with the derivation of the locative « -t-ē » at p. 750.) The forms « -kū, kahū » etc., as in Western Hindī, « ku » as in Oṛiyā, and « -ka » as in Early and dialectal Bengali, will also go against it: for all these forms accord but ill with « kahī, kaī » the locative of « kaa, kṛta ». There cannot of course be any objection to the derivation of « kē » from « kṛta », but the difficulty remains with regard to « kō, kū, ku » and the « -hu » forms. The forms « ku, kū » is not found in NB., but it occurred in OB., and it is now the characteristic dative affix of Oṛiyā only among Magadhan speeches. In Caryā 35, we have « ēbē cia-rāa ma-kū (= mō-kū) naṭhā » = « idānīm cittarājāḥ mama vinaṣṭa(h) », as the commentary explains; and also « Bājulē dila mōha-kakhu (bhaṇiā) » = « Vajrakulēna...mahyam pradattam », also according to the explanation of the commentary.

We have apparently <kakhu> side by side with <kū> here. The Skt. <kakṣa> seems to have been adopted in Late MIA. as a post-positional, and from <kakkha> a weak form <*kakha> can very well be assumed. This in the transitional stage between Late MIA. and NIA. seems to have become <kaha, kāha>. The proper NIA. *tbls.* <kākha, kākha, kācha> seem to have influenced the lengthening of the <kāha>. The change of <-kṣ- <-kkh-> to <-h-> is not isolated: Beames gives <pāhū, pahū> *beside, to*, from Hindi, which he derives from <pakṣa> ('Comparative Grammar,' II, p. 258); Old Western Rājasthānī also has the same word as <pāhī, pāhi> (Tessitori, §72[8]); and Oṛiyā as <pāi, pā> as in <ki-pāi, ki pā> *why? wherefore?* Pischel also cites a number of instances of change of <-kṣ->-kkh-> to <-h-> from Prakrit ('Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 323). We can also compare the origin of <maha, māhi, mē>, NIA. post-position of the locative, from Sanskrit <madhya> introduced in MIA. as a *sts.* <maddha, madha> beside the *tbl.* <majjha> NIA. mājha>. The normal NIA. form of <kakṣa>, with <-kh->, is certainly preserved in the Sindhi <khū> for the dative, and <khā, khō, khū> for the ablative (although Trumpp derived these from <kaḥā <*katham < kṛtam, kṛtē>: Sindhi Grammar, London, 1872, pp. 115-116): here the initial <-k-> of <kakkha> has been elided, like the <-k-> in <kajja- < kārya> giving <-jō, -ji> for the genitive. The Sindhi <khē, khā, khō, khū>, inflected forms of a post-fixed <(ka)kkha>, the Old Bengali <kakhu>, and the Early Eastern Hindi <kāhū> would all support the assumption that <kakṣa> is the source of Western Hindi <kahu, kau, kō, kū> and Oṛiyā <ku>. These are all to be connected with an Apabhraṃśa (Māgadhi as well as Ardha-māgadhi and Śaurasēnī) form for the *ablative*, <*kakkhahu, *kakkhahū>, or probably <*kakkhāu, *kakkhau>. (Cf. Māgadhi and Śaurasēnī ablative affix <-ādō>, which we would expect to give <-āu, -au> in Apabhraṃśa). Unlike <kē>, the present day <kō, kū, ku> is thus not of locative origin.

<-kē> of Bengali can thus be either <kṛta>, or <kakṣa>, in the locative. It is not unlikely that the two post-positional words have converged into this one form. In the plural of the dative as in তাদেরকে <tādēṛ-

-kē > *to them*, we can see that an analysis into « tasya + ādi-kēra + kakṣē » or into « + kṛtē », is equally possible. The *llh.* form কঁচৈ « kāchē » is still in use in Bengali as a post-position meaning *near, by, with*. The earlier forms of « -kē », namely « *-kai, *-kahī », are not found in Old Bengali. The Caryās, in addition to « -ka » and « -ku », give instances of « -kē »: « rūpā thōi mahī-kē ṭhāvi » *putting away the silver, it was placed on the ground*, and « kēḍuāla nāhi kē ki bāhaba-kē pārai (text = pāraa) » *there being no oar, what can one do in the matter of rowing?* (Caryā 18: the text in the second instance is corrupt). « -kē » occurs regularly in MB., NB.; and « kē » with nasalisation, is rather rare in MB.

Maithilī has « kē », Magahī « kē », and Bhōjpuriyā « kē »: all these are identical with the Bengali post-position. Of the E. Hindī dialects, Awadhī has « kā, kā, ka », Baghēlī « kā, kahā », and Chattisgarhī « kā ». The Baghēlī « kahā » is a relic of the older forms « kahū, kahā » etc. of Early Eastern Hindī as in Tulasī-dāsa, and « kā, kā » apparently also are from « kāhū > *kāhā ». The « kakṣa » derivative is thus found to occur in Bengali, Oṛiyā, E. Hindī and W. Hindī, and Sindhī.

506. The dative « -r-ē, -ē-rē »: it is found from OB. times, e.g., « kariṇā kariṇi-rē risaa (= risai) » *the male elephant is impassioned (?) with regard to the female elephant* (Caryā 9); « kēhō kēhō tōhō-rē biruā bōlai, bidu-jana-lōa tō-rē kai ṭha na mēlai » *some call thee (as being) of ugly form, (but) the learned never free thee from embrace* (Caryā 18). It is the locative in « -hi, -hī » of the genitive in « -ra, -ēra ». At the present day, the « -r- » dative is found in East Bengal (W. Vangga specially), and the « -k- » dative is spread from Rāḍha through Varēndra to North Bengal and Assam, and seems to occur also in East Vangga, as in the Haijong Dialect of Maimansing, and in the Chakma of Chittagong.

ABLATIVE.

507. Bengali-Assamese does not now possess an organic affix for the ablative, unlike Oṛiyā. In Caryā 4, however, there seems to occur a solitary instance of an ablative form in OB.: « khēpahu (= khēpahū` jōini lēpana jāya » = « kṣēpāt sva-sthāna-yōgāt sā bōdhicitta-rūpā nāirātma-yōginī, mōha-

'malāvaliptā bhavati', as the commentary explains. In Oṛiyā the ablative affix is also « hū », as in Early Oṛiyā, *e.g.*, 'Kaṇsa-jaṇma' in Jagannāthadāsa's 'Bhāgavata': « Ugrasēna-hū nōhē āna » *he is not different from U.* (p. 4, Contai edition), « kāhū utpatti hōilā » *from whom was the origin?* (p. 8, *ibid*). In Modern Oṛiyā it occurs as « -u »: « ghārā » *house*, ablative « ghār-u »; and it figures also in 'S.-W. Bengali.' The genitive form is also put in the ablative: « ghārā-rā, ghārā-r-u ». With proper names, and as an honorific, the post-positional form « ṭhā-r-u » from « ṭhā » *place* is used (cf. « ṭhā-r-ē » for the locative), and « ṭhāu, ṭhu » also are found as ablative post-positions with pronominal adverbs of place. The « -hū, -u », doubtless a Māgadhi form, is apparently the same as that we find in Saurasēnī Ap., viz « -hu » in the singular and « -hū » in the plural (puttahu, puttahū). The origin of this « -hu, -hū » in Ap. is obscure, but it seems that it was due to the fusing of several case-terminations—« -a-taḥ » > « -adō » > « *-au » of the ablative, *plus* « -h-, ~ » of the locative, for instance. The form « -a-hu, -a-hū » occurs in Sindhī, Panjābī and Western Hindī as « -ō, -ō » (*e.g.*, Hindī « hāthō-hāth » *from hand to hand* < « *hatthalu hatthi »), and in Marwāṛī as « -ā » (cf. Tessitori, Grammar of OWR., §61).

The use of the locative form in « -ta, -tē » for the ablative has been noted above (p. 751). In the MIA. and NIA. confusion or interchangeability of the three cases, instrumental ablative and locative, there is probably the influence of Dravidian. (Cf. K. V. Subbaiya, IAnt., 1910, pp. 145ff.)

508. The development of the OIA. noun declension, through the Late MIA. (Apabhraṇśa Māgadhi) into Bengali, as described above, is set forth below, in the declension of the OIA. word « putra » = MIA. « putta »:

Māgadhi Apabhraṇśa

Bengali

Nominative: singular—

Nominative: singular—

- (i) *putti, *putta (< Māgadhi Prakrit puttē < putrah).
- (ii) *puttai (< puttaē < puttagē, puttakē < putrakah).

- (i) *pūti, *pūta < পুতি, পুত puti, put.
- (ii) পুত putē.

Nominative : plural—

- (i) *puttā (< puttā < putrāḥ).
 (ii) *puttahi (< puttēhi < *putrēbhiḥ = instrumental).

Accusative : singular—

*puttā, *puttam (< puttam
 < putram).

Accusative : plural—

*putta, *puttāi (< *puttāni,
 *puttāni < putrān).

Instrumental : singular—

*puttē, *puttēm (< puttē-
 ṇa[m] putrēṇa)

Instrumental : plural—

*puttabi, *puttahī (< puttēhi,
 puttēhim < *putrēbhiḥ).

Dative : singular—

- (i) *puttā (< puttāa < putrāya).
 (ii) *puttā/ā(ha) (genitive) + kai;
 + ka(k)khi, ka(k)khī, kahi,
 kahī; putta-kkaī, -kkaī.
 (iii) *puttāha-(k)arahi, -(k)alahi;
 *puttāha-(k)ērahi, (k)ēlahi.

Dative : plural—

*puttahi, *puttēhi (< puttēhi
 [as in Aśōkan inscr.] < *pu-
 trēbhiḥ = putrēbhyah) (also
 Genitive Forms).

Ablative : singular—

*puttāu, *puttāu, *puttabu,
 *puttahū.

Nominative : plural—

- (i) পুত puttā.
 (ii) ? পুতে putē.

Accusative : singular and plural—

Lost.

Instrumental : singular—

OB. *pūtē, *pūtē > পুতē puttē,
 পুতে putē.

Instrumental : plural—

? পুতে putē.

Dative : singular—

- (i) Lost.
 (ii) পুতেকে puttākē, পুতেকে « putē-
 kē », পুতকে puttā-kē.
 (iii) পুতরে, পুতরে puttārē, -ērē,
 পুতরে, পুতরে puttā-rē, putērē.

Dative : plural—

Lost.

Ablative : singular—

OB. *pūtu, *pūtaḥu, *pūtahū;
 Oriyā putahū, putu.

Ablative: plural—

- (i) *puttahī, *puttēhī (< *putrē-
bhiḥ = instrumental).

Genitive: singular—

- (i) *puttā, *puttā, *puttaha,
*puttāha (= puttaśśa <
putrasya).
(ii) *puttā/ā(ha)-(k)ēra -([k]ēla);
*puttā/ā(ha)-(k)ara, -([k]ala);
*putta(k)ēra- (-[k]ēla);
*putta-(k)ara- (-[k]ala).
(iii) *putta-kka- (= putra-ka-).

Genitive: plural—

- *puttāṇa, *p u t t ā ṇ a ṁ,
*puttāṇ-i- (< putrāṇām).

Locative: singular—

- (i) *putti (< puttē < putrē).
(ii) *puttabi, *puttahī.
(iii) *putta-anta; *putta-antahi.
-antahi: *puttabi antahi
(*puttahī antahī).
(iv) *putta-ma(d)dhi, -ma(d)dhahi,
-ma(d)dhahī; -mahī, -mahahi,
-mahahī (< madhya).

Locative: plural—

- (i) *puttaśu, *puttēśu.
(ii) *puttahī, *puttēhī (< *putrē-
bhiḥ = instrumental)

Ablative: plural—

Lost.

Genitive: singular—

- (i) OB. *pūtā, *pūtāha.
(ii) পুতর, পুতের putārā, putērā.
(iii) OB., MB. পুতক putā-kā.

Genitive: plural—

- OB. *pūtāṇa, *pūtāṇa, *putāni:
NB. ‡পুতাইন putāin.

Locative: singular—

- (i) OB. *pūti (cf. NB. ঘর gharā
< ghar-i).
(ii) OB. *pūtahi, *pūtahi, *pūtai,
*pūtē > MB., NB. পুতে putē;
(iii) ‡পুতং putātā, পুতেতে putātē,
পুতেতে putē-tē.
(iv) ‡পুতমি putā-mī (cf. Bihārī
• pūt-mē, -maī).

Locative: plural—

Lost.

POST-POSITIONAL WORDS.

509. Use of post-positions to denote case relations is found in IA., Kōl and Dravidian. In OIA., indeclinables like « ā, adhi, anu, pari, pra » etc. are found both as prepositions and as post-positions ; so in Old Greek. In IE., these so-called prepositions were properly adverbs referring to the act, but in all IE. languages, including IA., they came to attach themselves to and to 'govern' particular case forms of nouns (accusative or instrumental, ablative or genitive or locative). The prepositional and post-positional use with the noun of these particles fell into gradual disuse from Late OIA., and they lost their separate and independent existence in the sentence as help words : they were compounded as prefixes or pre-verbals with the verb, the sense of which they modified. Classical Sanskrit shows fewer particles with a prepositional or post-positional employ than Vedic (J. S. Speyer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax' in the Grundriss, §§ 85-90). In MIA., the number of these old particles as post-positions employed with nouns grew even more restricted. On the other hand, to make the sense clear, especially when in MIA. the case terminations were confused and were being lost, the IA. speech began to employ the accusative, dative, ablative or locative form of some suitable noun (with the sense of location, vicinity, direction, connexion, purpose, or power) along with the principal noun which retained its original inflexion. Classical Sanskrit, following the Prakrit vernaculars, took up this device (Speyer, § 91). This sort of auxiliary and post-positional use was later extended to some verbal formations—passive participles and present participles, and to the indeclinable conjunctive verb. Such post-positional or prepositional use of verb forms is not unknown to other IE. languages : e.g., English *during*, *regarding*, *concerning*, German *während*, French *pendant*, Italian *mediante*, *durante*, etc. But this principle was utilised only to a very limited extent elsewhere outside India, whereas IA., from the MIA. stages downwards, fully employed it to form post-positionals. Classical Sanskrit already took up some passive participles and conjunctive indeclinables as post-positions governing oblique cases (Speyer, §§ 92, 93). In this matter, it seems that IA. was profoundly

influenced by Dravidian (*vide supra*, p. 172; cf. also K. V. Subbaya, 'A Comp. Gram. of Dravidian,' IAnt., 1910, pp. 145ff).

Some of these post-positional words—nouns and verb-forms—through phonetic decay became transformed into organic affixes in NIA., as has been seen before. The conjunctive and participle post-positions, however mostly retained their phrasal character, and in NIA. they remain distinct, as detached words. Bengali has a number of such verbal post-positions. Besides, some nouns (old *tlhs.*, as well as *ts.* or *stss.*), are used as separable post-positions in all NIA. Their establishment is apparently post-NIA., and independent in each language or dialect group.

Below are given the more important Separable Post-positions of Bengali.

(1) অপেক্ষা « apēkṣā » = *with regard to: ts.*, used either with the base or with the genitive to indicate comparison.

(2) আগে « āgē », locative of আগ « āgā » < « agra »: MB. আগত « āgātā » *before*. Used more commonly with the genitive, and occasionally with the = base: cf. ŚKK., p. 65, রাজা আগে করিবৈ গোহারী « rājā āgē kārībī gōhārī » *shall make a plaint before the king*; p. 127, আমার আগত বীর নাই « āmār āgātā bīrā nāhi kōṇā jānā » *before me (i.e., greater than me) there is no hero*; etc.

(3) করিতে « kārītē » > কর্তে « kār'tē, kōrtē » *doing*, present participle of কর « √kār » = « √kr » *to do* (instrumental or locative: « kārītē » < karantē < karautahi, karantahi » (see p. 676). Employed with the genitive for comparison, e.g., রামের কর্তে শ্যাম ভালো « Rāmēr kōrtē Śyām bhālō » *Ś. is better than R.* This is a form which is not common in the « sādhu-bhāsa ».

(4) করিয়া « kārīyā » > ক'রে « kār'rē = kōrē » *having done*: added to the locative oblique in « -ē » to denote the instrumental (see *ante*, p. 747). Used with an adverbial force after adjectives and nouns (the commoner practice at the present day being to use it after the base and not after the « -ē » oblique): e.g., জোর ক'রে « jōr kōrē » *forcibly*, lit. *doing force*; টান ক'রে « tān kōrē » *tightly*; ভালো ক'রে « bhālō kōrē » *well*, etc.; ŚKK., p. 14, একাজ সাধিব আশে করিয়া যখন « ē-kājā sādhibā āmhē kārīā jātānē » *we shall*

(9) **ଫାହିତ** « cāhitē », present participle locative of **ଫା** « √cāh » *look at, want*: used in comparison, generally with the genitive and occasionally

with the stem. The beginnings of the post-positional use of this present participle form go back to OB. : « cāhantē » already figures in the Caryās (e.g., Caryā 31) : but the old sense of *seeing* is still predominant in eMB. (ŠKK.)

(10) চাহিয়া, চেয়ে « cāhiyā » cēyē » *having looked at*, indeclinable conjunctive of চাহ « √cāh » : used in comparison, with the genitive. This use seems to be old. (Cf. Early Eastern Hindī as in Tulasī-dāsa : « kahā dhanu kulisahu cāhi kaṭhōrā : kahā syāmala mṛdu-gāta kisōrā » *where is the bow, more tough than even the thunderbolt, and where the lad, darkish and soft of limb?*)

(11) ছাড়ি « chārā » *let loose* = passive participle of ছাড় « √chār » *give up, loosen* : used with the stem in the sense of 'without,' e.g., আমাছাড়ি « āmā-chārā » *without me*, হুক্কাছাড়ি « hūkā-chārā » *without the hookah*, etc. ; or 'in addition to,' e.g., তা ছাড়ি « tā-chārā » *in addition to that* < *letting that alone*.

(12) জন্তে « jānyē » locative, beside the stem form জন্ত « jānyā » = *for the sake of, because of, caused by* : a ts. word, employed with the genitive to express the dative relation.

(13) ঠাই « ṭhāi » *place* (< sthāma-) : dative or locative post-position, used with the genitive of the noun. An old post-position in Bengali : e.g., ŠKK., p. 142, कह मोर ठायि « kāhā mōrā ṭhāyi » *tell me* ; p. 200, अबे आकाक पाठायिल तोर ठাই « ebē āmhākā pāṭhāyilā tōrā ṭhāi » *now me he has sent before thee*. Cf. NB. সবঠাই মোর ঘর আছে « sabbā-ṭhāi mōrā ghārā āchē » *I have a home everywhere*. A locative of « ṭhāi » — ঠাই-এ « ṭhāi-(y)ē » is also found : this ঠাইয়ে « ṭhāiyē » becomes in the Standard Colloquial ঢেয়ে, ঢেয়ে « ṭhēñē, ṭhēyē », and in Calcutta « ṭhēñē » is changed to ঢেঙে « ṭhēṅē » — the change of « -ñ- » to « -ṅ- » here is curious ঠাই « ṭhāi » is found in dialectal Bengali as ঢে « ṭhē », ঠি « ṭhi ».

(14) তরে « tāre » *for, for the sake of*, from অন্তরে « āntār-ē », a genuine *ibh.* form, with regular MB. change « -nt- » to « -t- ». Used with the genitive of the noun, and the oblique of the pronouns of the first and second persons optionally. Found in OB. as « antarē » ; e.g., Caryā 10, « tōhōra antarē » *for thee, for thy sake*. In the ŠKK., the word occurs as

the regular form তরে ' < tārē > only twice, and as আন্তরে < āntārē > over a dozen times : (for < ā- >, see *supra*, p. 314). The latter is apparently an archaic literary form.

(15) থাকিয়া > থেকে < thākiyā > thēkē > *having stopped at*: also dialectally *থেকে, থে < thēē, thē > (*thāiā) : affixed direct to the stem (or to the locative oblique in < -ē > or < -tē >) of neuter nouns, and to the genitive of names of sentient beings, to indicate the ablative. Found in Early MB.: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 347, দূরথাকি < dūra thāki > *from a distance*. Gujarātī has the same conjunctive used similarly for the ablative, *viz.*, < thakī >.

(16) থানে, থানত < thānē, thānā-tā >, locative of থান < thāna > (sthāna) : used with the genitive to express the dative and locative relations. Examples are numerous in the ŚKK and other MB. works. In NB., it is mainly dialectal (in East and North Bengali, where it is found as থনে, তনে, থোন, তোন, থুন, তুন < thānē, tānē, thōn, tōn, thun, tun >).

(17) দিয়া, দিয়ে, দে < diyā > diyē > dē > *having given*. This conjunctive form is used ordinarily with the base of the noun (which is in accusative relation to it), but occasionally also with the genitive, to express instrumentality or intermediacy. Found from early times: *e.g.*, ŚKK., p. 22, হাথ দিআ দেখ < hāthā diā dēkhā > *feel with the hand*, etc.

(18) দ্বারা < dvārā > : *ts.*, instrumental of < dvār > *door*, = *through the instrumentality of*. Forms the instrumental, with the genitive (and also with the oblique base in < -ā > in the case of pronouns). This is in its origin a learned form, but it has become sufficiently popular to be used in familiar conversation in NB.

(19) নিমিত্তে < nimittē > (locative), নিমিত্ত < nimittā > (stem) = *mark, target, sign* > *objective* : a *ts.* word, forming the dative with the genitive of the noun.

(20) নীচে < nicē > *below* : used with the genitive to express the locative.

(21) পর < pārā > from < upari > of Skt. = *above, upon*. The full form উপর < upārā > also occurs, as also the Bengali locatives পরে < pārē >, উপরে < upārē >, as if from a base < upara >. Occasionally also strengthened by তে < -tē >, as পরেতে < pārē-tē >, উপরেতে < upārē-tē >. Used with the genitive to form the locative. *E.g.*, ŚKK., p. 377, তনের উপর

• *tānērā* (*etc.* < *stana*) *upārā* > ; pp. 388, 389, গাছের উপর < *gāchērā upārā* > *on the tree*. But cf. ŚKK., p. 80, খোঁপাত উপর < *khōmpā-tā upārā* > *on the coiffure*, where < *upārā* > is used along with the locative in < -tā >.

(22) পাশে < *pākhē* > *by the side of*, locative of < *pākhṣ* > (*pakṣa*) : found in North Bengal : used like পাশে < *pāśē* > below (See *supra*, p. 121.)

(23) পাছে, পিছে (পীছে) < *pāchē, pichē (pīchē)* > *after*. Used with the genitive (as in the corresponding Sanskrit expression). OIA. < *paścā(t)* > MIA. < *pacchā, pacchā* > NIA. < *pācha* >, locative < *pāchē* >. The form < *pīchē, pichē* > has an anomalous < -i- >, which is found also in the Hindi < *pīchē* >. Beames explains the < -i- > as follows : < **paścē* > **pah(a)cē* >, on the analogy of < *niścaya* > *nihačē* > : < **pah(a)cē* > **pahicē* > *pīcē* >, then < *pīchē* > with aspiration through influence of < *īāclē* > (Comp. Grammar, II, p. 217). But there is no need to postulate a *ts* stage for this *tlh* word : it is more likely that there was the influence of a word like < *piccha* > *feathers of the tail*, or < *nica* > *below down* (also a post-position), or of < *prstha* > > পিঠ < *piṭhṣ* > *back* (cf. পিছমোড়া < *piṭhṣ-mōṛā* > beside পিঠ-মোড়া < *piṭhṣ-mōṛā* > *with arms pinioned behind the back*), in altering < -ā- > to < -i- >. The < -i- > form might well be a borrowing from a Western dialect, and not native Bengali : and in the derived adjective and denominative verb in Bengali at least, the < -i- > is resultant, due to Umlaut and Vowel Harmony : পাছ > পাছু, পাছু > < *pāchā* > *pāchu, pāchuā* >, adjective, > পেছো, পেছু < *pēchō, pēchu* > > পিছু < *pichu* > ; verb পাছুয়ান < *pāchuyānā* > > পেছোনো, পেছুনো, পিছুনো *pēchōnō, pēchunō, pichunō* > *to fall back*.

(24) পানে < *pānē* > *at, towards, in the direction of* : e.g., মুখ পানে < *mukh(ā)-pānē* > *at the face, towards the face*, আমা(র) পানে < *āmā(rṣ)-pānē* > *at me, towards me*, ঘর or ঘরের পানে < *ghārṣ (ghārērṣ) -pānē* > *in the direction of the house*. This post-position occurs in Assamese as পানে < *pānē* >. The origin of it is obscure, but phonetically it can be from either OIA. < *prajñā* > *knowledge* (cf. p. 305, *supra*), or < *panna* > ($\sqrt{\text{pad}} + \text{na}$) *reached, arrived at*.

(25) পাশে < *pāśē* > : locative of পাশ < *pāśṣ* > *side (pārsva)*. Forms the locative of proximity with the genitive : ŚKK., p. 7, এহার পাশে < *ēhārā pāśē* > *by his side*, রাধার পাশে, কাছের পাশে < *Rādhārā pāśē, Kānhērā pāśē* >

etc. We have also (in poetry especially) পাশ « pāś » , which is the old locative in « -i », = *pāśi < pārsvē » (see p. 312).

(26) বই « bāi » *without, apart form, in addition to*: apparently from an OIA. « vyatīta ». Used with the base. In MB., this post-position is written বহি, বহৌ « bāhi, bāhī », as if from বহ « √bāh » *carry, bear, be carried away* (indeclinable conjunctive forms of which are বহি « bāhi » and বহিষা « bāhiyā »). The « -h- » however is euphonic (see 'supra, p. 341), and the OIA. passive participle « vyatīta » is the source: if it were বহি, বহিষা « bāhi, bāhiyā », the Standard Colloquial form would have been বয়ে « bōyē », which is not the case. This post-position occurred in eMB.: cf. SKK., pp. 192, 193, হাটে দান দেহ এ বাটে বহৌ « hāṭe dāna dēhā ē bāṭe bāhī » *pay the tax in the market, apart from (the tax) on the road*, ভিন কি দিবোর এ বাট বহৌ « bhinā ki dibō-rā ē bāṭa bāhī » *what else shall I give, in addition to (that on) the road*.

(27) বাহির « bāhir » , modern locative বাহিরে « bāhirē », Standard Coll. বার, বের « bār, bēr », বাইরে « bāirē » = *outside* (MIA. *bāhiri, *bāhirē < bāhira: cf. OIA. bahiḥ, bāh-ya). Employed with the genitive.

(28) বিনা « binā », by Vowel Harmony বিনে « binē », also বিনি « bini »: from the OIA. « vinā » *without*. This word is found both as preposition (a rare thing in NIA.) and as post-position. Thus বিনা অনুমতি or অনুমতিতে « binā ānumāti, ānumāti-tē » or বিনা হুকুম « binā hukum(ē) », beside অনুমতি or হুকুম বিনা « ānumāti, hukum binā » *without permission*; বিনা হাতা, হাতা বিনা « binā hātā, hātā binā » *without handle*; etc. বিনি « bini » is a rare form, now occurring only prepositionally in a few expressions like বিনি-সুতার হার « bini-sutārā hār » *a necklet without a cord*, বিনি দুঃখে « bini duḥkhē » *without sorrow*. It is found both pre- and post-positionally in the SKK., e.g., p. 212, বিনি যতনে « bini jātānē » *without any trouble*, beside p. 215, কাহ্ন বিনৌ আভাগিনী গোপযুভতি « Kāhñā binī ābhāginī gōpā-yubātī » *without Kṛṣṇa, the milkmaid girls are unhappy*. বিনি « bini » may be a locative form, from a nominalised use of *bina » of the Skt. particle.

(29) বিহনে « bihānē », OB. « bihaṇi, bihunē » (Early Oṛiyā = bihunā) *without, in the absence of*. It seems to be the Skt. « vihinā » in the locative, with influence of « √bhū > -hu- ». Caryā 13, « niṇḍa-bihunē suinā jāisō »

just as a dream (suina=svapna) *without sleep*; 23, « jivantē-bhēlā-bihani maēla » *dead without even having been a living one*; 35, « cia-bihunnē pāpa na punna » *without mind, no sin, no merit*. In MB. and NB., this post-position is used with either the stem or the genitive: cf. ŚKK., p. 172, চুন বিহনে বেক্‌ তাহুল তিতা « cunā bihānē jēnhā tāmbulā titā » *just as the betel leaf is bitter without lime*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 9, তোমার বিহনে বাছা ছাড়িব জীবন « tōmār(ā) bihānē bāchā chārībā jibān(ā) » *in thy absence, my son, I shall give up life*; etc.

(30) তিত (ভীত), modern locative ভিতে (ভীতে) « bhitā (bhītā), bhitē (bhītē) » *in the wall, bank, side*: from « bhitti ». Used with the genitive, to indicate direction: e.g., ŚKK., p. 388, যমুনার ভীতে « Jāmunārā bhitē » *towards the Jumna*. Rare in the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā ».

(31) ভিতর, ভিতরে « bhitārā, bhitārē » *within*, locatives (the first form < *bhitari < *abhyantarē): used with the genitive.

(32) মাঝে « mājhē » *in the middle*, locative form (< madhya). Compounded with the stem, or used with the genitive: NB. বনমাঝে কি মনমাঝে « bānā-mājhē ki mānā-mājhē » *in the woods, or within the heart*; MB., ŚKK., ব্রন্দাবন মাঝে « Bṛndābānā-mājhē » *within Brindāban*, মথুরা পুরের মাঝে « Māthurā-purērā mājhē » *within the city of Mathurā*, etc. This post-position is a characteristic one of Bengali, and is found from the OB. stage: e.g., Caryā 2, « kōṛi-majhē (= mājhē) ēku-hiaī » *in one heart, in the midst of (=among) 10 millions* (see ante, p. 746); 14, « Gaṅgā-Jaūnā-mājhērē bahaī nāi » *the boat floats in the Ganges and the Jumna*; 30, « uittā gaṇa-mājhē adabhūā » *risen in the sky, wonderful*; etc.

The locative in मि « -mi » in Haijong, from sts. « *mahī, ma(d)dhī » = « madhyē », has been noted before (p. 751). Haijong has also the forms मिनि « -mini » and नि « -ni » which are difficult to explain: मिनि « mini » may be from « *mahī » with « hī » changed to « -ni », and « ni » would in that case appear to be a contracted form of « mini ». Or it may be the affix « -hī » as added to the noun—घरनि « ghārā-ni » < *gharanhi < « gharahī ». Or is it the locative of a help-word « kārṇa » *edge, side* (« -kaṇṇahi > *(k)annaī > -ni » ?), which is found for the genitive and accusative in W. Hindi, Panjābī, Rājasthānī, etc.?

(33) লাগিয়া > লগে < lāgiyā > lēgē, poetical লাগি < lāgi > = *having come in touch with*: contracted dialectally to লাগে, লগে, লয়ে, লায়, লই, লে < lāgē, lāgē, lāyē, lāy, lāi, lē >. Used with the base, or the genitive, to indicate the dative of interest, 'for the sake of, with the object that.' This post-positional form has become rather rare in the NB. < sādhu-bhāṣā > and in the Standard Colloquial, but it is exceedingly common MB. and in the archaic poetical language: e.g., সুখের লাগিয়া এ ঘর বাঁধিছ < sukhērā-lāgiyā ē gharā bādhinu > *for the sake of happiness this house I built* (Caṇḍīdāsa); রূপ লাগি আঁধি বুঝে < rūpā-lāgi ākhi jhūre > *the eyes shed tears for (a sight of) the beauty* (c. 1590: VSP., p. 1324); এইক্ষণে তোমালগি ছাড়িব পরণ < ēi kṣaṇē tōmā-lāgi chāṛibā pāraṇā > *even at this moment for your sake I shall give up my life* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 9); etc., etc.

(34) সঙ্গে < sāṅgē >: instrumental or locative-oblique of the *tr.* < sāṅga > *company*: used in MB. and NB. with the genitive, but in OB. with the stem, to mean 'along with': e.g., Caryā 32, < dujjana-sāṅgē > *with a bad man*; ŚKK., p. 169, বড়ায়ির সঙ্গে < bārāyirā sāṅgē > *with the old dame*; etc.

(35) সনে < sānē > *with*, instrumental of < samam, sama- >. In OB. the base < sama > (pronounced undoubtedly < saṁā >) is used with the instrumental or oblique: e.g., Caryā 10, < ā lō Ḍombī, tōē-sama karibe ma sāṅga > *O Ḍombī, with thee shall I have companionship*; Caryā 33, < ṣiālā ṣihē-sama jujhāi > *the jackal fights with the lion*. The instrumental or locative < *sama-hi = sāṁhē > sāṁhē, sāyē > seems to have been in use in OB., and even in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, as the Maithilī equivalent < saṁhē, sayē > would show. By the end of the 14th century, it became সনে < sānē >: e.g., ŚKK., p. 19, দেবসনে < dēbā-sānē > *with a god*; p. 382, দসনের সনে < dāsānērā sānē > *with the teeth*. Dialectally in North Bengali, it occurs as সানে < sānē >. The earlier form সমে < sāmē > is also found in the ŚKK. (over a dozen times).

The W. Hindi < sō > and probably also < sē > *with, by* are from < sama >.

(36) সাথ, সাথে < sāthā, sāthē > *with*, from OIA. < sārtha > *having interest in*. Employed with the genitive, to denote association. This word is more commonly used in East Bengali, West Bengali (especially

the Standard Coll.) preferring সঙ্গ *< sāṅgē >*. Not found in the ŚKK., which is in Early West Bengali.

(37) শুদ্ধ, শুদ্ধা, শুদ্ধ(ী) *< suddhā, suddhā. (suddhā, -ā) >* is used after the noun or pronoun put in the dative in কে *< kē >* or দের *< -dēr >* to indicate the dative of inclusion: e.g., তাকে শুদ্ধ বলতে হবে *< tākē suddhā bōltē hābē >* *one must tell him also*, ছেলের(কে) শুদ্ধ নিয়ে *< chēlēder(ke) (-kē) suddhā niyē >* *taking also the boys*, etc. It is compounded with nouns and pronouns as an inclusive affix: see *supra*, p. 706.

(38) হইতে (হৈতে) *< haitē >* হ'তে *< hōtē >* *being*. In MB., this is found also as হন্তে *< hantē >*, beside হোন্তে *< hōntē >*, হইতে *< haitē >*, হৈতে *< hātyē = hāitē >*, হোহৈতে *< hōitē >*, হতে *< hātē >*, হনে *< hanē >*. With the base, it indicates the ablative. It is the present participle of \sqrt{h} or অহ *< √hā, āh >* *to be = OIA.* *< √as >*: **as-ant- > *ahanta- > *ahenta- > *ahita- > hāita- >*, locative or oblique **ahanatahi > *ahitē >* হইতে *< haitē >*, NB. হ'তে *< hōtē >*. There are phonological reasons for affiliating হইতে *< haitē >* to *< √as > *ahitē >* and not to *< √hō, hū > *hōitē >*: (see *infra*, under Verb: 'Substantive and Defective Verbs.'). The MB. dialectal form হনে *< hāuē >* shows change of *< -nt- > -t- >* to *< -n- >* on the analogy of *< karanti >* করেন *kārēṇ >* *does, do* (honorific): and possibly there is some influence of সনে *< sānē >* (No. 35, above). Equivalents of হইতে *< haitē >* are apparently the Magahī *< -satī >* and Bhōjpuriyā *< -santē >* = *from, by* (Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, pp. 228, 328), where the sibilant has been preserved.

The use of *< -santa- >* as a genitival post-position is very old, and has been found, at least in MIA. of the South-west, as early as the Transitional MIA. period (see *supra*, p. 753). At the present day, this employ of *< -sant-, -hant- >* obtains in the Western languages, Sindhi and Rājasthānī (*< -sand- >* in Sindhi, and *< -handō, -handī >* in Western Rājasthānī), and in the Dardic speech of Kashmir (*< -hondū >*, beside *< -sondū < -s handū >* with *< -s >* from the genitive base to which it is affixed: cf. Grierson in 'Lallā-vākyāni,' London, 1920, p. 139). It has been also suggested that the Panjābī genitive post-position *< -dā, -dī >* has developed out of the same present participle *< -handā >* (Beames, II, p. 291), but that is exceedingly problematic, and is not at all attested, and it seems that here we have another

post-positional form, in all probability a derivative from OIA. $\langle \sqrt{dā} \rangle$ to give (see *supra*, p. 164). This genitival use is not met with in the Eastern languages. Early Assamese, like Bengali, uses the locative oblique হতে $\langle hāntē \rangle$, beside the base form হন্ত $\langle hāntā \rangle$ (not found in Bengali), as an ablative affix, either with the noun base, or with the locative in ত $\langle -tā \rangle$ e.g., দুই-হতে $\langle dui-hāntē \rangle$ from two, মন-হতে $\langle mānā-hāntē \rangle$ from the mind, নগরী-হতে $\langle nāgarī-hāntē \rangle$ from the city, beside যেত-হতে $\langle mō-tā-hāntē \rangle$ from me, ললাটত-হতে $\langle lālātā-tā-hāntē \rangle$ from the forehead, etc. In later Assamese, however, হতে, হন্ত $\langle hāntē, hāntā \rangle$ no longer feature for the ablative. But we have a form ইত $\langle hātā \rangle$, certainly from this $\langle hāntā \rangle$, as a plural affix for rational nouns, to indicate only members of a trade, caste or group (Hēma-candra Barua, 'Asamīyā Vyākaraṇa,' p. 18) : e.g., ছাত্র-ইত $\langle chātārā-hātā \rangle$ students, কঁহার-ইত $\langle kāhārā-hātā \rangle$ bell-metal workers, ডোম-ইত $\langle ḍōmā-hātā \rangle$ people of the Ḍōm caste, etc. (see *supra*, p. 739). The use of ইত $\langle hātā \rangle$ for the plural is possibly based on an earlier use of হন্ত $\langle hāntā \rangle$ as a genitive post-position (as in Sindhī, Rājasthānī, and Kāśmīrī) in addition to an ablative one, in the Eastern languages : which, in that case, would parallel the development of the Bengali রা, এরা $\langle -rā, -erā \rangle$ as a plural affix from the genitive র, এর $\langle -rā, -ērā \rangle$.

In the form হইতে $\langle hāitē \rangle$ there also has been the influence of the present participle of $\sqrt{hā}$ $\langle \sqrt{hō} \rangle$ ($\langle bhū \rangle$), as both these substantive roots, $\langle as \rangle$ and $\langle bhū \rangle$, have merged into one form in Bengali. The present participle of $\langle \sqrt{bhū} \rangle = \langle bhavant- \rangle$ hontā, is found to be employed as an ablative elsewhere in IA.—e.g., in Western Rājasthānī and Gujarātī as $\langle hūtau, tāu, tu, thaū, thī \rangle$ (cf. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 72), and in Khas-kurā, where it occurs as $\langle bhandā \rangle$. In Western Apabhraṇsa $\langle *bhavantāu, hontāu \rangle$ ($\langle \sqrt{bhū} \rangle$) were undoubtedly in use as ablative-forming post-positions, like $\langle ahanta-, asanta- \rangle$ ($\langle \sqrt{as} \rangle$) in Māgadhī Apabhraṇsa.

These post-positional present participles of Late MIA. are certainly distinct from the Second MIA. ablative affixes $\langle -hiṃ-tō, -sum-tō \rangle$, which look like compounds formed of the OIA. inflexions ($\langle -hiṃ \rangle =$ instrumental plural, and locative singular ; or $\langle -sum \rangle =$ locative plural ; plus $\langle -tō \rangle$ < OIA.

-taḥ, -āt + -taḥ = ablative affixes), although the suffixes « -hīmtō, -sumtō » and the Apabhraṁśa present participles « hontaū, *santaū » have been sought to be connected with each other (cf. Hoernle, Gauḍian Grammar, § 376).

(39) হইলে, হ'লে « hāilē » hōlē » *on having been*, conditional conjunctive of the substantive verb, is used with the base or the dative in « -kē » to mean 'in that case,' 'on such-and-such or so-and-so remaining.' The negative form নহিলে, নহৈলে, ন'লে « nāhilē, nāilē, nōlē » is used also with the base or the dative in « -kē » as a post-position meaning *without*.

A number of *iss.* are also used as post-positions: *e.g.*, « anusāra, anukrama, anuyāyī [onuḥḥai], bhinna, viṣaya, vyatīta, vyatirēka » etc., which are mostly put in the locative or oblique and used with the genitive or the mere base.

The Perso-Arabic form সেওয়ার, সওয়ার, সহায়, সওয়া, সফা « sēwāy, sāwāy, sāhāy, sāwā, sāhā » *besides, other than, over and above*, is used in Bengali with the base or the genitive, generally with the demonstrative pronouns, rather rarely with nouns. It has been borrowed from the Hindōstānī, where it is both a preposition and a post-position (Hind. sawā, siwā, siwā-e, sawā-e, < Persian < Arabic siwā [swy] = *extra, additional*). The word বেগার « bēgār » *without* (Perso-Arabic ba-gair) is sometimes found, either as a preposition or as a post-position, exactly like বিনা « binā » (p. 772)

[E] ENCLITIC DEFINITIVES OR NUMERATIVES.

510. Bengali like most NIA. languages possesses some post-positional affixes or words which are added to nouns or numerals to define the nature of the object or article referred to. Pronouns other than those of the first and second persons also take these post-positions, which are attached to the words and practically become a part of them, the case-affixes coming after them. These post-positional words, full or attenuated, are commonly described as *articles*. When a noun (or pronoun) is in the singular, the article or definitive comes after it; when in the plural (and pronouns are not used in the plural here), it must be qualified by a numeral, with which the post-positional is combined: where the number is vague or unknown, the definitive is not used. Where the numeral-*cum*-enclitic

precedes the noun, it becomes an attributive adjective, and does not take the case affixes, which are added to the noun: but where numeral-*cum*-enclitic follows the noun, it is loosely compounded with the latter, and the affixes are attached at the end of the entire group. Thus, মানুষ *man*: একজন মানুষ *ek-jāṇṣ mānuṣṣ* > *one-person man = a man*; একটা or একটী মানুষ *ekṭā, ekṭī mānuṣṣ* > *a or one man*; একজন মানুষের *ek-jāṇṣ mānuṣṣērṣ* > *of a man*, একজন মানুষকে *ek-jāṇṣ mānuṣṣ-kē* > *to a man*; but মানুষটা, মানুষটি *mānuṣṣ-ṭā, mānuṣṣ-ṭī* > *the man*, মানুষটার, মানুষটির *mānuṣṣ-ṭā-rṣ, mānuṣṣ-ṭī-rṣ* > *of the man*, মানুষটাকে, মানুষটিকে *mānuṣṣ-ṭā-kē, mānuṣṣ-ṭī-kē* > *to the man*; দুটা, দুটি or দুজন মানুষ *du-ṭā, du-ṭī, du-jāṇṣ mānuṣṣ* > *two men*, genitive দুটা, দুটি or দুজন মানুষের *du-ṭā, du-ṭī, du-jāṇṣ mānuṣṣērṣ* >, but মানুষ দুজনেব *mānuṣṣ-du-jāṇṣ* > *of the two men*, মানুষ-দুটিকে, *mānuṣṣ-du-ṭī-kē* > *to the two men*; etc.,

The definitives are used with nouns in the qualifying genitive, *e.g.*, নীচের টার *nichērṣ-ṭā-rṣ* > *of the one below*, উপরের খানা থেকে *upārṣ-khānā-thēkē* > *from the piece at the top*, পাশের জনকে *pāśērṣ-jāṇṣ-kē* > *to the one beside*, etc. When the definitive is placed *before* the numeral, which qualifies the noun, instead of *after* it, the sense becomes, on the contrary, vague and indefinite as to the number: *e.g.*, জন দুই মানুষ *jāṇṣ-dui mānuṣṣ* >, or মানুষ জন দুই *mānuṣṣ-jāṇṣ-dui* > *about or some two men*, gen. জন দুই মানুষের or মানুষ জন দুইয়ের *mānuṣṣ-jāṇṣ-duiērṣ, jāṇṣ-dui mānuṣṣērṣ* >. This usage is certainly old in the language: it is found in the Early Maithili of the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' (*supra*, pp. 102-103). The enclitics টা (টো, টে), টী < -ṭā (-ṭō, -ṭē), -ṭī > are not used in this way to precede the numeral, as it is not an entire word any longer. To emphasise the vagueness, the indefinite forms of the numerals (with এক < -ēk >) are also used: *e.g.*, জন দুই or জন দুইরেক *jāṇṣ-dui, -dui-ēk* >, খান-দশ or দশেক *khāṇṣ-dāśṣ, -dāś-ēkṣ* >.

The employment of these enclitic words or fragments of words lacks the range and variety of the numerative or qualifying words of many other languages, *e.g.*, Chinese (cf. R. K. Douglas, 'Chinese Manual,' London, 1889, pp. 64-66), and Japanese (*e.g.*, H. J. Weintz, 'Japanese Grammar Self-Taught,' London, 1904, pp. 32-34), although there is some resemblance in the general principle.

Common Numeratives of Bengali, and their Origin:

(1) খান, খান্না < khāṇḍ, khāṇā >, diminutive খানী, খানি < khānī, khānī > (originally feminine : see pp. 672-673) = *a piece* (< < khaṇḍa > : see p. 365). In NB., it is used by preference to specialise objects of rectangular or flat form, or objects which have a frame-work. But in the ŚKK., it is used in an expression like নাতিনী খানী < nātinī-khānī > *the (little) granddaughter* (p. 11 : cf. also note at p. 433 of the ŚKK., where is quoted from Early Assamese কন্যাখানি < kānyā-khānī > *the little daughter*). This numerative was thus established in Bengali by the eMB. period at least. Cf. also বেড়িল কুড়িখা (= কুড়িয়া > কুড়ে) খা ন < bēṛhilā kuṛ(h)iā-khānī > *surrounded the cottage* (Kṛttivāsa, ‘Uttara-kauḍa,’ p. 58), সাঁতারিয়া আনে ভুজ অর্জুনের শরীর-খান < sātāriyā ānē Bhr̥gu Arjunēḥ śārīḥ-khāṇḍ > *B. swims and brings the body of A.* (ibid, p. 65), দুইখান হাত < dui-khāṇḍ hātḍ > *the- two hands* (ibid, p. 92); etc.

(2) গাছ, গাছা < gāchḍ, gāchā >, diminutive গাছী, গাছি < gāchī, gāchi > = *a long piece, a ‘stick,’ a ‘tree’* (MIA. < grāccha > : see p. 472) : used with reference to thin and long articles. This is not found in eMB., and seems to have been established in its numerative function during the lMB. period.

(3) গোটা < gōṭā >, diminutive গুটী, গুটি < guṭī, guṭi > = *one piece, one whole, one round object*. It occurs also as গোটে < gōṭḍ >, and is found in Hindōstānī as an independent word meaning *a pebble or stone, a round object, a piece, a man (as in a game)*. The word is of uncertain origin, but doubtless the Skt. < guṭikā >, Bengali গুটী < guṭī > *a small globe or ball, a pill, a pearl, a pustule, the cocoon of the silk-worm* is the same word. The source of it may be the Skt. root < ḡ > *to sprinkle, moisten*, which figures in the ‘Dhātu-pāṭhas’ : a form like < *ḡr-ta > to mean *a drop* could well have given < *ḡurta >, whence < *guṭṭa, *gōṭṭa >, whence the NIA. forms, as well as the Skt. < guṭikā >. The Skt. word has been also sought to be connected with < gōla > *round* and < gūḍa > *molasses*. The word গোটা < gōṭā > was derived from < gōṣṭha-ka > by Hoernle (Gauḍian Grammar, p. 275), but that should give an aspirate in NIA., e.g.. < *gōṭhā >, whereas all the actual NIA. forms—Western and Eastern Hindi, Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese,

have «-ṭ-» and not «-ṭh-». The form «gōṭā» figures as a post-positional numerative in Bihārī; e.g., in Maithilī «duhū-gōṭā» *the two pieces*; also in Oriyā, in Bengali, and in Assamese; and consequently it is likely that the numerative employ of this word goes back to Māg. Ap. We have it in Early Maithilī, and it is extremely common in Early Bengali: e.g., SKK. বাঁশী গুটি «bāśī-guṭi» *the flute*, several times, and Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' বাণ গোটা «bāṇḍ-gōṭā» *the arrow* (p. 28). In NB. গোটা «gōṭā» is quite common as a noun meaning *whole*; its numerative use, however, has become considerably curtailed.

(4) জন «jānḍ» *person*, which can be either *tbh.* or *ts.*, is used to indicate men and women. The use of this word is found in eMB., and in all likelihood it goes earlier: e.g., Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 2, ভাই দুইজনে «bhāi dui-jānē» *the two brothers*, lit. *brother(s) two-persons*; 'Uttara-kāṇḍa,' p. 66, মাতাপিতা দুইজনে «mātā-pitā dui-jānē» *the two parents* (or *mother and father both*); etc.

(5) টা «-ṭā» (by Vowel Harmony টো «-ṭō» and টে «-ṭē»: p. 401), diminutive টি, টি «-ṭi, -ṭi»: used as the post-positional 'Definite Article,' meaning *an object, a whole*. For derivation and use, see *supra*, p. 686. The dialectal forms «-ḍā, -ḍi» have been noted before. In the Haijong (Maimansing) dialect, apparently it is this «-ṭā > -ḍā > -rā» that figures in forms like রাজারি «rājā-rā» *the king*, মাগুরি «māgu-rā» *the wife*, কথারি «kāthā-rā» *the word*, etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 216 ff).

টো, টি «-ṭā, -ṭi» are the most important definitives of Bengali. The employ of these is already well-established in the Early MB. period: e.g., SKK., p. 75 সোনার কটুআ দুটি মণিকে পুরায়ি «sōnārā kaṭuā du-ṭi māṇikē purāyā» *causing the two (round) boxes of gold to be filled with gems*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 28, চকুটা «caḥṣu-ṭā» *the eye*; *ibid.*, p. 1, দুইটা ব্রাহ্মণ «dui-ṭi Brāhmanḍ» (*the*) *two Brāhmanas*, দুটি হাত «duṭi hātḥ» *the two hands* etc., etc.

The «-ṭā» affix is found as টু «-ṭu» after the numeral এক «ēkḥ» *one* (=ṭ-+u<-ū: p. 677); and when used post-positionally after a noun, «-ṭu» is extended to টুক «-ṭu-kḥ», and further strengthened to টুকু «-ṭu-k-u»: «-ṭu, -ṭukḥ, -ṭuku» are all used to denote 'a small quantity

of any thing,’ generally of fluids and of substances which are already in small fragments : e.g., একটু জল « ēkṣ-ṭu jālṣ » *a little water*, but জলটুকু, টুকু « jālṣ-ṭukṣ, jālṣ-ṭuku » *the little water*; একটু হুন « ēkṣ-ṭu nunṣ » *a little salt, a pinch of salt*, হুনটুকু « nunṣ-ṭuk(u) » *that pinch of salt*. The « -k- » in « -ṭukṣ, -ṭuku » looks like being the nominal or pleonastic affix (see ante, pp. 679 ff), but it may be from « ēkṣ » *one*, as in the dialectal word টুক, টুয়েক « ṭukṣ, ṭuyēkṣ » *a little* (e.g., টুক, টুয়েক বাদে « ṭukṣ or ṭuyēkṣ bādē » *a little later*, as in West Rāḍha Bengali : = « -ṭu » diminutive + « ēkṣ »).

(6) থান « thānṣ » *flat piece, round or rectangular piece* (< sthāna): e.g., কাপড় দুথান « kāpāṛṣ du-thānṣ » *the two pieces of stuff*, etc. Rather restricted in employ.

A few other words are similarly used as definitives. E.g., the Persian word ত « tā » *sheet* (« tah, tāh » *fold, plait* : দুতা কাগজ « du-tā kāgājṣ » *two sheets of paper*), and কেতা « kētā » *piece* (Ar. « qitāʿ » *cutting* : নোট দু-কেতা « nōṭṣ du-kētā » *two bank-notes*). But they partake rather of the nature of English words like *head* (‘five head of cattle’), *sail* (‘ten sail of ships’) than of enclitic definitives like the above.

CHAPTER III

THE NUMERALS

511. The numerals present one of the difficult phonetic problems of NIA. Their forms show a remarkable uniformity all over the NIA. area, a uniformity which is not in keeping with the several phonetic histories of the various NIA. speeches. The names for the cardinals in the different NIA. languages, instead of going through their proper MIA. forms back to OIA. (i.e., with each group showing independent and distinct forms with characteristic dialectal phonetic history, in general agreement with the phonology of the mass of words in the language), appear rather to be based on some standardised MIA. forms. These standardised forms originally belonged to some particular dialect of MIA., but they were early adopted in a standard dialect, a sort of Hindōstānī of ancient times (when they did not originally belong to it), whence they were imposed upon the vernacular speeches in the different tracts of the country; and the proper native forms in these latter vernaculars were generally superseded, although in some cases they have maintained themselves (*e.g.*, Gujarātī « bē » Sindhī « b'ē » Marāthī « dōn » Bengali দুই « dui » *two*, Panjābī « wih » *twenty*). From the very close resemblance between the common NIA. cardinals and those of Pali, the latter may be taken to represent the basis or source of the former. Pali is based on the speech of the Midland, with influences from the East as well as the North-West and the South-West: one Pali form for *twelve* is « bārasa », with « b- » for OIA. « dv- », which does not seem to be a proper Midland treatment of this group of consonants: the native Midland form was certainly « d(u)vāḍasa », also found in Pali, but we do not know when « bārasa » or an earlier « *bāḍasa < dvāḍasa » from an outside dialect imposed itself in Pali, side by side with the native form in « d(u)vā- ». (Cf. p. 58, *supra*.) The form « bārasa », however, became established in the standard form of the Midland speech, and thence passed on to the other dialects, Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī included; although these latter continued to use their

proper forms « duvālasa, *duvāḍasa » side by side with « bārasa », at least as a literary survival down to Second MIA. times. Even though the Pali forms give a sufficiently satisfactory ground work for those of NIA., there are certain irregularities in the development of the latter, which cannot be properly explained. Thus, intervocalic « -s- » became « -h- » in all the forms except those of the 9th decade in Western Panjābī and Sindhi: *e.g.*, W. Panjābī « yārā(h), bārā(h) » = 11, 12; « wih, ikki(h), bāi(h) » = 20, 21, 22; « trih, battih » = 30, 32; « cālī(h), cutālī(h) » = 40, 44; « pañjāh, aṭhwañjā(h) » = 50, 58; « bāhṭh, cheāhṭh » = 62, 66; « ihattar, pañjhattar » = 71, 75; but « assī, ikāsī » = 80, 81, where the sibilant is retained. In the other NIA. languages, in Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, W. Hindī, E. Hindī, Bihārī and Bengali for instance, we find « -h- » for « -s- » regularly only in the 2nd and 8th decades, but irregularly in other cases (*e.g.*, Hindi « bārah » = 12, « bāhāttar » = 72 but « pacās » = 50, « aṭhwan » = 58); while the « -s- » remains in the third, fourth, fifth and ninth decades (*e.g.*, Hindi « bāis » = 22, « aṭīs » = 38, « byāllis » = 42, « pacāsi » = 85): and Oṛiyā and Assamese preserve the « -s- » in the eighth decade as well (the « s » in Assamese has become [x]). The Pali forms cannot explain all these anomalies among the NIA. speeches, because Pali represents an earlier state of things in MIA. when « -s- » remained a sibilant. The later Prakrits show a mix-up of « -s- » and « -h- » forms which it is now impossible to refer to local dialects of the Second MIA. stage. Forms like those that we find in Pali would seem to have been adopted in most MIA. dialects by the Second MIA. stage: then after the « -s- » > « -h- » change took place in one area (probably in N.-W. India: see *supra*, p. 549), that phonetic development also partially insinuated itself into the forms of the standard speech (some form of Śaurasēnī, in all likelihood), and thence also to the other dialects, but not uniformly.

The origin of the NIA. words for the numerals has been discussed by Bloch (cf. 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 214-223). The question is studied here from the point of view of Bengali.

512. One = एक « ēkṣ » [æ:k]: from eMB. [ɛ:kə], OB. [e:kə] < MIA. « ēkka », a MIA. /s/ or s/s. form, occurring side by side with the *tḥh*

« ēga, ēa » which occur in Prakrit but which are not so common (Jaina Ardha-māgadhī prefers « ēga », however). The Assamese এ « ē » = *one*, as in এখন « ē-zānṣ » *one person*, এটা « ē-tā » *one*, এহেজার « ē-hēzārṣ » *one thousand* (= Bengali একজন, একটা, একহাজার « ēkṣ-janṣ, ēkṣ-tā, ēkṣ-hājārṣ »), shows that the *tbh.* « ēa » was as much a living form in Second and Third MIA. as the *sts.* « ēkka ». A common and exceedingly important word, for the numeral *one*, it could not remain as the colourless « ēa », and hence the *ts.* form could easily come in to meet the necessity of a distinctive vocable.

In composition, « ēkṣ » remains unmodified (*e.g.*, একু ekuṣ < ēkuīṣ, ēkaiṣ = 21; একত্রিশ, ত্রিশ ēkṣ-t(i)riṣ, ēkāttriṣ = 31; একচাল্লিশ ēkṣ-cāllīṣ = 41; একার ēkānā = 51; একষষ্টি ēkṣ-ṣaṭṭi = 61; একাত্তর ēkātṭārṣ = 71; একান(ব)ই ekānāi, ekānābbāi = 91), except in এগার « ēgārā » = 11. Here the voicing difficult is to account for. It seems to be NIA., from a Late MIA. « *ēkārāha », a standard form, < earlier « ēkkārāha » which supplanted the *tbh.* « ēāraha ». The « -k- < MIA. -kk- » is preserved in Marāṭhī « akrā »; and Panjābī « yārā » represents the normal MIA. *tbh.* « ēāraha ». The Ardha-māgadhī « ēga » would only be confined to literature, and cannot be regarded as being responsible for the NIA. « ēgārā, igārā » etc. The 'Prākṛta-Pāṇḍala' form « ēggārāha » seems only to be a Prakritisation of the NIA. word. In forms like « ēk-uṣṣ, ēkṣ-t(i)riṣ » etc., an analysis into « ēkṣ + biṣṣ (viṣṣ), ēkṣ + t(i)riṣṣ » was easy, and this analysis seems to have helped to bring in or retain the « -k- »; but there was not much scope for this analysis when « -daśa » became « -raha » in the MIA. « ēkkārāha, *ēkārāha, ēāraha » in the dialects, which mostly now have « -g- » or zero for the original « -k- ». In Gujarātī « ōgṇis » = 91, « ōgṇtis » = 29, « ōgaṇcālis » = 39, « agṇō-ēśi, ōgaṇyāśi » = 79, however, it is not a case of voicing: « ōgaṇ- » is not from OIA. « ēkōna- », but is rather from a Skt. « *apagūṇa (-viṇśati) », etc. (Pischel, § 444).

In Chittagong Bengali, there is the voicing of « -k- » which characterises this dialect: « ēgṣ < ēkṣ »; also « ēkuā, ēkā > ēguā, ēgā, eggā, oggā »; (this « eguā, eggā » gives in Chittagong Bengali the numerative enclitic « -ggā » or « -gōā »: *e.g.*, « du-ggā » = *two pieces*, « tsāir-gōā » = *four pieces*,

etc., which corresponds to « dui-gō, cār-gō » etc., of the Bibāri dialects); « ḡḡāiṣṣ, ḡḡōiṣṣ = ḡkūṣṣ, ḡkāiṣṣ »; etc.

In other compound forms in Bengali, « -k- » of « ḡkṣṣ » is preserved: *e.g.*, একুইতি « ēkūiti » (= ēka-putrikā). The « -k- » is lengthened or doubled in Bengali for emphasis, as in the case of the other consonants: *e.g.*, একেকালে, একেবারে « ekkē-kālē, ekkē-bāre » *all at once* or *all at the same time*, etc. (see above, p. 448).

513. Two = দুই « dui », from MIA. « dvē », properly the neuter form = « dvē » of OIA., which is already established in the eastern dialect of Aśōka for the masculine as well (*e.g.*, Rock Edict I. Jaugada = « dvē majulā = dvāu mayūrāu »). দুই « dui » is a genuine Prācya and Māgadhī form as preserved in Bengali. It is found in the other Magadhan speeches as well. Other typical NIA. forms, differing from that of the Eastern tracts, are « dō » (W. Hindī and Panjābī), « dōn » (Marāṭhī), « bē » (Gujarātī), « b'ē » (Sindhī) and « dē-ka » (Sinhalese).

In composition with nouns, the equivalent was « dō- » in MIA. In the Caryās, « dō » also occurs (beside « dui ») as an independent or qualifying form: *e.g.*, « dui gharē » (Caryā 2), « dui māra (= mārḡa: Caryā 26), and « dō bhāṣā » (= vartma: Caryā 15). We have also a definitive « duā » as in « phīṭai duā » *let the two be split or destroyed*. In genuine Bengali compounds, the form « dō » becomes « du » when followed by a high vowel (see under 'Vowel Harmony,' *supra*, pp. 397-398): thus, দুখের « du-mukhō < dō-mukh-ā » *two-faced*, দুচুট « du-chuṭṣ » < দুখুট « dō-chuṭṣ » (see p. 472), দুপুর « dupurṣ » < দুপহর « dō-pahārṣ » (dvi-prahara); but দুপাতি « dō-pāṭi » *a flower*, দুআঁশলা « dō-āṣṣālā » *of mixed breed* (dvi + āṣa + la-), দুভাষী « dō-bhāṣī » *interpreter*, etc. A common contraction of the adjectival দুই « dui » is দু' « du »: *e.g.*, দু(ই)টা > দুটা « du(i)-ṭā > du-ṭō » *two pieces*, দু(ই)জন « du(i)-jāṇṣ » *two persons*. In such forms, দু « du » is regarded as forming compounds, and this fact influences the original « dō- » in many compounds to be changed to « du- »: *e.g.*, দুহাতা > দুহাতা « du-hātā > du-hāṭṭā », beside দুহাতা « dō-hāṭṭā » *with both hands* (= *to one's best advantage*), দুধারী « du-dhārī » beside দুধারী « dō-dhārī » *two-edged*, etc.

In MB. there is the form দোহ *< dōhā >* *two* (as in দোহে *< dōhē >* nominative and oblique, দোহাৰ, দোহাকাৰ *< dōhā-rṣ, dōhā-kārṣ >* genitive, দোহাকে *< dōhā-kē >* dative) which represents an Apabhraṃśa genitive *< *dōṇhā, dōṇṇam >*. Variants of this form, with the nasal from the genitive plural of the noun, are দুইহ *< duihā >* (as in the ŚKK.), and দুহান *< duhān >* (as in the Early Assamese দুহানো *< duhānō >*).

In compound numerals, we find the forms ব *< bā- >* and ব, বি, বে *< bā-, bi-, bē- >* representing the OIA. *< dvā-, dvi- >*: thus বাইশ *< bāisṣ >* (*dvā-viṃśati*), বত্ৰিশ, বত্ৰিবিশ *< bātṭ(i)riṣṣ >* (*dvā-triṃśat*), বিয়াল্লিশ, বেয়াল্লিশ, ব্যাল্লিশ *< biyāllīṣ, bēyā-, byā- >* (*dvi-catvāriṃśat*), বিয়াশ *< birāṣi >* (*dvy-aśīti*). The change *< dv- > b- >*, as has been noted before (see *supra*, pp. 508, 762) is non-Māgadhī: native Māgadhī would have shown *< *dōā-, *dui- >*.

Bengali দোক *< dōkā >* *twain, with a second* is an analogical formation after এক *< ēkā >* *alone*.

In the OB. of the Caryās we have the word *< bēni >* to mean *two* (Caryās 1, 4, 5). The word in this sense is extremely common in Early Oṛiyā (*bēni*). It is the *ts.* word *< vēni >* *plait, plait of two bands of hair*, and the Sanskrit word itself would seem to be based on a MIA. formation from *< dvi >*, with *< v- < b- >* from *< dv- >*.

514. *Three* = তিন *< tinṣ >*, properly তীন *< tīnṣ >* *< OB. < tini, tiṇi = tīni >* (cf. Caryā 13, *< tiṇi bhuaṇa >* *the three worlds*; also Caryās 7 and 16); Oṛiyā, Assamese and Maithilī = *< tīni >*. This form is found in most NIA., excepting in the Western Languages—Panjābī and Lahndī, Sindhī and Gujarātī—which have forms in *< -r- >* (Panj. and Lahndī *< traī >*, Sindhī *< trē >*, Gujarātī *< traṇ >*) through Dardic influence. The NIA. *< tīni >* comes from the OIA. neuter *< trīṇi >*, which was generalised in the East for all genders (and, it seems, also in the Midland: cf. W. Hindī *< tīn(i) >*). This can be seen from Aśōkan inscriptions: thus *< tiṇi pānāni >* in Dhaulī and Jaugada I, = *< tiṇni, tīni pānāni >* in Kalsi, for which Girnar has *< ti, trī prāṇā >* and Shahbazgarhi *< tra(yo) praṇa, praṇa-trayo >*. OIA. *< trīṇi >* seems to have passed through a stage *< *tirṇi >* to give Early MIA. *< tinni, *tiṇṇi >*. An expected Māgadhī form from *< trīṇi >*, without the intermediate stage *< *tirṇi >* postulated here, would be *< *ṇi >*, and also

« *ṭi=tri- »: cf. Hindōstānī « ṭi-kāṭhī » = tri-kāṣṭhikā » *wooden triangular frame to which offenders are tied to be flogged* (= Bengali টিকটিকি « ṭikṭiki < *ṭi-kāṭh-ikī » with confusion with the onomatopoetic word টিকটিকি « ṭikṭiki » *house lizard*) in which « tr- > ṭ- » seems to be a Māgadhism which has survived.

In compound numerals we find ত্র, তি « tē-, ti- » (< traya-, tri-): ত্রয় « tērā » (trayōdaśa, *tridaśa), ত্রৈশ « tēśā » (trayōviṃśati), ত্রৈশ্ব « tēttriśā » (trayastrīṃśat), etc., etc. In compounds generally we have তে « tē- », changed to তি « ti- » by Vowel Harmony: e.g., তেত্রৈ « tēhāi » *third part* (tri-bhāgikā), তেপায় « tēpāyā » *tripod*, MB. তেওড়ী, তিউড়ী « tēōṛī, tiuṛī » *oven* (tri-vṛt), etc. OB. however has « ti-śaraṇa » (Caryā 13) and « tia-dhāu » (< tri-ka-+dhātu: Caryās 28, 29).

515. *Four* = চার < চৈর, চাইব, চারি « cār < cāir, cāir, cāri ». This is the form which is found in almost all NIA., except Sinhalese, which has « satara, hatara ». The NIA. « cāri, cār » is apparently to be connected with the OIA. neuter form « catvāri ». In the Aśōkan Kalsi dialect, « cat(t)āli », occurs already for the masculine; but Aśōkan of Girnar shows for masculine « catpārō » (catvārah). (This, if it had survived, would have given in NIA., Gujarātī, a form « *cāpar », through a Second MIA. « *capārō »). Pali has « cattāro » (accusative « caturō »), « catassō » and « cattāri » for the masculine, feminine and neuter respectively. From Second MIA. « cattāri », we come to the Apabhraṇśa « cāri » and the Early NIA. « ciāri »: and the apparent loss of « -tt- » in these later forms is not easy to explain (see *supra*, pp. 254-255). The loss of the « -tt- » may have been due to the form taken by this numeral word in compounds — « caü < catuḥ- »; and as Pischel notes (Gramm. der Pkt.-Spr., § 439, p. 313), « cāri » occurs in Apabhraṇśa in compounds (« catuspāda > *caüppāa + *cattāri-pāa » giving « cāri-pāa »?).

The form « ciāri » is attested from Early Oṛiyā, from Marāṭhī, and from other NIA. languages (see *ante*, p. 106). It can also be well assumed that Bengali also possessed this « ciāri », at least side by side with « cāri ». The form « ciāri » appears to be late, and NIA. There is no proper

explanation of the intrusive (?) «-i-», but an Iranian influence here does not seem to be an impossibility (see *supra*, p. 255; also see *infra*, under *Six*).

In compounds, the numeral occurs as চৌ «cāu» = MIA. «caü», OIA. «catuḥ, catuḥ, catur». The diphthongal form occurs already in OB. : eg. «cau-diśa» (Caryā 6), «cau-koṭṭi» (Caryā 37). In the numerals, «cau» has become contracted to «cō-, cu-»: thus চৌদ্ধ «cōddā» («caturdaśa»: the «sādhū-bhāsā» form চৌদ্ধ «cāuddā» is archaic), চৌবিশ «cōbbiś» (caturvīṣati), চুয়াবিশ «cuālliś» (catuṣcatvāriṣati), চুয়াস «cuānnā» (catuḥpañcāśat), চুয়াত্তর «cuāttār» (catuṣṣaptati), চুয়াশী «cuāśi» (catuṣaśīti), চুয়ান(ব)ই «curā-nā(bbā)i» (caturnavati). The forms চৌত্রিশ «cāu-triś» (catustrīṣati) and চৌষষ্টি «cāu-ṣaṭṭi» (OB. «caūśaṭhi, caūśaṭṭhi, caūṣaṭṭhi» as in Caryās 3, 12 and 10 respectively : = «catuṣ-ṣaṣṭi») preserve «cāu»: but they are not the normal Bengali forms as expected—the first has *ts.* influence, and the second seems to have been influenced by literary Prakrit from the OB. period. In MB. and dialectal NB., through the common change of «āu» to «āi», we have চৌপার, চৌপার «cāipār», চৌপার «cāupār» (caü-pahara, catusprahara), চৌদ্ধ «cāiddā» (= Assamese চৌধ্য «cāidhyā») beside চৌদ্ধ «cāuddā», etc. (see *supra*, p. 385). Compounds like চৌকাঠ «cāu-kāṭh» door-frame, চৌবুড়ো «cāu-ghurī» four-in-hand, চৌদোল «cāu-dōla» litter, palanquin of state, চৌধুরী, *চৌধুরী «Caudhuri < *Caudhārī» a title or surname < chief (= catur + dhara + -ika), চৌমাথা «cāu-māthā» carrefour, crossing, are archaic in type, and «cāu» is an atrophied form; and in MB. and NB., compositions with the Bengali চারি, চার «cār(i)» are more common: e.g., চার-পেয়ে < চারি-পাইয়া «cārṣ-pēyē < cārī-pāiyā» four-footed, চার-কেলে < চারি-কালিয়া «cārṣ-kēlē < cārī-kāliyā» of the four ages, etc.

516. Five = পাঁচ «pāc» (OIA. pañca). All NIA. speeches agree in retaining the nasal, except Sinhalese, which has the form «paha < passa < *paca». In compounds with nouns, «pāc» remains unchanged in Bengali: e.g., পাঁচমুখা «pāc-murā» five-crested, পাঁচ-হাতী «pāc-hātī» five cubits long, etc. In the compound numerals, however, the word occurs in four forms in Bengali, as below:

- (1) পঁচ < pāc- > as in পঁচিশ < pācīś > (pañca-viñśati), পঁচত্তর < pācāttār > (pañca-saptati), পঁচাশী < pācāśī > (pañcāśīti), পঁচান(ব)ই < pācānā(bbā)i > (pañca-navati);
- (2) পঞ্চ < pañc- > as in পঞ্চাশ < pañcāś > (pañcāśat), পঞ্চান্ন pañcānnā > (< pañcā-pañcāśat > : there is a dialectal পাঁচান < pācā-pāñ >), and উনপঞ্চাশ < unā-pāñcāś >; also contracted to < -ñc- > as in ‡ উনঞ্চাশ < unāñcāś > 49;
- (3) পঁয় < pāy > as in পঁয়ত্রিশ < pāy >-trīś > (pañca-triñśat), পঁয়তাল্লিশ < pāy >-tālīś > (pañca-catvāriñśat), and পঁয়ষট্টি < pāy >-ṣaṣṭi > (pañca-ṣaṣṭi);
- (4) পন, পান্ন, আন < pañ >-, -paññā -ānnā > as in পনের < pañērā > (pañca-daśa), and in the fifties—একান্ন, বাহান্ন, তিগান্ন, চুয়ান্ন, পঞ্চান্ন, ছায়াগান্ন, সাতান্ন, আটান্ন, < ekānnā, bāhānnā, tippānnā, cuānnā, pañcānnā, chāppānnā, sātānnā, āṭānnā >.

Of the above, < pāc > < pāc >, with short < -ā- > through absence of stress in the word in the formative period of Bengali, seems to be the native Bengali form : and < pañc- > in পঞ্চাশ < pañcāś > etc., has a restored < -ñ- >, apparently through *ts.* influence : the expected native Bengali form would be < *pācāś > : cf. Hind. < pacās >. The forms < pāy > (=pañā) > and < pañ >, paññā, -ānnā > are respectively from MIA < pañña > and < panna (paṇṇa) >, from < *pañja < pañca >. The change < ñj > ññ, ñ > is found in Maithilī in one or two forms (see *supra*, p. 364), but it does not characterise Bengali; and < -ñc- >-ñj- > -nn-, -n- > is equally foreign to Bengali. We find the latter change in the Midland and Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka : e.g., < pañna-ḍasa > (=panna-ḍasa < pañca-daśa) and < pañna-vīsati > (=panna-vīsati < pañca-viñśati) in the Delhi-Siwalik pillar, for instance, and < sa-pañnā > (=sappannā[h] < ṣaṭ-pañcāśat) at Sahasram : where it can well be an imposition from an < -ñc- >-ñj- > nn > (and < -s- > -h- >) dialect, presumably of the North-West (cf. Jules Bloch, *JA.*, 1912, I, pp. 332 ff.).

517. *Six* = ছয়, ছ < chāy >, chā >, Assamese < chāy > [স০ছ], Oṛiyā < chā >. MIA. has the form < cha >. The Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā forms, as well as the Panjābī < chē >, Marāṭhī < sahā >, and the forms < chē, chēy-, chiy- > as in the decades (as compared with Hindi and Gujarātī

«cha-» are apparently based on a fuller form in MIA. than simple «cha». The word cannot have originated from «ṣaṭ» of OIA.: «ṣ- > ch-» would be an inexplicable change in Early MIA., and we should expect the sibilant to remain either as «s-» or as «ś-», as in «ṣōḍaśa, ṣaṣṭi» > NIA. *sōlah, sāṭh* : and as a matter of fact the word for *six* does occur with «s-», in Aśōkan Prakrit.

The Indo-European word for *six* was «*seks, *sweks». In Indo-Iranian, it became «*saśs, *swaśs», the expected OIA. equivalent of which would be «*saks, *swaks > *sak, *swak», which could change only to «*saṭ, *svaṭ» by analogy (Uhlenbeck, 'Manual of Sanskrit Phonetics', p. 88; Wackernagel, I, p. 174): normally it could not certainly be «ṣaṭ», such as we actually find in OIA. In the form «ṣaṣ-» (as in «ṣaṣ-ṭha, ṣaṣ-ṭi»), the second «-ṣ-» is quite regular (< Indo-Iranian «*s[w]aśtha, *s[w]aśti» = IE «*s[w]eks-tho, *s[w]eks-ti»: cf. Wackernagel, I, § 202, d). This «-ś- > -ṣ-» in the interior of the word may have influenced the initial «*s-» to «ś-, ṣ-» (Indo-Iranian «*s[w]aśtha, *s[w]aśti > *ś[w]aśtha, *ṣ[w]aśti > OIA. *ṣaṣ*-, Prim. Iran. *ś[w]aś-»: cf. H. Reichelt, 'Awestisches Elementarbuch,' § 160). The Avestan equivalent of Vedic «ṣaṭ, ṣaṣ» is «xšvaś», which represents the Iran. «*šwaś» (with the «-w-» of IE. «*sweks»): the prothetic «x-» in «x-švaś» is regular in Avestan before initial «ś-» *plus* consonant (Reichelt, *ibid.*, § 174). The forms «ṣaṣ (śaś), xšvaś» beside «*ṣvaṣ (*śwaś)» occurred in the various ancient dialects of Indo-Iranian, as we can see from Sanskrit, from Avestan, and from the various present-day speeches of the Indo-Iranian borderland—Iranian and Dardic: *e.g.*, Baṣḡali «šō», Kalaśa «šōh», Vērōn «ušu» and Šīnā of Jalkot «šva (ṣva)», as well as Paštō «špaž, špēž, špag», would seem to be based on a form «*šwaś» or «*ṣvaṣ»; Šīnā «šah, ša (ṣah, ṣa)» and Kaśmīrī «šēh» on «śaś (ṣaṣ)», like the New Persian «śaś», : and the Central Asian Ghalcha forms—Yūdghā «uxšo» and Munjānī «axše» would appear to be based on a form agreeing with the Avestan «xšvaś». But «ṣaṣ, *ṣvaṣ» cannot explain the MIA. and NIA. «cha-», and the Khō-wār (Dardic) «choi». Could the typically Iranian «xšvaś» have been borrowed, or blended with the Indian «ṣaṣ», in an old Indo-Aryan frontier dialect, in the

form «*kṣaṣ, *kṣak»? This form in «kṣ-» could well be extended to «*kṣaka», to make it a disyllabic word like «pañca, sapta» etc.: and «*kṣaṣ, *kṣaka» could very well be the source of «cha, chaa», with the North-western or Western MIA. alteration of «kṣ» to «ch» (cf. *supra*, p. 469).

Tokharian of Central Asia (*supra* p. 5) shows some peculiar forms for *six* and *sixth*, which may be noted. In Dialect A, it is «ṣak», ordinal «ṣkaṣṭ» and in Dialect B the forms are «ṣkas, ṣkaste», cardinal and ordinal. The derivation «IE. *seks > *saks > *sakas > ṣak, ṣkas» has been proposed (cf. A. Meillet, MSL., XVII, 1912, p. 287). But in this connexion, can an Indo-European «*skes» (or «*skwes»), as occurring side by side with «*seks, *sweks», be postulated? In that case, this «*sk-» of Indo-European can regularly give the «ch-» of Indo-Aryan.

In the Aśōkan inscriptions, the words for *six* are «cha» (Rūpnāth: «cha-vacharē»), «sa-» (Sahasram: «sa-vachalē, sa-paṇṇā»), «ṣa-» (North-West and Kalsi), and «saḍu-» (Delhi-Siwalik and Meerut «saḍu-visati»). The occurrence of «cha» and «sa-, ṣa-, saḍ-» side by side is a certain indication that the first is a form independent of the other ones.

The «-h-» in Western Apabhraṁśa «chaha», Marāṭhī «sahā», Sinhalese «saha» is obscure. It may represent the second sibilant in the base form «ṣaṣ», which is seen to occur in Dardic. The forms «chē, chēy-, chiy-» in the compound numerals are easily explained as being from a MIA. «chaa, chaṣa». The Maithilī «chau», earlier «chaō, chahu» (as in the 'Varuṇa-ratnākara,' *supra* pp. 102-103; also in the same work, «āṭhahu=āṭha» 8, «caubisaō=caubisa» 24, etc.), has the affix «-hu» which would seem to be only an emphatic particle.

The words for 16, and the *sixties*, are based on the OIA. (Sanskrit) forms with «ṣ-».

518. *Seven*=সাত «sātṭ»: regularly derived from OIA. «sapta», and found in all the IA. speeches (Hindī etc. «sāt», Panjābī «satt», Sindhī «sat», Sinhalese «hata, sata»).

In the compound numerals, except in সতের «sātērā» 17, and সাত্ত্রিশ «sāttriṣṭ» 37, «sātṭ» is unchanged. In Early Bengali, it is likely that the

compounded form was **sātā*, with weakening of *-ā-* to *-ā-* through absence of stress : cf. Oriyā *sātāisa*, *sātā-cālisa* > 27, 47, Hindi *sātāis*, *sat-hattar* > 27, 77, etc. The *-ā-* is due to initial stress, no doubt; but curiously enough, we have *সতের* *sātēr* and not **sātār* which would be the expected or normal form for Bengali. In *সাঁইত্রিশ* *sāitriś* (or *সাঁয়ত্রিশ* *sāyātriś*) there was certainly the influence of *pāy* < *pañña* of *পায়ত্রিশ* *pāyātriś* > 35 : cf. similar nasalisation in Bengali *চৌত্রিশ* *cāutriś* (beside *চৌত্রিশ* *cāutriś*) > 34, and Maithili and Hindi *tētis*, *cāutis*, *tētāis*. Other Magadhan speeches have *sāi-* or *sāy-*; e.g., Maithili *sāitis*, *sāitāis*; except Assamese, which has a borrowed and modified form *sāttiric* [*xattiris*]. The analogical *sāi-*, *sāy-* we find also in Hindi *sāitis*, *sāitāis*, and Panjabi *sāit(r)I*, *sāitālI* > 37, 47. The form of this numeral as *sat* > *saḍ*, *saṛ*, *saṛ*, *sāḍ*, as in Hindi *sar-saṭh* > 66, Gujarāṭī *sāḍ-tris* > 37, which is due to the influence of *aṭh-*, *aḍ-* > 8, is not found in Bengali.

519. *Eight* = *আট* *āt*, *আঠ* *āṭh* in eMB. and OB. (< *aṭṭa*). This word remains unchanged in compounds as *āt*, except in *আঠার* *āṭhār* > 18, where the old aspiration is preserved. The *ts* *আটে*, *অটে* *āṭṭ*, *āṭṭ* is also common, by itself and also in the forms *অষ্টাবানী* *āṭṭā-bānī* > 88 and *অষ্টান(ব)ই* *āṭṭā-nā(bbā)i* > 98, beside the regular *tōhs*. *আটানী* *āṭānī* and *আটান(ব)ই* *āṭā-nā(bbā)i*.

520. *Nine* = *নয়* *nāy*, from OB. **naṇa*, and *n* *nā*, *nā* = OB. *nawā* mainly in compounds (OIA. *nava*). Oriyā has *nāṇ*. The numeral *নয়* *nāy* does not occur in the decades, the nines being formed, as in OIA., by prefixing *ūna-* (in Bengali *উন* *ūn*). Oriyā *unā-*, *ānā-* less to the next ten : e.g., *উনিশ* *un-iś* > 19, *উনসত্তর* *unā-sattār* > 69, etc. Cf. *ōgaṇ-* in Gujarāṭī, p. 784. An exception is *নিরান(ব)ই* *ni-r-ā-nā(bbā)i* > 99, with altered vowel and intrusive *-r-*. Most NIA. languages agree in having a corresponding compounding of *nine* and *ninety*, Oriyā, however, has *ānē-sātā* (with irregular dental *-n-*).

521. *Ten* = *দশ* *dāś*. The sibilant is preserved in most NIA. except in the Western languages—Lahndī *dāh* beside *das*, Sindhi *ḍāh*, dialectal Gujarāṭī *dah*, and Marāṭhī *dahā*; and Sinhalese

also has «daha(ya)» beside «dasa(ya)». In the OB. of the Caryās, we find «daśa» side by side with «daha», of which the former alone would seem to be native Māgadhī.

522. *The Tens.*

The phonology is peculiar for Bengali in two ways—by change of OIA. «-ś-» to «-h-» (which is dropped in MB.), and by that of «-d-» to «-r-»: «-daśa» > *-ḍaśa, -ḍasa (cf. Aśokan duvāḍasa, pañnaḍasa) > -ḷasa, -ḷasa (cf. Jaina Ardha-māgadhī duvāḷasa), -rasa (as in Pali) > -raha (as in Second MIA.). The change of «-d-» to «-ḍ-», which could easily alter to «-ḷ-, -l-» and then «-r-», has not been satisfactorily explained. It certainly occurred in a cerebralising dialect *after* the «ḍ» in «sōḍaśa» altered to «ḷ, l», as this «ḷ > l» did not participate in the general change of «d > ḍ > ḷ» to «r» of «ĕkāḍasa» and the rest. (Cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 221; see *supra*, p. 488, for the cerebralisation; also p. 549 for «-ś-» > «-h-».)

The final group «-aha» became «-ā» and then «-ã» in Bengali, Oṛiyā and Assamese: and this final «-ã» is also written and pronounced «-õ» in Bengali (*supra*, p. 347); but «-ahã» is retained in Bihārī and in Hindī. In Panjābī, it occurs as «-ā» (yārā, bārā etc.) where it is an oblique plural form used absolutely: so in Sindhī «-an» (yāraban, b'ārahan). Marāṭhī has «-ā» (akrā, bārā), which also is apparently a plural form with dropping of intervocal «-h-» (< *ĕkkārāhā, *bārāhā ?). In Gujarātī, the group «-aha», found in Northern India, is dropped (*e.g.*, bār, tēr, caṇḍ, paṇḍar, sōḷ, satar, aḍhār): this apparent dropping of two syllables of MIA. is strange, but it is possible that the Second MIA. source-forms of the Gujarātī tens were, not «bārasa, tērasa, caṇḍasa» (or «bārāha, tērāha, caṇḍaha») etc., but rather «*bāras (*bārāh), *tēras (*tērāh), *caṇḍas (caṇḍah)» etc., with the final vowel already dropped, through an intermediate stage of «*bārāsə, *tērasə, *caṇḍasə» (or «*bārāhə, *tērāhə, *caṇḍahə») etc. (See *supra*, p. 752, on the probable pronunciation of genitival «-asya» > «-assa» as «-asə, -as» in the Malwa country in the Transitional MIA. period.) Sinhalese preserves rather archaic forms, «ekoḷosa, doḷosa, teḷesa, paḷaḷosa,

so|osa, sata|osa, ata|osa », where the «-|-» occurs in all the numbers, and not in the form for 16 alone, as in Northern India.

In NIA. «cau(d)dah», the «-d-» is preserved by the preceding «-r-»: MIA. «cauddaha» is palpably an uncerebralised, non-Māgadhī form. The MIA. doubling is kept up in NB. চৌদ, চৌদ «cauddā, coddā», Standard Coll. [çoddō], although we find চৌদ «cauddā» with one «-d-», (beside চৌদ «cauddā») in the ŚKK. In Assamese চৈধ্য «çaidhya» there has been metathesis of the «-h-», aspirating the «-d-»: the «-y-» indicates only doubling.

523. *The Twenties.*

The common Bengali word for *twenty* is কুড়ি «kuṛi» = Assamese «kuri», Oriyā «kōṛiē», meaning *score*. Cf. Bengali এক কুড়ি «ēkṣ kuṛi» *one score*, but never এক বিশ «ēkṣ biṣṣ». In Western Hindi the word also occurs in the form «kōṛi», which is the earlier form (see *supra*, pp. 395-396). Gujarātī has it as «kōṛī, kuṇṭī». Computation is, or normally used to be, by twenties in Bengal: at the present day, this is still the old-fashioned way: thus 25 = এক কুড়ি পাঁচ «ēkṣ kuṛi pāñṣ» *one score and five*, 38 = এক কুড়ি আঠারো «ēkṣ kuṛi āṭhārō» *one score and eighteen*, 62 = তিন কুড় দুই «tinṣ kuṛi dui», 85 = চার কুড়ি পাঁচ «cārṣ kuṛi pāñṣ», 100 = পাঁচ কুড়ি «pāñṣ kuṛi», etc. Counting by twenties is also common in Assam: and the fact that the numerals for the third decade in Assamese show in their spelling চ «c» indicating the [s] pronunciation, rather than শ or স «ś, s» which would be the expected form (with normal change in pronunciation of the original sibilant to the guttural spirant [x]: একইচ, বাইচ, তেইচ, চৌবিচ, পঁচিচ, ছাব্বিচ, সাতাইচ আঠাইচ, also উনইচ «ēkaiṣṣ, [ekois], baiṣṣ [bais], tēiṣṣ, çaubiṣṣ, pāñciṣṣ, çhābbiṣṣ [sabbis], sātāiṣṣ, [xatais], unaiṣṣ» 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 19, rather than *একইশ, *বাইশ «*ēkaiśṣ, *baiśṣ» [ekoix, baix] etc.) indicates that the forms in «-iṣṣ» = -vīsa were borrowed from some Western dialect, Maithilī or Hindī, into Assamese. In Bengali, the word বিশ «biṣṣ» 20 is by no means common: it occurs only in a few expressions like উনিশ-বিশ «uniṣṣ-biṣṣ» 19 and 20 = *minute distinction*. Counting by twenties is also found in Bihar, and also further west in Hindustan.

It is to be noted that the highest unit for counting among the Kōls is twenty (Santali « *isi* », Muṇḍārī « *hisī, isī* », Kurku « *isā* » : the IA. « *bīs* », and « *kōṛī* » also are used : *hundred* is $5 \times 20 = [mōṛē\ isī:]$ in Santali, [*mōṛē hisī*] in Muṇḍārī, « *mono isā* » in Kurku, « *molloi koḍī* » in Savara : borrowings of the NIA. word « *sai, sau* » « *śatam* » are also found). Vigesimal counting is found in many languages—*e.g.*, in Dardic (cf. Grierson, 'Pisāca Languages,' p. 37), in French. But it seems that in the case of Bengal, Bihar and the Upper Gangetic plain, probably also in the North-Western frontier (the Dardic tract), Kōl influence was responsible for this habit of computation, rather than that counting by twenties characterised some form of OIA. The word « *kōṛī, kuṛī* » occurs in Tamil as « *kōḍī* ». Although any cognate form has not been found in the Kōl speeches, it is still exceedingly likely that « *kōṛī, kuṛī* » in its origin is a Kōl word, and not Dravidian or Aryan.

The OIA. « *viṇśati* » gave MIA. « *vīśati* (Aśōkan and Pali), *vi(n)saī, vīsaī, vīsaīm* (Second MIA.) ». The Pali « *visā, vīsa* », IMIA. « *vīsa* » are from an OIA. « **viṇśāt* » on the analogy of « *triṇśāt, catvāriṇśāt, pañcāśāt* ». In the compounded forms, the labial « *-v-* » (where not doubled to « *-bb-* ») has been vocalised in Bengali and other Magadhan; and besides, the vowel « *-i-* » has been dropped wherever suitable in Standard Bengali, but it is preserved in dialectal Bengali (as in Chittagong), in Oṛiyā, in other NIA. generally : *e.g.*, উনিশ « *uniśṣ* » < « **unōiśṣ, unāiśṣ* » 19, একুশ « *ēkuśṣ* » < « *ēkaśiśṣ, *ēkaviśa* » 21, সাতাশ « *sātāśṣ* » < « *sātāiśṣ, *satāvīsa* » 27, etc. চব্বিশ « *cābbiśṣ* » properly for চোব্বিশ « *cōbbiśṣ* » (« *caūbbīsa, caturviṇśati*») and ছাব্বিশ « *chābbiśṣ* » (< « *ṣadvīṇśati* », with « *ch-* » from the numeral for *six*) are archaic forms, influenced by Prakrit, which retain the group « *-bb-* » (under normal conditions expected to change to a single « *-b-* »).

524. *The Thirties.*

The native *tbh.* form *তীশ *তিশ « **tīśṣ* » has been supplanted in Eastern Magadhan (Bengali, Assamese, Oṛiyā) by the *s/s.* তিশ « *triśṣ* » or তিরিশ « *tiriśṣ* »; in Assamese, as the spelling তিচ ৫, ত্রিচ « *tricṣ* » = [*tris*] shows, this supplanting has been recent. In the compound numerals for the fourth decade, the *tbh.* « **tīśṣ* » is frequently heard in

Bengali : *e.g.*, বহীস < bātīś > 32, ছহীস < chātīś > 36, etc. (beside the more common বনিস < bātrīś >, ছত্রিস < chātrīś > etc.) : cf. OB. < batiśa, batisa > (Caryās 17, 27), MB. চৌতিশ < cāutīś > (see *supra*, p. 228); Assamese < bātisā > = [botixa]; and Oṛiyā preserves in the *tbbh.* < -tiś > side by side with the *sts.* < -tiriś > in the fourth decade.

The < -r- > forms of Gujarātī (trīs, trīś) and Panjābī (trī, trīh) may be due to the numeral for *three* (traṇ, trai). Sindhī has < ṭīha >. Other NIA., *e.g.*, Hindī, Marāṭhī, keep to the *tbbh.* < tiś > (Sinhalese < tiha, tisa >).

525. The Forties.

Forty is চব্বিশ or চাব্বিশ < cālīś >, sometimes চালিশ < cālīś > = < catvāriṇśat >. The last form with one < -l- > is the genuine *tbbh.* form : this single < -l- > is found as the cerebral < -ḷ- > in other NIA. The doubling of the < -l- > is quite optional even now, and is apparently recent in Bengali, absent as it is in Assamese, in Oṛiyā, and in other NIA. The change of < -r- > to < -ḷ-, -l- > in this word shows that it is Prācyā or eastern in origin (< cattālīśa), but it spread all over the NIA. area. The group < -tvā- > > Early MIA. < -ttā- > has been dropped as in < cāri > 4, but Sinhalese preserves the dental (< hataḷiha = sataḷisa < MIA. cattālīśa > : there is also < sālīśa >, which is late). The dropping of the < -tt- > is already found in Second MIA., in Jaina Ardha-māgadhī. In the compound forms for the fifth decade, < -c- > remains in একচালিশ or চালিশ or চব্বিশ < ēkṣ-cāl(l)īś >, -cālīś > 41, (c) ছচলিশ < chēcālīś >, chā- > 46, সাতচলিশ < sātṣ-cālīś > 47, and আটচলিশ < āṭṣ-cālīś > 48; it is dropped in বিয়াল্লিশ < biyālīś > 49 (< < *bāyālīś > etc. : cf. Oṛiyā < bāyālīś >) and চুয়াল্লিশ < cūālīś > 44 (< < *cō-ālīś >, *cāu-ālīśa >); and it is altered to < -t- > in তেতাল্লিশ < tē-tālīś > 43 and পঁয়তাল্লিশ < pāyṣ-tālīś > 45. In Māgadhī, we would expect the < -c- > to remain (see *supra*, p. 468). The form < -tālīś > is found in other NIA., and it is obscure : can it be due to some dialectal shortening of < cattālīśa >, through loss of the initial syllable?

526. The Fifties.

For 49 and 50, we have পঞ্চাশ and উনপঞ্চাশ, ‡ উনকাশ < pañcāś >, unā(pa)ñcāś >, where the full < ñ > is due to *ts.* influence (see p. 789). In the compound forms OIA. < -pañcāśat > occurs as পন্ন পান্ন, অন্ন আন্ন < -pañnā

> -pānnā, -ānnā, -ānnā, dialectally পান্না < -pānṣa, with one < -n- >, in Bengali. The forms of dialectal Bengali, of Oriyā (e.g., < ēkābānā, bābānā, tēpānā, chāppānā > etc.), of Assamese (e.g., < bāuwān; cāuwān; sātāwān > etc. beside < bāuwānnā, cāuwānnā, sātānnā >), of Maithilī (ekāwan, bāwan, tirpan, cāuwan, paupan > etc.), of Hindōstānī, and of other NIA. speeches would show that the double < -nn- > is a late development within Standard Bengali itself. OIA. < pañcāsāt > in the form < *pannāsa > *pannāha > pannā, already found in the Eastern speech of Aśōkan, became established in some standard form of Early MIA. In Second MIA., it occurs as < paññāsām, paññāsā, pannā, -paññām, -vaññām > (in Jaina Ardhamāgadhī. The contraction of < -āsāt > to < -āsa, *āha > -ā, -ām > thus occurred already fairly early in Prācya (Western Prācya): although the change < -ñc- > -nn- > is inexplicable for this dialect. The change seems to have been through < *pañjāsāt, pannāha > (see *supra*, p. 789), and not through < *pañcāsāt, *pañcsāt, *pañcat >, as Pischel suggests ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 445, p. 317). The NIA. < -pan, -wan > in composition comes from this contracted MIA. < -pannam, -wannam >, Aśōkan < -pannā >: the uncontracted form of MIA., viz. < -pannāsa, *-pannāha > would have given NIA. < *panā >, in composition < *-wanā >, which is not found.

In Bengali বাঁহান্না < bāhānnā > 52 we have euphonic < h > (p. 341; for < *bāwānṣa, bāwānā >, cf. Oriyā < bābānā >). In তিপ্পান্না < tippānnā > 53 the doubling is due either to the influence of ছাপ্পান্না < chāppānnā >, or to the Hindōstānī sts., with < r > — < tirpan >, by assimilation in Bengali of the < -r- > with the following consonant (see *supra*, p. 541): the native Bengali form, now obsolete, seems to have been like the Oriyā < tēpānā >. A form তিয়ান্না or তেয়ান্না < tiyānnā, tēyānnā >, also native Bengali, occurs. চুয়ান্না < cūānnā > 54 is for < *cō-ānṣa, *cāu-ānṣa >: cf. Assamese < cāu-wān >. The dialectal পাঁচপান্না < pāñcṣa-pānṣa > (Central and East Bengal) represents the genuine Bengali form, and not the Standard পঞ্চান্না < pañcānnā >. The other numerals show no anomaly, except the doubling of the < -n- >.

527. The Sixties.

The word for *sixty* is ষাট = < ṣāṭṣa > in Standard Bengali, ষাট্ট < ṣāṭṭṣa > ষোট < ṣāṭṭ > in Eastern and other dialectal Bengali, = Assamese < ṣāṭhi >.

Oriyā « sāthiē », and it is regularly derived from OIA. « saṣṭi ». The form with ষ, ষাঠ « sāthṣ » is also found. In the compound numerals, in Bengali the ষ « -ṣ- » is doubled: একষাঠি « ēkṣ-ṣāṭṭi » 61, বাষাঠি « bā-ṣāṭṭi » 62, পঁয়ষাঠি « pāyṣ-ṣāṭṭi » 65 etc. Oriyā has the *tbh.* form « -ṣaṭhi ». The final « -i » in the compound forms, again, is anomalous : contrast উনষাঠি « unā-sāṭṭi » 59, with proper loss of final « -i » (see *supra*, pp. 307 ff).

528. *The Seventies.*

OIA. « saptati » certainly first changed to « *saptati » by spontaneous ceberalisation, and then in MIA. (as the source of the NIA. forms) to « *sattaṭi, *sattaḍi, sattari » quite early. In Pali occur both « sattati » and « sattari ». It is very likely that there was the influence of « sattaraḥ » = « sapta-daśa » in bringing about the change of the « -t- > -ṭ- > -ḍ- » to « -r- ». The double « -tt- » is anomalous for Bengali ; it is found also in Bihārī, in Hindī, in Marāṭhī. It is quite normal in Panjābī, and the double « -tt- » may have been imposed from the Panjab dialects on Hindī and on the rest. Gujarātī has one « -t- » (agnōtēr=69, sitēr=70, ikōtēr=71, b[ō]hōtēr=72, etc.). It would seem from the Oriyā and Assamese forms that in East Magadhan at least, the normal NIA. form with one « -t- » was the rule. But Bengali (in common with the Bihārī dialects) seems to have adopted the Western forms in « -tt- ». In compound forms, « sattari » changes to « -hattari » in most NIA. This, again, seems not to have characterised Magadhan, at least East Magadhan : the sibilant is preserved as a sibilant in Oriyā (unā-stōri, ēkā-stōri, bā-stōri, etc.), and undergoes the normal change to [x] in Assamese, although written স « s » (bā-sātār, tē-sātār, cāu-sātār etc.): cf. also Bengali উনসত্তর « unā-sāttārṣ » 69, with the sibilant and not « *unā(-h)āttārṣ ». Bengali thus in all likelihood agreed with its immediate sisters Assamese and Oriyā in having « -s- » and single « -t- » throughout in the eighth decade. The « -h- » (in what may be called the Western, non-Māgadhī or 'new forms' for the eighth decade of Bengali) is preserved in dialectal Bengali, *e.g.* ‡ « ēkṣ-hāttārṣ, pācṣ-hāttārṣ, sāṭṣ-hāttārṣ, āṭṣ-hāttārṣ », but in the Standard Colloquial it is dropped as an intervocal sound, except in বাহাটর « bāhāttārṣ » 72.

529. *The Eighties.*

The OIA. «*aśiti*» quite regularly gives *শাশী* «*āśi*» in Bengali, with change of initial «*ā-*» to «*ā-*» (see *supra* p. 314). The doubling of the «*-s-*» in Panjābī and Hindōstānī «*assī*» is peculiar, and seems to have originated in the Panjab: it was this doubling which possibly preserved it from changing to «*-h-*» in the Panjab dialects (cf. OIA. «*kṛtā*, «*ditā*, «*pītā*» > «**kitta-*, «**ditta-*, «**pitta-*» > Panjābī «*kītā*, «*dittā*, «*pītā*»). The Sinhalese «*asū*, «*asūva*», with intervocal sibilant preserved, would seem to be based on a MIA. «**ass-*» rather than on «*as-*» (cf. W. Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen,' § 21, 22). The Sindhi «*āśi*» would equally be based on an earlier «**assī*». It seems that a form with doubled «*-s-*» characterised the I.A. speeches of the North-West and the South-West from MIA. times: «**assī(m)*»; and it is also extremely likely that there was a nasalised form of it, «**aśsi(m)*» (through spontaneous nasalisation: see *supra*, pp. 368 ff.), which gave by epenthesis the Marāṭhī «*aīśi*, «*ēśi*» and Gujarātī «*ēśi*, «*hēśi*» (cf. Old Western Rājasthānī «*aīsi*»: L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' § 80).

In the compound forms, Panjābī and Hindōstānī show an intrusive «*-r-*» in «*ti-r-āśi*», which is apparently due to the analogy of «*curāśi*», where it is original (= *catur-aśiti*). Bengali has this «*-r-*» form, *তিরশী* (by Vowel Harmony *তিরেশী*, ‡ *তিরিশি*) «*tirāśi*, «*tirēśi*, ‡ *tiriśi*»; and the «*-r-*» has been further extended to *বিরশী*, *বিরেশী*, ‡ *বিরিশি*, «*birāśi*» «*birēśi*, ‡ *biriśi*». Maithilī also has «*bērāśi*» beside «*bāśi*». The «*-r-*» forms for 82, 83 do not seem to be proper for Māgadhī, but rather due to Western influence: cf. Oriyā «*bāyāśi*, «*tēyāśi*», but *चुराशी* «*curāśi*» 84 is quite proper («*cōrāśi* < «**caūr-āśi*»). For 89, Bengali has a contracted *উনশী* «*unāśi*» beside a fuller *উনষাশী* «*unā-āśi*».

530. *The Nineties.*

The word for *ninety* has two forms: *নব্বৈ* «*nāi*», and *নব্বই*, *নব্বই* «*nābbai*, «*nābbui*». The former is the native Māgadhī form: OIA. «*navati*» > «**navai*» > «**naai*» > «**nawai*» > «*nāi*» > «*nāi*», Assamese «*nāi*». The second one with geminated «*-bb-*» is not genuine Bengali: cf. Hindi «*nawē*, «*nawwē*», Panjābī «*nabbē*, «*nawwē*», Sindhi «*navē* <

*navvai », Marāṭhī « navvad » with MIA. « -d- » preserved (< *navvaddi ?). Bihārī « nabbāi », Oṛiyā « nābē < *nabbāi » are similar Western forms. In Pali, the form is « navuti »; and the Ardha-māgadhī « naūim » and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī « naūi » are based on an Early MIA. form with « -u- » like the Pali one. Gujarāṭī « nēvū » and Sinhalese « anū(va) » alone represent these attested MIA. forms in « -u- ».

As in the case of the *Eighties*, we find the intrusive « -r- » in বিরান(ক)ই > bi-r-ā-nā(bbā)i > 92, তিরান(ক)ই < ti-r-ā-nā(bbā)i > 93, নিরান(ক)ই < ni-r-ā-nā(bbā)i > 99, on the model apparently of চুরান(ক)ই < curā-nā(bbā)i > 94 (caturnavati). On the analogy of the « -ā- » in the *Eighties* (ēkāśī < ēkāśīti, pācāśī < pañcāśīti, sātāśī < saptāśīti, āṣṭāśī < aṣṭāśīti), the *Nineties* all over the NIA. area show an intrusive « -ā- »: একান(ক)ই < ēk-ā-nā(bbā)i > Marāṭhī « ekyāṇṇav » 91, Hindi « nawānawē » Gujarāṭī « nayāṇū » 99, etc.

531. *Hundred* is শ' « śā, sō », in combination generally pronounced « sō » (e.g., একশ [ækʃo], সত্ত্বাশো [ʃoṭṭaʃo] = 125, দুশো [duʃo], পঁচশ [pāʃʃo] etc.): a regular development out of OIA. « śata- » (śaa, OB. *śawa, MB. *śā). Oṛiyā is also « śā », and Assamese [xɔ:]. The diphthongal forms « sai, sau » (< saya, sawa) as in Bihārī, Hindi and Panjābī are now unknown to Bengali, as also the nasalised forms as in Marāṭhī (sē) and Gujarāṭī (sō), preserving the « anusvāra » of MIA. (pp. 358-359, *sup:a*). The form শর « śāyṣ » = « sai » of Hindi etc., however, occurred in Early Bengali: thus in the proverbial lines—

নর গজা বিশে শর। তার অর্ধেক বাঁচে হয় ॥

বাইশ বলদা, তের ছাগলা। শুণে গেতে বরা পাগলা ॥

« nārā gājā biśē śāyṣ, tāṛā ārdhēkṣ bācē hayṣ;

bāiśṣ bālādā, tērā chāgṣlā : guṇē gēchē Bārā pāgṣlā »

*A man, and an elephant, hundred and twenty; half of that lives
a horse;*

*An ox twenty-two, a goat thirteen: so has computed the mad-cap
Barā (= Farāha-mihira),*

where বিশে শর « biśē śāyṣ » = *hundred with twenty* (« biśē » = either « biś-ā » by Vowel-Harmony, or « biś-iyā », adjective from « biśṣ » 20, with « -ā »

affix, p. 658 *supra*, or « -iyā » affix, p. 674), is an idiom corresponding to the Hindōstānī « bisā sau » (J. T. Platts, 'Hindustani Grammar,' p. 53). The form « sau » also occurred in OB : cf. Mayang (of Manipur) « āk-hau-gō » *hundred*, where « hau » < « sau ».

532. The word for *thousand* is a Persian borrowing, হাজার « hājār » (< hazār, Avestan hazagra), in Assamese « hēzār », which has superseded the native word (from OIA. « sahasra ») in all NIA. Was it because the native IA. word had fallen into disuse in the spoken forms of Late MIA. and Early NIA. when the Persian language came into India with the Turki and Tājik invaders? It is not unlikely that a composition like « daśa-śata » had restricted or made obsolete the single word « sahasra » sahasa, śahaśśa etc. in IA., making it possible for the Persian « hazār » to meet the want of a single term in the popular language. The Sinhalese « dahasa » 1,000, which seems to be better explained as a composition of « daśa + śata » rather than as a modification of « sahasa = sahasra » (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 222), and the use of « das sau » for 1,000, etc. in Hindōstānī (cf. Platts, 'Hindustani Grammar,' p. 53) and in other NIA. would support this assumption. The native Indian (*tbb.*) word seems to be present in a few compounds, e.g., শাহমল « śāśā-māḷa » a *surname* (= sahasra-malla ?), সাহসরাম « sāhāsā-rāma » a *personal name* (= « sahasra-rāma »? : the *ts.* form is also found as a name).

533. For 100,000, লাক্ষ « lākṣa » < « lakṣa » is native Indian. For 10,000,000 the word is কোটি, কোটি « kōṭi, kōṭi », of unknown origin, which occurs also in Sanskrit. The forms ক্রোড়, ক্রোর « krōṛḍ, krōṛ » (= Anglo-Indian *crore*) are in common use in Bengali: the corresponding form in Hindī is « karōṛ »: « krōṛḍ, karōṛ = krōḍa » seems to be a false Sanskritisation of a vernacular « *kōḍa, kōḍi » agreeing with the *ts.* « kōṭi »: cf. Caryā 2, « koḍi-mājhē ōku-biahi » *among ten millions, in the heart of one only*. In the feeling of Bengali speakers, « krōṛḍ » is the more learned form, a better Sanskrit word than « kōṭi »: we find it in compounds like ক্রোড়পতি, ক্রোড়েশ্বর « krōṛḍ-pāti, krōṛḍśwārḍ » etc., side by side with কোটিপতি, কোটিশ্বর « kōṭi-pāti, kōṭiśwārḍ ».

534. *The Fractional Numbers.*

The following are common to all NIA., and are easily explained. (Cf. S. K. Chatterji 'Prācīn Bāṅgalā "āhuṭha, āuṭa" Ō Sārdha-saṅkhyā-bācak Śabdābhāṣī' in the VSPdP., 1330, pp. 113-117).

$\frac{1}{4}$: পণ, পণা, পণা $\langle p\bar{o}, p\bar{o}\bar{a} \rangle < \text{MIA. } \langle p\bar{a}wa-, p\bar{a}a- \rangle, \text{OIA. } \langle p\bar{a}da- \rangle$. The change of $\langle -\bar{a}wa- \rangle$ to $\langle -\bar{o}- \rangle$ is against the general phonetic development of this group in Bengali: see *supra*, pp. 349-350: the form expected should have been $\langle *p\bar{a} \rangle$: cf. Oriyā $\langle p\bar{a} \rangle$ *quarter*, $\langle p\bar{a}e \rangle$ *one quarter* (cf. also Bengali পাই $\langle p\bar{a}i \rangle$ *pie, pice* = $\langle p\bar{a}dik\bar{a} \rangle$). This alteration certainly indicates extraneous influence (cf. Hindi $\langle p\bar{a}w \rangle$; cf. also Bengali conjunction তো $\langle t\bar{o} \rangle$ = MIA. $\langle t\bar{a}va \rangle$, OIA. $\langle t\bar{a}vat \rangle$).

$\frac{1}{2}$: the common Bengali word is অর্ধ. $\langle \bar{a}dh\bar{a} \rangle$ *half*, অর্ধা $\langle \bar{a}dh\bar{a} \rangle$ *half portion*, Oriyā $\langle \bar{a}dh\bar{a} \rangle$ *half*, $\langle \bar{a}dh\bar{e} \rangle$ *one-half*; OB. $\langle adha = \bar{a}dha \rangle$: < OIA. $\langle ardha \rangle$. The absence of cerebralisation (we would expect $\langle -rdh- \rangle$ to change to $\langle -ṛdh- \rangle$) shows that it is a non-Māgadhī form. The native Māgadhī equivalent seems to occur as অর্ধ $\langle \bar{a}r\bar{d}\bar{h} \rangle$ in a number of compounds, e.g., অর্ধ-পাণল $\langle \bar{a}r\bar{d}\bar{h}-p\bar{a}ṅ\bar{a}l\bar{a} \rangle$ *half-mad*, অর্ধ-বাক $\langle \bar{a}r\bar{d}\bar{h}-b\bar{a}k\bar{a} \rangle$ *half aslant*, অর্ধ-মাদল $\langle \bar{a}r\bar{d}\bar{h}-m\bar{a}d\bar{a}l\bar{a} \rangle$ *half-drum shaped, not fully oblong*, আর্ধে গেলা $\langle \bar{a}r\bar{e} g\bar{e}l\bar{a} \rangle$ *swallow half chewed*; cf. besides দেড় $\langle d\bar{e}r\bar{d}\bar{h} \rangle$ $1\frac{1}{2}$, সার্ধে $\langle s\bar{a}r\bar{e} \rangle$ *plus half*, আড়াই $\langle \bar{a}r\bar{a}i \rangle$ $2\frac{1}{2}$. The Gujarātī $\langle ar\bar{d}h\bar{o} \rangle$ $\frac{1}{2}$ is peculiar, and may be a blend of $\langle aḍḍha \rangle$ and $\langle addha \rangle$.

$\frac{1}{3}$: তেহাই $\langle t\bar{e}h\bar{a}i \rangle$ (tri-bhāgika): rather archaic.

$1\frac{1}{2}$: দেড় $\langle d\bar{e}r\bar{d}\bar{h} \rangle$, earlier $\langle d\bar{e}r\bar{h}\bar{a} \rangle$ as in Oriyā, = MIA. (Māgadhī) $\langle diadḍha \rangle$, OIA. $\langle dvyardha \rangle$. Colloquially, we find occasionally ডেড় $\langle d\bar{e}r\bar{d}\bar{h} \rangle$ in Bengali, and there are forms in other NIA. also which show cerebralisation of the initial dental: e.g., Hindi $\langle d\bar{e}r(h) \rangle$ beside $\langle d\bar{a}ur\bar{h}\bar{a}, d\bar{o}r\bar{h}\bar{a} \rangle$, Panjābī $\langle d\bar{e}r\bar{h}, d\bar{e}r\bar{h}\bar{a}, d\bar{u}r\bar{h}\bar{a}, d\bar{u}r\bar{h} \rangle$ beside $\langle d\bar{o}r\bar{h}\bar{a} \rangle$.

$2\frac{1}{2}$: আড়াই $\langle \bar{a}r\bar{a}i \rangle$, Oriyā $\langle \bar{a}r\bar{h}\bar{a}i \rangle$ (with earlier $\langle -r\bar{h}- \rangle$), = MIA. $\langle aḍ\bar{h}atiya \rangle$ (cf. Aśōkan $\langle aḍ\bar{h}atiya \rangle$: Sahasram), a true Māgadhī form showing also haplology of $\langle -t- \rangle$ < OIA $\langle ardha-tṛtiya \rangle$. A MIA. form $\langle *aḍḍha-titiya \rangle$ gave Gujarātī $\langle ar\bar{i}, har\bar{i} \rangle$; and the Marāṭhī $\langle aḍic \rangle$ represents another (Early) MIA. form like $\langle *aḍḍha-titiyya \rangle$ (= Second MIA, $\langle *aḍḍha-iijja \rangle$, whence $\langle *aḍḍhijja > *aḍḍhija > aḍic \rangle$).

3½ : Early MB. *আহুঠ* « āhuṭṭha » (as in the ŚKK., pp. 55, 153), Late MB. *আউটে* « āuṭṭa, āuṭṭa » : from OIA. « ardha-caturtha », through MIA. « *aḍḍha-catuṭṭha » > *aḍḍha-yaduṭṭha > *aḍḍha-aūṭṭha > aḍḍha'utṭha »; then by dissimilation of one the cerebral groups, « *ahuṭṭha », and finally « āhuṭṭha » in OB. (The form « aḍḍhuṭṭha » occurs in Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī, and it has been falsely Sanskritised into « adhyuṣṭa »). This word has now become obsolete in Bengali, but its cognate forms are found in the Bihārī dialects, in Hindī, and in other NIA. (Cf. Hoernle, *Gauḍian Grammar*, §§ 413-416; Kellogg, *Hindī Grammar*², pp. 159, 161).

Plus ¼ : *সাতমা* « sāṁā, sāwā », Oriyā « sāuyā=sāuā » : < MIA. « savāa- » = OIA. « sapāda- ». It is an adjective, found in all other NIA. (Hindī adjective « sawā » = « sapāda », noun « sawāi » = « sapādikā »).

Plus ½ : *সারধে* « sārḥe », also in Oriyā; = Hindī « sārḥe ». From OIA. « sārḍha- » > MIA. (Māgadhī) « *saḍḍha- », NIA. « sārḥa- ». The absence of the « -rh- » in Oriyā shows that it is not a native form of it. « sārḥe » is an oblique or plural form, < « *saḍḍhahi » : cf. also Gujarātī « sārā », the expected singular nominative form of which would have been « *sārō ».

A quarter less : *পৌনে* « pāunē »; also « pāunē » in Oriyā. The source is OIA. « pādōna- » a *quarter less*. The alteration of « -ādō- » > MIA. « -āō- » to « -āu- » (cf. p. 351 *supra*), and the presence in the Oriyā form of the dental « -n- » instead of the expected cerebral « -ṇ- », indicate that the word is not proper Bengali and Oriyā, or Eastern Magadhan. « pāunē » is an adjective, qualifying the number following it, which is reduced by a quarter: *পৌনে দুই* « pāunē dui » = 2 minus ¼ = 1½; *পৌনে আট* « pāunē āṭṭa » = 7¾; etc. Its use with *এক* « ēka » is recent, and is found to denote only the hour, e.g., *পৌনে একটা* « pāunē ēkaṭṭa » *quarter to one*. The « -ū » in « pāunē » seems to be the plural « -ahi » (*supra*, p. 724) : cf. also Gujarātī « pōṇō » ¾, but « pōṇā bē » 1¾, with « -ā » indicating plural. For ¾, the native Bengali is *তিন গো(আ)* « tin-pō(ā) » Oriyā « tini pā ».

535. Adjectives are not declined in Bengali, although in the oldest period we find concord between a subject and its predicate (adjective or verb) in so far as the latter takes up the feminine affix if the former is feminine (see *supra*, p. 721). In the Caryās, however, we find that the numerals

536. *The Ordinals.*

In the Colloquial, however, the *genitive of the cardinal numeral* expresses its ordinal: e.g., দশের পাতা « dāsēṛ pātā » *the tenth page*. Also the word qualified by the cardinal is put in the genitive in a cumbrous construction in some cases, as follows: the cardinal numeral + the word in the genitive + the word itself: e.g., ষাট দিনের দিন « ṣaṭṭṛ dinēṛṭṭṛ dind » *the sixtieth day*, তিন-শ বারের বার « tin-śābārēṛṭṭṛ bār » *the 300th occasion*; etc.

The Forms for the Ordinals occurring in Bengali are :

First = NB. *পথলা* < *পথলা* < *pāyṣṭlā* < *pāhēlā* >, MB. OB. < *pahila-* > (cf. *Caryās* 12, 20). The source of this form, which occurs in all NIA., is an OIA. < *pra-tha + -ila* >, becoming in MIA. < **paṭhilla*, **pathilla* >, **paḍhilla*, **pahilla* >. The Skt. < *prathama* > is a blend of < *pra-tama* > (cf. Avestan *fratēma*) and < *pra-tha* > (with ordinal < *-tha* >, as in < *catur-tha*, *ṣaṣ-tha*, *sapta-tha* >). Equivalents of < *prathama* >, as well as of an elaborate < *prathama + -ila* > occur in the Prakrits. The Bengali form < *pahila* > is non-Māgadhī in origin, as shown by the absence of cerebralisation.

Second, Third. The Bengali words in use are দ্বৈত and তৃত্বৈত
 « dōsāṛā, tēsāṛā », which are probably new Magadhan formations with the
 cardinal bases *plus* an affix « sar-ā » (No. 57, p. 700). The OIA. forms
 were « dvitya (dvitya) » and « tṛtiya ». The former apparently gave (i) a
 MIA. « *dutiyya, *duijja, *du(y)ajja », whence we have the Early Bengali
 দ্বৈত (ŚKK.) > দ্বৈত > দ্বৈত « duāṣṭā > dōyāṣṭā > dōṣṭā » and Hindi « dūj »;
 and (ii) a MIA. « būiyya, būijja », whence Marāṭhī and Gujarātī « būj »;
 besides (iii) the form « doceca, ducca » (< dvitya), which is not represen-
 ted in NIA. The latter (i.e. the OIA. « tṛtiya ») through MIA. « *titiyya,
 tiijja, *ti(y)ajja » gave Bengali তৃত্বৈত (ŚKK.) > তৃত্বৈত « tiāṣṭā, tēṣṭā », besides
 Hindi, Marāṭhī and Gujarātī « tāj ». The change of « -iya » to « ijja, -yajja,
 -aja » (through a doubling of « -y- », which first took place in Early MIA.),
 is not Prācya, or Śaurasēni: at least it is certainly non-Magadhan (see
supra, p. 476). In Bengali দ্বৈত, তৃত্বৈত occur in the ŚKK., but they were
 replaced by *tss*. « dvitya, tṛtiya », except in the expressions দ্বৈত-ব'রে, <
 তৃত্বৈত-ব'রে « dōṣṭā-bārē, tēṣṭā-bārē < bār-iyā » = a bride-groom for the second
 and third time.

Fourth: চৌত্বৈ « cāuṭhā » (by Vowel Harmony চৌত্বৈ « cāuṭhō »),
 MB. (ŚKK.) চৌত্বৈ « cāuṭhā- »; in (Śaurasēni) Apabhraṇśa as written in
 Bengal, it occurs as « cāuṭhṭha = cauṭṭha » (cf. 'Dōhā-kōṣa' of Saraha,
 p. 117 of 'Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā'). In Maithilī also we have « cāuṭh ».
 The cerebral « -ṭh- » indicates that it is derived from a Māgadhī
 « *cāuṭṭha, caduṭṭha » < « catuṭṭha < caturtha ». Other NIA. speeches
 show the un-cerebralised « cāuṭh », and Bengali has borrowed this form
 (চৌত্বৈ « cāuṭh ») from Hindōstāni and Marāṭhī, meaning the *fourth part of*
a sum of money in a transaction, and a fourth of the revenue.

Upto the ordinal for 4, NB. shows diverse ordinal affixes, « -tha + ila »;
 -sara; -tha »; *plus* the definitive or adjectival « -ā » affix (No. 6, p. 658).
 For the ordinals for 5 to 18, we have a generalised OIA. ordinal affix
 « -ma » + NIA. « -i » > -ī > -ikā, -ika ». Thus *fifth* is পাঁচুই < *পাঁচুই « pāñcu
 < *pāñcāi » < « *pañcamikā, -ikā » for OIA. « pañca-ma »; *sirih* = ষ্টুই
 < *চাঁউ, *চাঁউ « chāui < *chāñi, *chāñi » < MIA. « *chaamia < cha-
 mikā » (« chā + ma » for « śaṣ-ṭha » of Skt.); *seventh* = সাতুই < *সাতুই

« sātui < *sātāi > < MIA. « sattamika », for Skt. « sapta-ma »; so to
 আঠারই < *āṭharui < *āṭhārāi > *eighteenth*, representing a MIA.
 « *aṭṭhārasamika » (cf. Pali « aṭṭhārasama » = Skt. « aṣṭādaśā »: the
 Skt. in the ordinals from *11th* to *19th* simply shifts the accent to the last
 syllable, « -daśā », which takes the masculine, feminine and neuter affixes
 as an adjective). The ordinal « -ma » (> Late MIA « -wā ») has lost its
 nasalisation in Standard Bengali, except in ছুই « chāui » *sixth*: in Hindōstānī
 the nasal is retained as « -wā (= wā) »; and the nasal also is found in other
 NIA., either as « -m- » or as a mere nasalisation of the vowel.

From 19 onwards, the affix is ইয় « -iyā », contracted to এ « -ē »,
 an adjectival form (= No. 26, p. 674): thus *উনিশিয়া, উনিশে « *uniśiyā
 > uniśē », dialectal উনইয়া « unāśiyā » *19th*; so পঁচিশে « pāciśē » *25th*,
 চল্লিশে « cālīśē » *40th*. Indication of the ordinals by a definite affix is
 exceedingly rare beyond the fourth decade.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRONOUN

537. The Pronoun in Bengali takes the same case affixes and post-positions as the Noun, but it has, unlike the Noun, a definite oblique form to which the affixes and post-positions are added. This oblique form is generally the old genitive, as in Late MIA. There has also been an extension of the new genitive in «-ra» to form a new oblique or plural in MB. and NB.

[A] THE PRONOUN FOR THE FIRST PERSON.

538. OIA. «aham» / was extended to «*aha-ka-m» with the pleonastic «-ka-», and in 'Old Māgadhī' «ahakaṃ» was the word for / . Aśvaghōṣa employs it in the 'Old Māgadhī' of his dramas (H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke,' p. 36). In the Prakrit (Māgadhī) of 'Bhāsa,' the form is «ahakē», with the characteristic Māgadhī affix «-ē» (Sukthankar, 'Studies in Bhāsa,' JAOS., Vol. 40, pp. 248-259); and «ahakē» occurs in the Māgadhī of the Second MIA. period, as in other Skt. dramas, as «hakē, hagē» and «haggē», the last being certainly an emphatic form. The loss of the initial syllable is at least as old as the 3rd century B.C., long before the time of Aśvaghōṣa and Bhāsa. In the eastern inscriptions of Aśōka, we have .hakaṃ»: so that «ahakaṃ, ahakē» in the former writers, and «ahayaṃ < ahakaṃ» in Jaina Ardhamāgadhī would appear to be literary and archaic forms. By 300 A.D., it would appear that two forms were to be found in Māgadhī, «hakaṃ (*hagaṃ), hakē (hagē)» for the OIA. «aham». Against these, New Bengali shows nothing. But in the Old Bengali of the Caryās, there is the form «hāu» = / , apparently for «*hāu, *haū», which occurs four times: «tu lō dōmbī, hāu kapālī» *thou, oh, (art) a Dōm woman, (while) I (am) a Kāpālīka* (Caryā 10); «hāu sutēli» *I slept* (18); «hāu nirāsi» *I am 'Sans-Expectance'* (20); and «hāu acchilē (= *āchilē? *āchila?)»

I was (35). OB. « hāu » can be compared with Gujarātī « hū » and Brajbhākhā « hāu » *I*. Of the two Māgadhi forms « hakaṁ, hakē », the former can only give OB. « hāu » (see *supra*, p. 359); while the latter could be represented in OB. only by a form « *haī, *haī » (< *haē < hagē). It is just possible that in Māgadhi Apabhraṁśa, « *haī » was current, side by side with « *haū ». The nasalised form, however, ousted the other one, and in the struggle the former was in all likelihood strengthened by Western Apabhraṁśa which also had « haū ». At the same time « *haī » itself may have influenced the formation of the verb substantive first person — « asmi, *asāmi > *asami > *ahimi > *abiwi > *haiwi > *hai > hai », and of the affix « -i » for the first person present of the verb. By initial stress, however, Māg. Ap. « *hāū » could become « hāu » in OB.

In MB., « hāu » as the old nominative fell out of use, and the old instrumental took its place : but « hāu » seems to have (given or at least influenced) the affix for the first person to the bases for the past and future tenses of the verb in Bengali and Assamese (see *infra*, under Verb : 'Personal Affixes').

539. The OIA. instrumental « mayā » occurs in Second MIA. as « maē, maī », in (Western) Apabhraṁśa as « maī ». The nasalisation in Apabhraṁśa (also preserved in NIA., *e.g.*, Hindi and Panjābi « maī », Gujarātī « mē », Sindhi « mū ») would indicate an influence from the instrumental affix for the noun (-ēna > -ē : maī < *may'ēna = mayā). The OB. equivalent is « maī » (= ? « maī » : the nasalisation can well be omitted in Bengali writing, see *supra* p. 362), which is found in Caryās 16, 18, 27, 29, 30, 35 (thrice), 36, 39 ; and a contracted form « ma » also occurs (Caryās 10, 13). This is as yet instrumental in OB., being used in the passive construction with the past or future (in « -il-, -ib- ») of a transitive verb : *e.g.*, Caryā 35—

« ēta-kāla hāu acchilē (= āchilē ? āchila ?) sva-mōhē :
ēbē maī bujhila sadguru-bōhē »

For such a long time I was in my own ignorance :

Now by me it has been understood through the good master's instruction.

The nominative «hău», however, became obsolete, and the instrumental «mai (maĭ)» assumed its function. The confusion between the active and passive constructions, with gradual disuse of the latter, was both a cause and an effect of the interchange of the instrumental and the nominative, or of the use of the former for the latter (see also pp. 166, 742).

The oblique base «mō» (see below, § 541), with the instrumental «-ē» from the noun gave a new instrumental «mōē, mōē», which is found as early as OB.: cf. Caryā 10, «tōhōra antare mōē ghalili hāḍeri māli» *for thy sake the chaplet of bones has been cast off by me*. This quite early became confused with «mai (maĭ)»; and «mōē, mai» in MB. occur in a bewildering variety of spellings (see § p. 811) as forms of practically one word.

In NB., this instrumental-nominative is found as মূই «mui» (= Assamese «māi», Oriyā «mū»; it occurred in Bihārī as «mē», but there it is now obsolete). The Bengali মূই «mui» is almost archaic, and then it is found only among certain lower classes in different parts of Bengal: consequently it is considered as a vulgar form now (cf. the phrase তুই-মূই কথা «tui-mui kārā» = *use insulting or inferior language*, which does not have the sense of affectionate intimacy indicated by the French «tutoyer»).

540. The ordinary form for *I* is আমি «āmi» which was originally the plural of «haū, maĭ». It comes from a common MIA. «amhē» = OIA. (Vedic) «asmē» for «vayam»: «asmē» > *āmhē > *āmhi, *āmbhi > *āmhi, *āmbhi: the NB. equivalent of which ought to be *অমি «ām», with loss of final «-i» (see *supra*, § 151: we have «-ām» no doubt as an affix for the verb, where, however, there was influence of other forms: see *infra*, under Verb: ‘Personal Affixes’). In the Caryās, we find «āmhē, āhmē, āhmē (= āmhē, āmbhē»: thus, Caryā 4 «ahmē birā» = Skt. comm. «vīrō’ham» (properly = «vīrāḥ vayam»); «āmhē sāṇē dīṭhā» = «asmābhiḥ saṁjñayā dṛṣṭam» (Caryā 1); «āhmē dēhū» = *I give*, lit. *we give* (Caryā 19): «ambhē na jāñāhū» *we know not* (Caryā 22). The form in «-i» is not found in the Caryās, although the MIA. «amhē» is expected

to give « **āmhi* » in OB. : and it is seen, the form in « *-ē* » is used both for the nominative and the instrumental. In the ŚKK., we have both আক্ষী, আক্ষি « *āhmī*, -i=āmhi » (only 6 times) and আক্ষে, আক্ষে « *āhmē*, -ē=āmhē » (some 30 times) : and there is not the least distinction between the two forms. The group « *-hm=mh* » represents an aspirated « *-m-* », an inheritance from MIA. which continued down to Early MB. times, to lose its aspiration by the 16th century. Oṛiyā has only the « *-ē* » form, « *āmbhē* ». The « *-ē* » form would seem to represent the Late MIA. instrumental : « *asmābhiḥ* » > « *amhahī* » > « *āmbhē*, *āmbhē* » ; and the « *-i* » form, the original nominative (see *supra*, p. 309). But already from before OB. times, there was a confusion between them, with the result that « *-ē* » practically ousted the « *-i* » in OB. and MB., (as we can see from OB., and from the preponderance of « *-ē* » forms in the ŚKK., as well as from Oṛiyā), but later this « *-ē* » itself seems to have become « *-i* » or to give place to the latter.

The transference of « *āmhi*, *āmbhē* » from plural to singular took place in OB., as we can see from the Caryās. It became identical with « *maī*, *mui*, *mōē* » etc. in Early MB. Doubtless, the plural when first used for the singular was characteristic of polite or formal speech : cf. Oṛiyā « *mū* » inferior, and « *āmbhē* » polite, formal, and respectful. The old plural sense of « *āmi* » is still preserved in Assamese, where « *āmi* » always = *we*, never = *I*. Cf. also Western Hindī « *haū* » (Brajbhākhā), « *maī* » (Hindōstānī and Brajbhākhā), plural « *ham* » ; Gujarātī « *hū* », plural « *amē* » ; Panjābī « *maī* », plural « *as(s)ī* » ; Marāṭhī « *mī* », plural « *āmhi* » : which still continue faithful to the OIA. in point of number. The Bihārī dialects have now made the original singular obsolete, the plural « *ham* » being the one used for *I*. The proper plural use of « *āmi* » however is occasionally found in MB., as late as the 16th century : *e.g.*, in the 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata' of Vṇḍāvana-dāsa, we find forms like আমি দুই পাতকীর « *āmi dui pātākīrā* » of us two sinners, আমার উদ্ধারে « *āmārā uddhārē* » through our salvation, আমি দ্রোহ কৈলু « *āmi drōhā kailū* » we did offence (p. 258, ed. Atul Kṛṣṇa Gōswāmī).

541. হুই, আমি « *mui*, *āmi* » are the nominative forms of Bengali, and their history is given above. There are the oblique forms মো « *mō-* »

and **আমি** « *āmā-* », to which the inflections and post-positions (accusative-dative « *-ē* », « *-rē* », « *-kē* », genitive « *-rā* », locative « *-tē* », instrumental « *dwārā*, *diyā* » etc.) are added to form the various cases. « *mō-* » is the OIA. genitive « *mama* », which (through Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa and OB. « **maṃā* ») occurs already in OB. Another form is « *ma-* », found in OB. side by side with « *mō-* ». Following the oblique forms of the other pronouns (see *infra*) and the old genitive of the nouns, which optionally preserve the « *-ha* » (see *supra*, p. 752), « *mō-* » took up the « *-ha* » from OB. times, and was thus extended to « *mō-ha-* ». Inflected forms on the basis of this « *mō-* (*ma-*), *mō-ha-* » oblique in the Caryās are: « *mō-ē* » instrumental (Caryā 10); « *mō-ra* » (Caryās 20, 33, 49), « *mōhō-ra* » (Caryā 20) = genitive forms qualifying masculine or neuter, and « *mō-ri* » = genitive qualifying feminine noun (Caryā 36); and « *mōha-kakhu*, *ma-kū* = *mō-kū* » dative (Caryā 35). In MB., beside **মো** « *mō-* », the extended forms of this oblique base are **মোহ**, **মোহো**, **মহ**, **মহো** « *mōhā-*, *mōhō-*, *māhā-*, *māhō-* ». The instrumental form « *mō-ē* » occurs in the spellings **মোএ**, **মোএঁ**, **মোঞ**, **মোঞে**, **মোঞা**, **মোঞি**, **মুঞ**, **মুঁহ**, **মুহি**, **মোই** « *mōē*, *mōē*, *mōñā*, *mōñē*, *mōñā*, *mōñi*, *muñi*, *mūhi*, *muyī*, *mōi*, » etc., which are all used for the instrumental-nominative = **মুই**, **মই** « *mui*, *māi* » (see *supra*, p. 809). The inflected forms as usual are **মোর** (**মোহর**), **মোকে**, **মোডে** « *mō-rā* (*mōhā-rā*), *mō-kē*, *mō-tē* » etc. Besides there is the locative oblique in « *-ē* < *-hi* » (**মোহি**, **মোএ** *mōhi*, *mōē* > **মোয়** *mōyā*, **মোঞ** *mōñā* etc.), which is used in MB. for the dative-accusative. The original genitive use of « *mō* » seems to have existed in OB. (cf. « *tō* < *tava* » below). In eMB., « *mō* », although the oblique base, itself came to be used for the nominative, through confusion with « *mōē* » and « *mā*, *mu* < *māi*, *mui* ».

The form **আমি**, **আম** « *āhmā-* = *āmhā-* (as in the ŚKK.), *āmā-* » represents the OIA. base « *asma-* », in MIA. « *amha-* ». It was strengthened by an « *-ā* », apparently through the influence of the « *-ā*, *-āha* » of the noun. In Oṛiyā, it occurs as « *āmbhā-* », as in « *āmbhā-rā*, *āmbhā-ku* » etc. That the extension of « *āsmā-* > *āmhā-* > **āmhā*, **āmā-* » to « *āmhā-*, *āmā-* » is due to a genitive « *-ā* » is seen from the

frequent use of the base « āmhā- », without the genitival « -rā », for the genitive in the ŚKK. and other MB. works; and the fact that post-positions are added direct to the « āmhā- » base, as if to the genitive, is to be noted.

542. With the old plural « āmhē, āmhi » > āmi » becoming first honorific and then ordinary singular (the honorific singular sense still obtains in Oriyā at the present day), new plurals were formed, as in the case of the noun, from the Early MB. period, either by adding nouns of multitude like « sāmḥā (sābā), sākālā », or by extending the strong form of the genitive in « -rā »: thus, in the ŚKK., we have আক্ষে সক্ষে « āmhē sāmḥē », beside আক্ষারী « āmhārā » (see *supra*, p. 735); in the 'Caitanya Bhāgavata,' 16th century, nominative মুই-সকল « mui-sākālā », আমি-সব « āmi-sābā », oblique, আমা-সব « āmā-sābā »; beside মোরা, আমরা « mōrā, āmārā ». For the genitive, the use of « -dērā » seems to have been established by the end of the 15th century (*vide supra*, p. 731). The « -rā » and « -digā, -dērā » affixes are in common use in NB. at present, but « -sākālā, -sābā » are also occasionally found in NB. But « -gānā, -gulā, sāmūhā » and the rest do not occur. The position for Bengali is thus the following:

	Singular Forms.		Plural Forms.	
	Old Singular= vulgar, archaic, dialectal.	Old Plural > Honorific Singular > Ordinary Singular.	Regular Plural from Old Singular = poetic, dialectal.	New Double Plural.
Nominative	মুই mui	আমি āmi	মোরা mō-rā	আমরা āmārā-rā (+ সব sābā etc.)
Oblique	মো mō-	আমা āmā-	মোদিগ mō-digā- মোদের mō-dērā-	আমাদিগ āmā-digā- আমাদের āmā-dērā-

Double plural forms are found elsewhere in NIA., retaining the

honorific sense where the original singular is preserved and the original plural continues to be used as a plural: thus—

	Old Singular.	Old Plural.	Double Plural (Honorific).
Bengali	মুই mui (vulgar)	আমি āmi (sg.)	মোরা, আমরা mōrā, āmārā
Assamese	মাই (sg.)	আমি (pl.)	আম-লোক
Oṛiyā	mu, mū (vulgar)	āmbhē (sg.)	āmbhē-mānē
Magahī	[lost]	ham (sg.)	ham-anī, ham-ar-nī
Maithilī	mē (obsolete)	ham (sg.)	ham-sabh, hamrā-sabh
Bhōjpuriyā	mē (obsolete)	ham (sg.)	hamanī-kā, ham-ar-an
[Khaskurā]	ma (sg.)	hāmi (pl.)	hāmi-haru]

In Western Hindi, Panjābī, Sindhī, and Marāṭhī, as well as Sinhalese, where the old singular and plural forms are preserved intact, there is no room for the double plural: the Hindōstānī « ham-lōg » *we*, with a frequent enough use of « ham » = Bengali « āmi » for the singular, is due unquestionably to Eastern influence.

543. An oblique form like « majh-, mujh- » (as in Marāṭhī, Rājasthānī-Gujarātī and W. Hindi) is not found in Bengali and in other Magadhan speeches: Māgadhī Apabhraṇśa apparently did not possess a form like « majjham, majjhu » (as in Prakrit and W. Apabhraṇśa), which is found in the ablative as well as in the genitive, but which originated from the OIA. locative « mahyam ». But in the Brajabuli dialect (see *supra*, pp. 103-104) we commonly find a genitive form मज्जु « mājhu » (occasionally also oblique), which is a Western Apabhraṇśa imposition on Bengali, doubtless in the formative period of the language (cf. *supra*, pp. 113-116), at a time when « majh- < majjhu, majjham » had not altered its vowel to « -u- », as in « mujh » in W. Hindi (on the analogy of « tubhyam » > *tuhyam > tujjham, tujjhu > tujh »). The form मज्जु « mājhu » now and then appears in Vaiṣṇava poetry written in pure Bengali, and that is due to imitation of the Brajabuli style. The MIA. genitive force of « majjham » is still retained in the Marāṭhī « mājhā, mājhi, mājhe ».

It is a remarkable fact that the genitive of the personal pronoun throughout a great part of the NIA. area should show the adjectival

form with the « -ra (< kēra, kara, kāra) » affix, both in the first and second persons : *e.g.*, in addition to the Magadhan speeches, we have E. Hindi « mōr, hamār (tōr, tohār) », W. Hindi « mērā, mērau, mēri ; hamārā, hamārau, hamāri », Panjābī « mērā, mēri » Gujarati « mārō, mārī, mārū ; amārō, amārī, amārū », Rājasthānī « mhārō, amhārō » etc.; also in the Pāhārī languages ; and in the Gipsy dialects outside India. These are based on Western Apabhraṃśa forms like « mahāra, amhāra » (cf. Pischel. 'Gramm. der Pkt-Sprachen' § 434 ; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe' § 210 ; Beames, Comp. Gramm., II, p. 312).

In the Bengali poetic diction, the form মম « māmā » for the genitive is quite common. This certainly is to be regarded as a MIA. form preserved by literary tradition and strengthened by the Skt. « mama ».

544. The rage for Sankritising Bengali which was in vogue late in the 18th and early in the 19th centuries when the speech was under the guardianship of the *pandits*, finds its expression in the curious form অম্মদাদি « āsmādādi » *we*, occurring commonly in the genitive অম্মদাদির « āsmādādir » *our*, pronounced [oʃʃādadir], in which the Skt. base is made to oust the *bbh.* one. In this artificial 'restoration' of the genuine Bengali আমাদের « āmāder » , the source of « -dēr » as « -ādi » has instinctively been hit upon.

545. Typical Dialectal Forms for the First Personal Pronoun in New Bengali (*all* forms cannot be given : only some characteristic ones have been introduced) :

S.W. Bengali.

West Rāḍha.

Nom. মূই mui—মোরমেনে mōrṣ-mēnē,
মোরে mōnnē, আমারে āmānnē
Gen. মোর mō-rṣ—মোরমনকার mōrṣ-
mānṣ-kārṣ, মোরমেনকার mōrṣ-mēnṣ-
kārṣ, মোরেকার mōnnē-kārṣ
Dat. মোকে mō-kē—আমারেকে āmānnēkē
Other Cases—মোদিয়া mō-diyā, মোঠিনু
mō-ṭhinu, etc.

Nom. মূই mui—মুইরা « mui-rā »
Gen. মোতর, মর mōhṣ-rṣ, māhṣ-rṣ—
মোদের mō-dērṣ
Dat. মোকে mō-kē—মোদের mō-dērṣ
Other Cases—মোদিয়া mō-diyā, মোহ'তে
mō-hotē, মোতে mō-tē, মোদেরতে
mō-dērṣ-tē, etc.

East Rāḍha (Standard Colloquial),
also Varēndra (North Central).

East North Bengali
(Dinaĵpur).

Nom. আমি āmi—আমরা āmṛā	No. আমি hāmi—হাযরা hāmṛā
Gen. আমার āmā-rṛ—আমাদের āmā-dērṛ	Gen. হামার hāmā-rṛ—হামাদের hāmā-dērṛ
Dat. আমাকে āmā-kē, আমার āmā-y < āmā-ē—আমাদের āmā-dērṛ, আমাদিকে āmā-di-kē	Dat. হামাক, হামাকে hāmā-kṛ, hāmā-kē—(plural, same as genitive).
Loc. আমার āmā-y, আমাতে āmā-tē, —আমাদিগেতে āmā-digē-tē, আমা- দেরতে, āmā-dērṛ-tē, etc., etc.	

North Bengali.

Nom. মূই mui, মই m̄ai, মৌ m̄ō, আমি hāmi	হামা hāmā, হামরা hāmṛā, হামাঙলা hāmā-gulā
Gen. মোর mō-rṛ, হামার hāmā-rṛ	হামাঙলার hāmā-gulā-rṛ
Dat. মোক mō-kṛ, হামাক hāmā-kṛ	হামাক hāmā-kṛ
Other Oblique : মো mō-, মোর mō-rṛ-, হামা hāmā-	—হামাঙলা hāmā-gulā-
(Loc. মোং mō-tṛ, হামাং hāmā-tṛ)	

West and South-West Vanga.

South-East Vanga (Chittagong).

Nom. মূই, আমি mui, āmi—মোরā mō-rā, আমরা āmṛā	Nom. অঁই āi—অঁওরা āō-rā, অঁরা āy-rā, অঁরা āi-rā
Gen. মোর mō-rṛ, মর m̄ā-rṛ, আমার āmā-rṛ—আমরার amṛārā-rṛ, মোরগে mōrṛ-gō, আমাগে āmā-gō	Gen. অঁরার āyā-rṛ, অঁর āi-rṛ— অঁওরার āō-rā-rṛ, অঁরার āy-rā-rṛ
Dat. আমারে āmā-r-ē—আমরারে amṛārā-r-ē	Dat. অঁরে āy-r-ē, অঁরে āi-r-ē— অঁওরারে āōrā-r-ē, অঁরারে āy-rā-r-ē

The origin of the above dialectal forms is plain in every case. The S. W. Bengali মোর *mōnnē* is contracted from **mō-mānē*, and **āmā-*

mānē-kārṣ > gives আন্নেকার < āmānnēkārṣ >. Contiguity with Maithili is seen plainly in the forms with initial < h- > in North Bengali (< asma- > amha- > *hamma- > hām, ham- >, as opposed to the normal development in Bengali < amha- > āmh- > ām- >). The < -m- > has been reduced to a simple nasalisation in Chittagong, through an intermediate < -w̃- > which is also heard as < -ō-, -o- >.

[B] THE PRONOUN FOR THE SECOND PERSON.

546. The Forms for the Second Person (in the Standard Speech) are—


	Old Singular (= New Singular, contemptuous or affectionate, for juniors and familiars).	Old Plural (> New Singular, inferior and familiar).	New Plurals.	
			Inferior and contemptuous.	Ordinary and familiar.
Nominative	তুই tui	তুমি tumi	তোরা tō-rā	তোমরা tōmṣ-rā (+ সব, সকল sābṣ, sākālṣ etc.)
Oblique	তো tō-	তোমা tōmā-	তোদিগ tō-digā- তোদের tō-dērṣ	তোমদিগ tōmā-digā- তোমাদের tōmā-dērṣ


The above forms present an exact parallel with those for the first person: only the old singular (with its new plural in < -rā >) is used freely, in all its forms, to express familiarity or contempt, by all classes in society: unlike < mui, mū- >, it has not become archaic, or confined to the lower classes only.

547. OIA. < tvam > *thou* gave the MIA. < tuṃ >, in addition to other forms. This < tuṃ > seems to be the source of the OB. < tu >, which occurs also (through contamination with the oblique) as < tō >. Oṛiyā has preserved this as < tu >: Early Maithili and Eastern and Western Hindi as < tū >. It is quite possible, however, that the OIA. original of the (Magadhan and Śaurasēnī) NIA. < tu, tū >, without nasalisation (as opposed to the nasalised forms like the Marāṭhī < tū >, Gujarātī < tū >, Rājasthānī < tū >, Panjābī and Sindhī < tū >) was a form like < *tū >.

as in Avestan (beside «tvēm»), instead of the Vedic and Sanskrit «tvam» (=tū + am).

In OB., «tu, tō» are the nominative forms, and they are found in the Caryās either independently (as e.g., Caryā 18, «Kānhē gāi, tu Kāma-caṇḍālī» *Kṛṣṇa sings, thou art a 'Karma-caṇḍālikā'*; Caryā 6, «suṇa hari[ṇ]ā tō» *hear thou, O Deer*; Caryā 41, «jaī tō mūḍhā accehasi, puccha-tu sadguru pāwa» *if thou art ignorant, ask thou at the feet of the good master*), or loosely agglutinated with the verb in the imperative (e.g., «puccha-tu» *ask thou*, in Caryās 5, 41; «bāha-tu» *row thou*, Caryā 8; «bujha-tu» *comprehend thou*, Caryā 32).

548. This OB. nominative form «tu» has become obsolete in MB. and NB. The form  «tui», from the old instrumental, corresponding to «mui» of the first person, has taken its place. The typical representative of OIA. «tvayā» in MIA. is «taē»; in the Apabhraṇśa the word shows nasalisation, which is due to the influence of the noun (taī < *tvay'ēna = tvayā). In the Caryās, we find «tāi = taī», which still retains its old case-value: e.g., «tāi binu» (=tvayā vinā: Caryā 4): «tāi biṭāliu» (=tvayā viṭālitam: Caryā 18). There is also in OB. a new instrumental formation on the basis of the oblique «tō» (tō-ē = tō-ē), which become confused with the original «taī, tuī» in Early MB. The OB. «tāi» occurs in Assamese as «tāi»: in the change of the vowel to «u» in Bengali «tui», there was in all likelihood the influence of the oblique «tō».

549. The oblique  «tō», the nucleus to which the case terminations and post-positions are added, represents the OIA. genitive «tava». In OB., «tō» is found in its proper genitive sense: «tō muha» *thy face* (Caryā 4); «kin tō mantē, kin tō tantē, kin tō rē jhāṇa-bakhānē» *what is (the good) of thy spells, thy scriptures, and thy meditations and expoundings* (Caryā 34: «kin = kim» is a Sanskritism or Prakritism). It is found as accusative-dative (an extension of the genitive) in «tō puchami» *I ask thee* (Caryā 10). This form is also extended to «tō-ha-, tō-hō-» (cf. «mō-ha», p. 811, *supra*): genitive «tōhō-ra» (Caryā 10), «tōhāra» (Caryā 29), genitive feminine «tōhōri» (Caryās 10, 18), «tōhauri = tōhōri»

(Caryā 28), « tōhōrē dōsē » *with thy fault* (= *tava-karēṇa dōṣeṇa : Caryā 39); dative « tōhōrē » (Caryā 18): beside genitive « tō-rā » (Caryā 41), dative « tōrē=tōrē » (Caryā 18). The instrumental based on this oblique is found in Caryā 10 : « ā lō Ḍōmbī, tō-ē sama karibē (=kariba) ma (=maī) sāṅga » *O Ḍōm woman, I shall have union with thee*. This instrumental « tōē=tō-ē » and the older « tai » reacted upon each other, and became merged into one form, and in Early M.B. the vowel in « tai » was altered through this process.

In eMB. (ŚKK.), we have a form with nasalised vowel, তৈ « tō̃ », of fairly frequent occurrence. This is used as a nominative, singular. It seems it was originally a plural form: the genitive plural in « -na » as an honorific came to be attached to the singular « tō, tō-ha », in formations like « *tō-na, *tō-hā » in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, for the regular plural « *tumbhāṇa(m), *tumhahā » etc. The old honorific sense of it was lost in Early MB. That this was the case for this « tō̃ » can be seen from the Early Maithilī plural base for the second person—singular « tū », plural « tō̃-sabh, tō̃h-sabh » (= « *tō-na, *tō-hā » *plus* « sabh »): cf. also the Bhōjpurīyā and Magahī plural « tō-ha-ni=tōha-+na+ -i »; this « tō̃, tō̃h, tō̃h-an-i » are thus quite distinct from the older « tumh- » = MIA. « tumha » < OIA. « yuṣma- ». The instrumental of this « tō̃, *tō̃-hā » would be « *tō̃-ē, *tō̃-ē, *tō̃h-ē », which would easily merge in the other singular instrumental « tō-ē » noted above: and we actually have an instance of a dative তোঁহঁক « tō̃hā-kā » in the ŚKK. This was thus an additional strengthening (with the loss of any plural > honorific sense it might have possessed at the beginning) of the recent « tō-ē » (= tō + ē). In eMB., « tāī, tō-ē, tō̃-ē » were all confused: specially when the nasal was very unstable. Quite a large number of ways of writing these are found in MB. MSS. (e.g., তৈ, তোয়, তো এ, তোঁএ, তোঁএ, তোঞ, তোঁঞ, তোঞে, তোঞে, তোঞি, তুঞি, তুঞি, তুই, « tāī, tōyā, tōē, tō̃ē, tō̃ē, tōñā, tōñā, tōñē, tōñē, tōñi, tuñi, tūñi, tui »), and all these have finally resulted in the inferior or contemptuous, or extremely familiar form of NB., তুই « tui ».

550. Corresponding to আমি « āmi », NB. has তুমি « tumi » = Early MB. তুমি, তোমি « tumhi, tomhē », OB. « tumhē ». The New

Bengali form represents a combination of the MIA. nominative (=tumbē) and instrumental (=*tumhahi, tumhēhi). The instrumental use occurs in OB. : *e.g.*, « tumbē hōiba » = « yuṣmābhir bhavitavyam » (Caryā 5), « tumhē jāiba » (« jāibē » in printed edition) = « yuṣmābhir yātavyam » (Caryā 23). In Oṛiyā the form^r is « tumbhē », in Assamese « tumi », = plural.

For the oblique, we have the base তোমা « tōmā- » (Early MB. তোম্বা « tōmhā- »), paralleling অমা « āmā- », which is derived from the OIA. plural base « yuṣma- ». The forms তুমি, তোম্বা, তুম্বে, তোমা, তোম্বা « tumi, tōmhē, tumhē, tōmā-, tōmhā- » quite early, in the First MIA. period had taken up the « t- » from the singular « tvam, tvayā, tubhyam » etc., so that we have « tumbē, tumha- » instead of « *yumbhē, *yumba ».

The Aśōkan eastern form « tuphē » (= ? tupphē ? tumphē) is not represented in NIA., any more than « aphē » (= ? amphē ? apphē, = asmē).

551. Through the influence of Śaurasēni Apabhraṇśa in the OB. and Early MB. periods, and of the Brajabuli dialect, we have some peculiar Western forms in the language of Vaiṣṇava lyrical poetry : *e.g.*, তুহু « tuhū » *thou* (= Western Apabhraṇśa « tuhū », derived by Pischel from « *tva-kā-m », ‘Gramm. der Pkt.-Sprachen,’ p. 296 ; but it may properly be an emphatic form, « tu » + particle « hū, hu », cf. Eastern Hindi and Bihārī, as well as Brajabuli, « hama-hū » *we also*, « saba-hū » *everybody*) ; তুয়া « tuā » *thy* (= literary i.e. early Maithilī « tua » : MIA. « tuva », Western Ap. « tuha » : OIA. « tava ») ; তুজ « tujhā » *thy* (Western Ap. « tujjhu », Second MIA. « tujjha » : < « *tuhyam » = OIA. « tubhyam », cf. « mahyam ») ; and besides, the extended base « tū-ha, tu-ha » is also much used through the example of Maithilī or Brajabuli (as well as Brajbhākhā), in Vaiṣṇava lyrics ; *e.g.*, তোহে, তুহে, তোয় « tōhē, tuhē, tōy » accusative, locative and dative ; তোহারি, তুহারি « tōhāri, tubhāri » genitive.

552. In the Magadhan speeches, we have the following developments of the old forms for the second personal pronoun, paralleling those for the first personal pronoun :

	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural
Bengali	তুই tui	তুমি tumi (sg.)	তোরা, তোমরা tōrā, tōmārā
Assamese	তাই	tumi (pl.)	tā-hātē, tōmā-lōkē (hon. pl.)

	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural
Oṛiyā	tu	tumbhē (respectful sg.)	tumbhē-mānē (hon. pl.)
Magahi	(obsolete)	tū, tō (sg.)	tōh-anī tōh-ara-nī,
Maithili	tū (obsolete)	tō, tōh (sg.)	tō(h)-sabh, tōharā-sabh
Bhōjpuriyā	tē (archaic)	tū (sg.)	tōha-nī(-kā), tōh-ar-an
[Khaskurā	ta (sg.)	timi (pl.)	timi-haru]
[Hindōstāni	tū, tū	tum (pl.)	tum-lōg]

553. Typical Dialectal Forms for the Second Personal Pronoun :

S. -W. Bengali	West Rāḍha	Varendra
Nom. তুই tui, তুমি tumi —তোমো tōnnē, তোমারে tōmānnē	Nom. তুই tūi—তোরা tō-rā, তুমরা tumṣ-rā, তোমরা tōmṣ-rā	Nom. তুই tui— তমরাṣ tāmṣ-rāh
Gen. তর tā-rṣ—তমার tāmā-rṣ, তদের tā-dērṣ, তোদের tōnnērṣ	Gen. তোর tō-rṣ—তোমার tōmā-rṣ, তোদের tō-dērṣ, তোমাদের tōrā-dērṣ, ভোগের tō-gō-rṣ	Gen. তোর tō-rṣ— তমহার tāmhā-rṣ তুমাবর tumā-ghārṣ
North Bengali	West & S.-W. Vanga	East Vanga (Chittagong)
Nom. তুই tui—তুমরা tumṣ-rā	Nom. তয় tāy, তুমি tumi —তোরা tō-rā, তোমরা tōmṣ-rā	Nom. তুই tui, তুই* tui < tumi—তোরা tō-rā, তোঁরা tō̃-rā < tōmṣ-rā
Gen. তোর tō-rṣ—তমহার tāmhā-rṣ, তুমার tumā-rṣ, তুমাবর tumā-ghārṣ.	Gen. তোর tō-rṣ, তর tā-rṣ —তোরার tō-rā-rṣ, তোমার tōmā-rṣ, তোমরার tōmṣrā-rṣ, তোর-গো tō-rṣ-gō	Gen. তোর tō-rṣ—তোঁয়ার tō̃ā-rṣ < tōmā-rṣ, etc.

[C] THE PRONOUN FOR THE THIRD PERSON.

The Pronoun for the Third Person (or) 'General Demonstrative': সে, তাহা nominative « sē », oblique « tā(hā) », etc.

554. The Typical Bengali forms as in the Standard Colloquial and the « sādhu-bhāṣā » are the following :

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular.	Old Plural > Honorific Singular	New Plural > Ordinary	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	সে sē, [neuter ত(হা) tā(hā)]	তিনি tini; তেঁহ tēhā, তিহঁ tihā (archaic)	ত(হা)রা tā(hā)rā (+ সব, সকল sabbā śakkāḷā etc.) ; সে. সব sē + sabbā etc.	তী(হা)রা tī(hā)rā (+ সব, সকল sabbā śakkāḷā, etc.)
Oblique	তাহা tahā-, তা tā-	তাহা tāhā-, তানা tānā-, তেনা tenā-, তা tā-	ত(হা)দিগ tā(hā)- digā-, তাহাদের tā(hā)dēra-	তী(হা)দিগ tī(hā)- digā-, তী(হা)দের tī(hā)dēra-

555. The OIA. nominative of the pronoun for the third person (the base of which was « ta- ») was « sa, saḥ ». In Māgadhi Prakrit it became « sē », and the Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa form was in all likelihood « *śi », which seems to be preserved in the Assamese সি « si » (for শি « śi »), pronounced [xi] or [çi]. But in Bengali, and in Oṛiyā, and also in the Bihārī group, the pronoun occurs in the nominative as সে « sē (śē) » instead of the expected « *si (śi) ». The « -ē » vowel may be due to an extended form « *sa-ka-ḥ » (cf. ahakam = aham) : which would give in Māgadhi « *śakū > śagū > *śac > *śai > sē » (cf. pp. 741-742, *supra*) ; or it may be due to the influence of the instrumental form « tē » (< tēna). The OIA. feminine « sā » seems to have continued (as « śā ») in Māgadhi down to the Apabhraṃśa period, when it fell into disuse, and the masculine came to be used for the feminine. Already during the Second MIA. stage, the masculine « sē » came to be employed for the neuter (like the neuter affix « -am > -am » of the noun taking up the masculine « -ē < -aḥ » affix : *supra*, p. 622) (Pischel 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 423). In Bengali, as in other Magadhan, there is as a consequence no distinction of gender, « sē (śē) » being used for masculine, and feminine and also for neuter. For the neuter nominative, however, the form ত(হা) « tā(hā) » is

more common. It is really the oblique extended to the accusative and then to the nominative; the accusative employ we find in the Caryās: e.g., « tā dēkhi » *having seen that* (7), « tā śuni » *having heard that* (16).

556. The oblique singular ত(হ) « tā(hā)- » is really the genitive in « -ā, -āha » discussed above, § 502 (pp. 751-752). The genitival use « -ā, -āha » occurred in OB., as we can see from the Caryās. The oblique « tāh-ā » is by extension of « tāha » with the definitive « -ā » affix. By adding the usual affixes and post-positions, we have forms like genitive তাহর, তাহার, তাহের, তাক « tāhā-rā, tāhā-rā, tāh-ērā, tā-kā », accusative and locative (or new oblique) তাহে, তায় « tāh-ē > tāyā », locative তাহাতে « tā(hā)-tē », instrumental তাহা-দিয়া, -দ্বারা « tā(hā)-diyā, -dwārā », etc.

557. The OIA. plural forms (masculine « tē », feminine « tāḥ » neuter « tāni ») seem to have continued down to Second MIA. (respectively as « tē; tāo; tāṇi, tāim »). But they have not been inherited in NIA. Already in the Second MIA. stage, the nominative forms « sē, śē » of the singular were extended to the plural, in Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī (Pischel, § 423). In OB. we find « tē » in Caryā 22: « jē sacarācara tiasa bhamanti, tē ajarāmara kimpī na honti » *those (Yōgīs) who wander through all the world and also through heaven, they do not become in the least ageless and deathless: this « tē » may be a Sanskritism; but it can well be a nominative plural, derived from an instrumental « *tēhi, tēhi ».* A similar nominative « tē » occurs in Eastern Hindi and Western Hindi. This « tē » (or « tē » ?) nominative of Old Bengali seems to have lingered on till Early Middle Bengali, and then it was dropped from the speech, new forms taking its place: we have one instance in ŚKK., p. 313: গোপীকুলের তোম্হে কৈলৈ আপমান....., তে সন্হে চোরায়িল বাণী তোম্হে কাহ « gōpī-kulērā tōmhē kailē āpāmānā, tē sāmhē cōrāyilā bāṣī tōrā Kānhā » *you have insulted the Gōpīs, they have stolen your flute, O Kṛṣṇa.*

The expected form of the OIA. « tē » in Māgadhī Apabhraṇśa and in OB. would be « *ti », and in an emphatic position it might remain as « tē ». Side by side with « sē, tē », the instrumental and the genitive plural were undoubtedly used for the nominative in Māgadhī Apabhraṇśa

and in OB. (*tēhi, *tāhi, *tēhī; *tāna[m], *tāhā; *tān-i), paralleling the usage for the noun.

558. MB. and NB. honorific singular forms come from the plural instrumental and genitive of Apabhraṃśa and OB. In MB., the honorific nominative is তেহঁ, তিহঁ « tēhā, tihā », which palpably receives its « ē, i » vowel from the instrumental, and its nasalisation may be due to the influence of the genitive. It is not impossible, moreover, that the « -ē- » of the OIA. genitive « tēsām » should have persisted through some dialectal undercurrent here. The forms তেহঁ, তিহঁ, or তেঁহ (besides তেঁহো) « tēhā, tihā, tēha, tēhō » were continued down to the middle of the 19th century, in the « sādhu-bhāṣā ». The ŚKK. has registered তেহঁ « tēhā » is one place (p. 19), and তেহঁ « tēhō » in another (p. 67): in the ŚKK., the honorific sense is not strong, and we find that the ordinary সে « sē » is joined to তেহঁ « tēhō » merely as an emphatic form. (e.g., চৌদ চৌ বৃগ আয়ু লক্ষার রাবণ । তেহঁ সে মজিআ গেল শীতার কারণ ॥ « caudā cau jugā āyu Laṅkāra Rāvaṇa, tēhō sē majiā gela Śītara kāraṇa » *fourteen four-yugas his life, Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā: even he went to perdition through the reason of Śītā*). The form now actually in use is তিনি « tini », both in the colloquial and in literature, which is not met with except in Late MB. . this « tini » is from an earlier colloquial form « *tēni » (cf. honorific oblique base তেনা « tēnā- », beside তি « tī », in the Standard Colloquial area : « ē > i » by Vowel Harmony), which looks like a blend of the genitive and instrumental. Assamese has preserved the old « tihā, tēhā » in the form of « tēo ».

The oblique তিহঁ « tihā- » is easily explained. The persistence of the « -h- » may be due to the influence in singular তাহঁ « tāhā- ». There has been a great deal of cross influence in the development of these forms. There are in the Standard Colloquial area the dialectal obliques তেনা « tēnā- » and তানা « tānā- » (the latter more of a 'folk' form), which retain the vocalism of the instrumental and genitive, and the full « -n- » of the nominative form « tini » and the genitive-oblique « tānā ». The genitival use of তান « tānā » (< « tāna = tēsām » : see *supra*, p. 306) is found in East Bengali : cf. also Oṛiyā « tāṅ-kā(rā) » (= « tēsām-kara-, -krta »), and Maithili « tan-i-k »,

Bhōjpuriyā « tinh- kē ». The full « -n », or nasalisation, from the genitive plural, came to be associated with the plural (and honorific) base, and hence we find in MB. the honorific genitive তাহান « tāhā-nā » (< tāha-), Early Oṛiyā « tāhā-nā ». Bengali তাঁ « tā- » can be either from « tāna », or it is merely a new formation by nasalising the singular « tā- = tāha ».

With the Bengali « tāhā-, tēnā-, tini, tā(hā)- » etc. are to be compared the Maithili « tan-ik », Magahi « tinh- », Bhōjpuriyā « tinh » ; and Awadhī ten(h) », Baghēli « tenh », Chattisgarh « tin » ; Western Hindi tin(h) » — plural or honorific forms, all with similar genitival « -n- ».

559. The old plural becoming singular honorific, new plurals were formed on the basis of their respective genitives in « -ra ». These came in use during the Early MB. period (see *supra*, pp. 734-736).

560. Early Bengali preserves relics of some of the older case forms. The instrumental « tēna > tē » is preserved in the sense of *therefore, consequently* in the ŚKK., as তে, তে « tē, tē » : e.g., p. 38, করলো খণ্ড ব্রত আর জরমত, তেঁ বা হুখিনী মোঞে « kārālō khāṇḍā-brātā āra jāṛāmā-tā, tē bā duḥkhinī mōḥē » *in my previous birth I did an unfulfilled penance, may be for that I am miserable (now)* ; p. 218, বুলি তেঁ আতি যতনে « buli tē āti jātanē » *for that I say with great care* ; p. 367, বাপ নন্দঘোষ মাঅ ঘশোদ, তেঁ তুঙ্গী মামী আক্ষারে « bāpā Nāṇḍā-ghōṣā, māā Yāsōdā, tē tumhī māmī āmbhārē » *(my) father is N., my mother Y., therefore you are my maternal uncle's wife* ; p. 359, গেহান বাণে ছেদিলেঁ মদন বাণ, তে আর না ভোলো তোক্ষার ঘোবন « gēhānā-bāṇē chēdilē Māḍānā-bāṇā, tē āra nā bhōlō (= bhōlō) tōmhārā jāubhāṇā » *with the arrow of wisdom I have shattered the arrow of Love, therefore I do not forget myself through your youth*. There is also the phrase তে কারণে « tē kāraṇē » = « tēna kāraṇēna » which occurs more than ten times ; and an extension of « tē » occurs as তেঁএ, তেঁএ, « tēē, tēē » e.g. ; এবঁ তোকে দেখিএ রূপসে । তেঁএ মোর বাঢ়িল আশে « ēbē tōkē dēkhiē rūpāsē, tēē mōrā bāṛhilā āsē » *I see thee now to be so beautiful, therefore my hope has increased* (p. 45) ; যেই দধি দুধ ঘৃত ভাঙত আছএ । পসার সাজিতৈ তেঁএ কাহ ক জুআ « jēi dādhi dudhā ghṛtā bhāṇḍā-tā āchāē, pāsārā sājitē tēē Kānhu-kā juāē » *the curds, milk and ghee that remain in the pots, K. should make a display for sale with that* (p. 179) ; and as তেঁউ « tē-ū » (< tēna + MIA.

hu = khalu) (p. 29). In later MB., this instrumental is very common as a conjunction, in the form তেই < tēi > *therefore* (= tēna + hi). The form < tēi > is archaic and poetic now, and তে কারণে, তে কারণ < tē-kārāṇē, tē-kārāṇḥ > also occur in NB. poetry.

The locative in < -hī >, < tahī > (see *supra*, pp. 745-746) occurs in OB. : e.g., < tahī caḍi nācaī > *they dance, mounted on that* (Caryā 10). Its use became obsolete as a locative in MB., where it was adopted as noun of place = *there*, to which the case affixes were added. The ŚKK. has যমুনার তীরে কদমতরু তলে তহি বসি কারু বাএ বাশে < Yāmunārā tirē kadāmā-tāru-tālē tāhi bāsi Kāubā bāē bāśē > *by the bank of Yamunā, under the Kadamba tree, sitting there K. plays on the bamboo flute* (p. 306), beside মৃগমদ কুচযুগ গগন মাঝার। তহিত নক্ষত্রগণ গজমুতীহার॥ < mṛgā-mādā kuçā-yugā gāgānā-mājhārā, tāhi-tā nākṣātrā-gaṇā gājā-muti-hārā > *your two breasts (smeared) with musk-paste is the vault of the sky, the necklace of elephant (big) pearls is the mass of stars thereon* (p. 154), where < tāhi-tā > has a pleonastic locative < -tā >. In ordinary MB., তহির, তহিঁর < tāhi-rā, tāhī-rā > are not rare, meaning both of *that place* and *his, its*. Oṛiyā also possess < tāhī-rā > beside < tā(hā)-rā > as genitive of < sē >. In Early MB. and in Late MB., the form তথি, তথী < tāthi, tāthī > *there* (< locative of MIA. < tattha > = OIA. < tatra >) is similarly used : তথির < tāthi-rā > *of him*, তথিত < tāthi-tā > *in him*, etc.

561. The distinction of gender is now lost in all Magadhan, but a feminine form for the third personal pronoun has been preserved in Assamese and in South-Eastern Rengali (Chittagong) : and traces might still exist in the other dialects. Thus in Assamese beside the masculine < si >, plural < si- hātē >, there is a feminine < tāi, tātē >, plural < tāi-hātē >; and Chittagongese shows a feminine তাই < tāi > (plural < tāi-rā >), beside the masculine হিতে, তে < hi-tē (< *si + tē = sē + tē), tē > (plural < hitē-rā, tāi-rā > : Basanta Kumar Chatterji, VSPdP., 1326, p. 112). This feminine < tāi > (the nasalisation in the Chittagong < tāi > is irregular, and might be through the infection from honorific forms) seems to be based on the Second MIA. instrumental, dative and genitive < tātē > (< OIA. instrumental < tayā >), occurring in Māgadhī as well as in other dialects (Pischel, § 425).

The absence of distinction of gender for the personal pronoun of the third person is a defect in the language, and there have been unsuccessful attempts to do away with this defect by employing the Sanskrit « sâ » for the feminine nominative, and the base « tasyā- », from the Skt. feminine genitive « tasyāḥ », for the feminine oblique : তস্যাৰ « tasyā-rā » of her, তস্যাৰ্কে « tasyā-kē » to her, etc. In some 18th and 19th century documents the « tasyā- » oblique has been found¹ (Chandra-Śekhara Kālī, VSPd., Kārya-vivaraṇī for 1316, pp. 45, 46 ; and 'Hōmīōpyāthik Bhaiṣajyābalīr Siddhi-prada Lakṣaṇa-cay,' Vol. I, 8th edition, Calcutta 1921, pp. 11 ff.)

562. Some Western (Śaurasēṇī) forms figure in OB. and in MB., especially in the Vaiṣṇava lyrics. (See *supra*, pp. 103, 115.) সো « sō » instead of the native সে « sē » is found in the Caryās (e.g., 10, 22, 27, 33, 41) : it is the nominative, but is found as an accusative also, e.g., Caryā 21, « kariha sō niccala » make him motionless ; Caryā 45, « chēwaha sō taru » cut down that tree. This form is fairly common in Vaiṣṇava lyrics and is often demonstrative adjective, as in OB. Thus « sō » is thrice as numerous as « sē » in the Caryās, a fact which is explicable through Śaurasēṇī literary influence as well as through the MS. being copied in Nepal. The genitive of « sō » in Western Apabhraṇṣa has the forms « tassu, tasu » and « tāsu » (=tassa, tasya), beside « tahō ». In the Caryās we have « tasu » (instead of the native « tā, tāha, tāh-ēra »), as in « tasu aṅga » its limbs (27), « maṇa taru, pāñca indi tasu sēhā » the mind is a tree, the five senses are its branches (45). Mait hili of literature also possesses this form. In MB., Brajabuli as well as ordinary poetic Bengali, it occurs as তছু « tāchu », with « -ch- » for « -s- » (*ante*, pp. 474, 551).

¹ In Early NB. letters and documents, for feminine forms like দেবী, দাসী, ঈমতী 'dēbī, dāsī, Śrī-matī,' the genitive and other cases are on the basis of the Skt. genitive in '-yāḥ' : দেবার, দাস্যকে, ঈমত্যকে 'dēbār, dāsyā-r, śrī-matyā-kē,' besides the regular 'dēbī-r, dāsī-kē, śrī-matī-kē' etc. A curious result of this practice has been that in Bengali epistolary and legal language, these '-yā' oblique forms have become established as nominatives, especially with names of widows, and in this way a distinction is made of widows from unmarried girls or women with husbands living.

563. Typical Dialectal Forms for the Third Personal Pronoun :

South-West Bengali

West Radha

<p>Nom. সে, তিন sē, tin—তারমেনে tārṣ-mēnē, তানমেনে tānṣ-mēnē, তানে tānnē, তাঁনে t̃ānnē.</p> <p>Gen. তার, তান tārṣ, tānṣ—তারমেনকার tārṣ-menṣ-karṣ, তান্নেকার tānnē-kārṣ, তাঁনাকার t̃ānnā-kārṣ.</p>	<p>Nom. সে তাই sē, t̃āi—তাহরা tāhā-rā, তাহারā tāhā-rā.</p> <p>Gen. তাহার tāhā-rṣ—তাহারদের t̃āhārṣ-dērṣ.</p> <p>(The Remote Demonstrative is also commonly employed)</p>
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North Bengali (Rājbañśī)

West Vanga

(Dacca, Maimansingh)

<p>Nom. সে, তাঁ, তাঁয়, তানি sē, t̃ā, t̃āy, tāni—তামারā tāṁ(ā)-rā.</p> <p>Gen. তার, তাহে, তামার t̃ā-rṣ, t̃ā-r-hē. tāṁā-rṣ—তামার t̃āṁā-rṣ, তামারার t̃āṁṣārṣ.</p>	<p>Nom. সে, তাইন, তিনি sē, tāin, tini—তারা, তানরা, তাহানরা t̃ā-rā, t̃ā(hā)n-rā.</p> <p>Gen. তাব, তান, তাহান t̃ā-rṣ, tānṣ, tāhā-nṣ—তারার t̃ā-rā-rṣ, তাগো t̃ā-gō, তানরার tānṣ-rā-rṣ.</p> <p>(The Remote Demonstrative is employed in Haijong)</p>
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East Vanga (Sylhet, Kachar)

South Vanga (Bakharganj)

S. E. Vanga (Chittagong)

<p>Nom. হে, তাইন, hē, t̃āin—হেরা, হেনরা hē-rā, hēn-rā.</p> <p>Gen. হের, তার hē-rṣ, t̃ā-rṣ—হেরার, hē-rā-rṣ, তারার t̃ā-rā-rṣ.</p>	<p>Nom. হিতে, হেতিন, তে hi-tē, hē-tiu, tē ; (fem.) তাই t̃āi—তারা, হিতেরā t̃ā-rā, hi-tē-rā, তাঁইরা t̃āi-rā.</p> <p>Gen. হেতার, তার, তান hē-tā-rṣ, t̃ā-rṣ, tānṣ, তাঁইর t̃āi-rṣ—তারার t̃ā-rā-rṣ, তানার tānā-rṣ, তাঁইরার t̃āi-rā-rṣ.</p>
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S.-W. Bengali has the characteristic «-mēṇḍ» affix for the plural contracted to «-n-». The West Rāḍha তাই «tāi» may originally have been the feminine form noted in p. 825. North Bengali uses the base তাঁ «tāḥ» (beside a fuller তিনি «tāni») for the nominative; and the form তামার «tāmārḥ», plural তাম(া)রা «tām(ā)rā» are honorific, with «-m-» for «-n-» or «-h-» of other forms of Bengali — a phonetic peculiarity which characterises this dialect: as early as c. 1555 A.C., in a letter from the Kōc king Nara-Nārāyaṇa of North Bengal to the Ahom king Su-khām-phā, we find ইমারাক পাঠাইতেছি «imā-rā-kḥ (= ihā-digā-kē) pāṭhāitē-chi» *I am sending them*, তামার মুখে «tāmḥ-ra-rḥ (= tāhā-digērḥ) mukhē» *from their mouth* (Report of the Third North Bengal Literary Conference, p. 37; VSP., II, p. 1672).

The use of the «-rā» plural for the oblique as well is noticeable in the North and East Bengali dialects. As the forms «imārā-kḥ» and «tāmārārḥ» mentioned above show, such oblique use was established by the 16th century.

The nominative «sē» becomes «hē» in many of the East Bengali dialects; and in South Vāṅga, «hē» changes «tini» to «*sini > hini», «tēnā-rḥ» to «*sēnārḥ > hēnārḥ»; and «sē > hē» is used for the oblique as well: e.g., East Vāṅga «sē-rḥ > hērḥ» *his*, «sē-rā > hērā» *they*, «sē-rārḥ > hērārḥ» *their*. The Assamese accusative «siyē» [xie, çie] shows a similar though restricted use of the nominative base for an oblique case.

The Chittagongese nominative «tē» seems to be due to the influence of the oblique base in «ta-». A peculiarity of this dialect (and of S.-E. Vāṅga generally) consists in the double forms «hi-tē, hē-tin = sē + tē, sē + tini».

In the Mayang dialect, the base «tā» is used for the nominative (genitive «tā-rḥ» singular, plural nominative «tānō», plural genitive «tānō-rḥ»).

564. The nominative সে «sē», emphatic সেই < সেই «sēi < sē-hi», is used as a demonstrative adjective, = *that*, for all genders. A noun

of multitude agglutinated to « sē, sēi » indicates the plural. The qualified word takes the case inflections, e.g., সে লোক, সেই লোক « sē, sēi lōkḥ » *that man*, সেই-সকল লোকের « sēi-sākal lōkērḥ » *of those men*, etc.

[D] THE PROXIMATE OR NEAR DEMONSTRATIVE.

565. The typical Bengali forms in the Standard Literary and Colloquial are :

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural = Honorific	New Plural	Double Plural= Honorific
Nominative	এ ē (earlier এহা ēhā), neuter ইহা ihā	এই ēhā, ইহা ihā, ইনি ini	এরা ērā, ইহারা ihārā (এসব, এগুলি ē-sābḥ, ē-gulā)	এঁরা, এঁয়ারা ē(ā)rā, এনারা ēnārā, ইহারা ihārā
Oblique	এ, ইহা ē-, ihā- (earlier এহা ēhā)	এঁ, এঁয়া, এনা ē-, এদিগ ēdigā-, এদের ēdēr-, ইহা ihā-	এঁ, এঁয়া, এনা ē-, এদিগ ēdigā-, এদের ēdēr-, ইহা ihādigā-, -dērḥ	এঁ, এঁয়া, এনা ē-, এদিগ ēdigā-, এদের ēdēr-, ইহা ihādigā-, -dērḥ

566. In Vedic and Sanskrit there are two pronouns to indicate the near demonstrative = *this, this here*: [i] the pronoun « ē-ta- », (nom. sg. masculine « ē-sah », feminine « ē-ṣā », neuter « ē-tad ») which is a combination of a base « ē- » (= Avestan « aē- », < Indo-Iranian « *ai- » < Indo-European « *ei-, *oi- ») *plus* the third personal bases « *to-, » (« *so- »); and [ii] the composite pronoun which is in the nom. sg. masculine « ayam », feminine « iyam », neuter « idam », and which is made up of the four defective pronominal bases: « a- » (as in Sanskrit « a-smāi, a-sya, a-syāi; ā-bhyaḥ, ā-sām », etc.), « an- » (as in « an-ēna,

an-ayōḥ >), < i- > (< i-y-am, i-d-am > ; in *guṇa* forms < *ai-, ē- >, as in < ay-am >, Vedic < ēnā = *ai-nā, ayā = *ai-ā >, ēbhiḥ, ē-śām, ē-ṣu = *ai-bhis, *ai-śām, *ai-ṣu >, etc.), and < im- > (as in < im-am, im-ām, im-āḥ, im-ān > etc.). In OIA. dialects other than those which formed the basis of the literary speeches (Vedic and Sanskrit), it is not impossible that each of these bases, namely, < a-, an-, i- (ai- > ē-, ay-), im- > existed in their entire declensions.

The basis or root form of the Bengali proximate demonstrative is < ē- >, dialectally < i-, I- > : the affix < -ha > of the oblique is genitival, and the nasalised forms, or forms in < -n- >, were originally plural genitives. The older form for the nominative seems to be < ē- >. The Caryās know < ē- > (e.g., Carvā 6, < ē hana cchādī > *abandoning this forest* ; 28, < ē bana hinḍai > *wanders in this forest* ; 33, < ē tailō > *in this threefold universe* ; 39, < ē jaga > *this world*), beside < ēha > (Caryā 13, < ēha sahāva > *this nature*), and < ēhu > (Caryā 22, < ja ēhu jaati > for < *jē ēhu jugati > : cf. Comm., < ē-ā hi yuktiḥ >). The eMB. of the ŚKK. also shows < ē- >, in the forms like এ, এআ, এহা, এই, এহি, এসি, এহাএ, এহাক, এহাত, এহার, এহো < ē, ēā, ēhā, ēi, ēhi, ē-si, ēhā-ē, ēhā-kā, ēhā-tā, ēhā-rā, ēhō > occurring some four score of times, while a solitary < i- > form occurs in ইহার < ihārā >. In the NB. Standard Colloquial < ē- > also is the word, < ihā > belonging to the literary language and to the dialects.

The source of the Bengali < ē- > would thus seem to be the OIA. base < ēta- >. The *guṇa* form of the defective pronoun < i- >, as < *ai- > ay-, ē- > can of course be equally the source of a NIA. < ē- >. But MIA. remains do not register a fully declined < i- > demonstrative : Aśōkan Prakrits and Pali both show that the base < im- > was the one most widely current in the First MIA. period, with the simple < i- > and < a- > bases considerably restricted in use. The same thing is noticeable in Second MIA. as well. The < i-, im- > bases seem to have continued in the Western Apabhraṃśa of literature, specially in the form < āya- >, beside < ēya-, ēa- > = < ēta- >. In the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, however, it seems that only the base < ēta- > ēa- > (genitive < ētasya > *ēaha >) was current,

which gave the Bengali « ē, (ēhā) ». The base « ima- » of MIA. is not represented in NIA. in which its expected development would be « *iwa- ».

Saurasēnī Apabhraṇśa as written in Eastern India (in the Buddhist Dōhās shows numerous instances of the nominative « ēhu » (= ēśah). What exactly was the nominative of the « ēta- » base in Māgadhi Apabhraṇśa cannot be determined. The Māgadhi Prakrit forms are « ēśē, ēśā, ē(d)aṁ ». The « -ś- » apparently dropped through influence of the neuter and of the oblique. The genitive « ēha » was strengthened to « ēhā » in Early MB. The genitive plural « ētānām (= ētēśām) > ēāṇa(m) » is the source of oblique honorific bases « ēnā-, ēhā-, ē- » etc. The NB. honorific nominative ইনি « ini » presents a parallel case with তিনি « tini » (p. 823) : Early Bengali employed ইহ, ইহো, এহো « ihā, ihō, ēhō », which we occasionally find written in MSS. as ক্রিহ, ক্রিহো, ক্রেহো « nīhā, nīhō, nēhō ».

The alternation of « i, ē » is a commonplace thing in NIA. phonology. The « i » forms developed in Bengali quite early : the solitary ইহার « ihā-rā » in the ŚKK. shows that it goes back to the 14th century at least, and ইহার, ইহারে, ইহাকে « ihā-rā, ihā-rē, ihā-kē » etc. are common enough in MB. The Late MB. prose preferred these « i- » forms, whence the NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » took them up. Oṛiyā preserves the earlier broader vowel, like Standard Colloquial Bengali : « ē, ēhā, ēhi ». In MB. and dialectal Bengali we find a form ইহান « ihān », honorific genitive singular, = « ihā » + « -na » of the plural. In Assamese we have singular nominative « i », oblique « iyā- », plural « i-hāt- » : the honorific is « ēo » = MB. « ēhā » ; and there is a feminine form in Assamese, « ēi », corresponding to « tāi » *she* (*supra*, p. 825), which seems to be based on the MIA. feminine genitive « ētāē, *ēdāē, *cāē », agreeing with « tāē » for « tasyāḥ ».

The Bihārī dialects show « I, i » for the nominative, and « ēh-, ē-, ēhi- » for the oblique ; and corresponding to « ēhā-, ihā- » of Bengali are to be found in Maithilī « hina-k < *inha-ka » (honorific oblique), and Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā « inh- » (plural base).

567. The OIA. « ēta- » base is found to be represented in most other NIA. Typical forms are given below :

	Nominative		Oblique	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Awadhī	I, yū (= ēhū)	in, ē	ē-, ēh-, ēhi-, yāhi-	in-
Hindōstānī	yah, yēh, yih (< *ēaha)	same as Singular	is-	in-, inh-
Brajbhākhā	yah, yih (< *ēaha)	yē, yaū	is-, yā- (= *ēaha)	ini-, in-, inhaū-
Panjābī (Eastern)	ih, ēh	ih, ēh	ēs-, is-, ih-	ēh-, inh-
Lahndī	ē, ēh, ī	ē, ēh, nēh, in, ī, Ih	is-, ih-, ī-	inhā-, inhē-
Sindhī	hī, hē, hīu, hīa	hī, hē	hina-	hine-, hinane-
Rājasthānī	yō, yā (ō, ā)	yai, yē, (ē, āi)	ai-, in(i)-, ī-, aṇi-	inā-, inā-, in-, yā-, ā-
Gujarātī	ē	ēō	ē-	ēō-
Marāṭhī	hā [m.], hī [f.], hē [n.]	hē, hyā, hī	hyā- (yā-), hī-(ī-)	hyā- (yā-)
Khaskurā	yō	ina, in(i)	yes-, yas-	ina-, in(i)-

Of the above forms, the oblique singular in « -s- », as in Western Hindi (Hindōstānī, Brajbhākhā), Panjābī and Lahndī, as well as in Khaskurā (and the Western Pabārī dialects), is based on the OIA. « ētasya » (genitive of the « ēta- » base), which seems to have become « *ētissa » in First MIA. (cf. « ētisa » in Aśōkan the Shahbazgarhi: a similar change of the original vowel to « -i- » we note in the instrumental « *ētina < ētēna », which figures in the Second MIA., Māgadhī and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, as

« ēdīnā » and « ēīnā » respectively): « *ētissa < *edissa > *ēissa » would be the development in Later MIA. It is quite likely that like « kissa, kiśśa, kiśa » = OIA. « kasya » which from the Early MIA. period was specialised from its genitive employ, and became almost an independent form (cf. Bengali কিসে, কিসের « kisē, kisē-r̥ṣ » *by what, of what* : see *infra*, under 'Interrogative'), « *ēissa » also was specialised, first as an ablative, and then as an oblique. This « *ēissa » could easily be the source of the NIA. « is-, ēs-, yes-, yas- » etc. In East Bengali (Dacca) when one is at a loss for a word the expletive হৈসে « isē » is frequently used (= *namely, this er, what*): this « isē » seems to be the equivalent of the W. Hindi « is- » in Bengali (cf. the similar use of « ēthi » in Bhojpuriyā : p. 834). The normal genitive form in « -ha » gave the oblique in the other NIA. dialects, and in many cases this oblique was shifted to the nominative. The nominative plural « yai, ye, ē », as in Western Hindi, in Rājasthānī and in Panjābī, possibly represents the instrumental « *ēēhi = ētēhim = ētāih ». In Gujarātī « ē » has taken up the sense of the remote demonstrative, and « -ō » is its normalised plural affix. The nasal « ṇ » (or nasalisation of the vowel derived from the nasal) in the Rājasthānī oblique singular comes from the OIA. pronominal base « ēna- » *he, she, it*, which was continued in MIA. (Pischel, § 431); but it is not preserved elsewhere in NIA. In the Apabhraṇśa source of Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, the « ēta- » and « ēna- » bases were merged into this demonstrative (Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR,' § 89). The Sindhī oblique *e.g.*, « hina » is probably similarly to be explained. The prothetic « h- » in Sindhī is peculiar, but it may be by metathesis, from the genitive oblique « *ēaha > *ēha > hē, hī »: « u, a » are recent masculine and feminine affixes. The Marāṭhī forms present some obscurities (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 162, 208): but can it be that in the formation of Marāṭhī « hā » etc. there was a blending in Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṇśa of forms like « ēha- » (= ēśab, ētasya) and « āa-, āya- » (= ayam), such as we find in the Western Apabhraṇśa? Gujarātī also has « ā » *this*, which is derived from « āya-, āa- » as found in Jaina Apabhraṇśa of the West, = Second MIA. « aya- » < OIA. nom. masc. « ayam ».

Sinhalese has the bases « ū, ē (ē) » for the third personal pronoun : of these, « ū » corresponds to the Remote Demonstrative of Bengali, and is cognate with it (see *infra*), and « ē (ē) » is traced by Geiger to « *ayam* » of MIA. The proper demonstrative bases of Sinhalese are « *ma-* » *this*, which is derived ultimately from the OIA. and MIA. « *ima-* », and « *ara* » *that*, representing the OIA. stem « *āra-* » *far* ('*Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen*,' pp. 66, 67).

568. The differences in gender have not been inherited in NIA. In Bengali and other Magadhan, a possible instrumental « *ēē, *ē » (= *ētēna*) seems to have merged into the nominative and oblique, and also a possible plural instrumental > nominative, such as we find, for instance, in the Brajbhākhā « *yai, ē, yā* ». An expected locative in OB. and MB. would be « *ēhī, ēhi* » : this seems to occur in NB. as *এই* « *ēi* », as in *এই যে* « *ēi jē* » *here it is*, *এইখানে* « *ēi khānē* » *here*, *এই হেথায়* « *ēi hēthāy* » *here at this place*, etc.

Corresponding to the form *তথি* « *tāthi* », OB. seemed to have possessed « **ēthi* ». We have « *ēthi* » in Oṛiyā, in the oblique, as an equivalent of « *ēhā* » ; and « *ēthi* » occurs in Bhōjpurīyā as an expletive like *ইসে* « *iṣē* » of dialectal Bengali. Connected with this possible OB. « **ēthi* » we have the form *ইথে* « *ithē* » *in this* in MB. (from the ŚKK. downwards).

569. Dialectal Forms for this pronoun agree in general with those for the Third Personal pronoun.

S.-W. Bengali has nominative *এউ* « *ēu* », really an emphatic form, = « *ē+hu* ». The expected plural forms of the type of « *ē(u)nē, ē(u)mēnṣ-kārṣ, ē(u)nnē-kārṣ* » do not feature in the LSI.

West Rāḍha agrees with the Standard Colloquial in having *এ* « *ē* », but the vulgar dialect has a preference for *ই, ঐ*, « *i, ī* », owing to contiguity with *Bihārī* ; and the full forms *ইহার, ইহাকে, ইহারদের, ইহাদিগে* « *ihā-rṣ, ihā-kē, ihārṣ-dērṣ, ihādigē* » etc. occur in it.

In North Bengali, *ই* « *i* » as well as *এই, এও* « *ēi, ēo* » figure for the singular, and *ইমরা, ইমরাক, ইমরার* « *imṣrā, imṣrā-kṣ, imṣrā-rṣ* » etc. for the plural, corresponding to *তামরা* « *tāmṣrā* » etc. (p. 828).

In East Bengali, we have এ < ē > in the singular, plural এরা < ē-rā >, genitive plural এরাৰ এরগো < ērārḡ, ērḡ-gō >, and ইনি < ini > is singular, with plural ইয়ানরা, এনাঁরার < ēānḡ-rā, ēnā-rā-rḡ > etc. for the honorific. The full < -n > rather than the nasalisation is preferred.

570. Like সে, সেই < sē, sēi >, এ < ē >, with its emphatic এই < ēi < ēhi > is used as a demonstrative adjective.

[E] THE REMOTE OR FAR DEMONSTRATIVE ও, উহা < ō, uhā >.

571. The forms in Bengali are—

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural	New Plural from Singular	Double Plural from Old Plural
Nominative	ও ō (earlier ওহা ōhā)[neuter উহা uhā]	উনি uni (earlier উই uhā, ওই ōhā)	ওরা ōrā, উহারা uhārā (ওসব, ওগুলো ō-sābḡ, ō-gula >	ওঁরা ōrā, ওনারা ōnārā, উইারা uhārā
Oblique	ও ō-, ওহা ōhā- উহা uhā-	ওঁ ō- (ওহা ōhā-), ওনা ōnā-, উই uhā-	ওদিগ ōdigā-, ওদের ōdērḡ, উহাদিগ uhādigā, etc.	ওঁদিগ, -দের ō-digā, -dērḡ, ওনা-দের ōnā-dērḡ, উই-দিগ uhā-digā, etc.

572. In Indo-Iranian, there were the following demonstrative bases which gave the remote demonstrative in the Indic and Iranic languages: [i] a base < *ava- > (= Indo-European < *owo- >: Old Church Slav < ovŭ >), giving the Iranian pronoun < ava > *that* as in Old Persian and Avestan (which has become < ō, ū > in New Persian = *he, that*, as opposed to < ē, i > *this* < Old Pers. < ai-ta- > = Skt. < ē-ta- >, and < in > *this* = Skt. < ē-na- >). In Indo-Aryan, this base seems to have been current dialectally, although in the R̥ig-Veda alone it is preserved only in the genitive and locative dual form < avōḥ >; [ii] a base < am-ū (am-ŭ), am-i > which is characteristic of Vedic and Sanskrit. It is obscure in origin, and seems to be an extension of < a-m >, the accusative of the simple pronominal base < ā- > (= Indo-European < *ē, *ō >), with < u > and < i > particles,

into « am-u-, am-I- » which was established as a pronoun (cf. Vedic « tam-u, idam-u; also cf. « imam » < « im », accusative of a pronoun « i », *plus* particle « -am ».) This base « amu, amī » is not found outside India. [iii] For the nominative masculine and feminine, Indo-Iranian had the forms « * sã-u, * sã-u », a combination of the third personal nominative pronouns « sã, sã » *plus* the particle « -u », beside a neuter « tad- u ». (These are found in the Old Greek as « ho-u-, * hã-u-, * tod-u- < tou- » as in « hou-tos, hau-tē, tou-to ».) The masculine « * sã-u » and the feminine « * sã-u » apparently were used one for the other. In Iranian these became « * hã-u, * hã-u », and Old Persian generalised the masculine (as « hauv ») for both genders, and Avestan the feminine « hãu ». In Indo-Aryan also, the feminine form was taken up for both the genders ; and there was prothesis of the pronominal base « ă- », giving « ă-sã-u ». (The proper masculine form from Indo-Iranian « * (ă-)sã-u » would have been « * asō » in Sanskrit.) For the neuter, a new formation « ad-as » (= neuter pronominal « a-d », cf. « ta-d, ya-d » etc., and a suffix « -as ») was created in OIA.

Leaving aside the nominative « asãu, adas », it is clear that in OIA. « amū-, amū-, amī- » formed the base for demonstrative, with a possible « ava- » base which is not noticed in Vedic and Skt. except in the dual form « avōḥ ».

The base of this pronoun in Bengali is « ō, ōhã », and not « u », which is later, and dialectal (cf. the case of « ē, ēha » and « I » of the near demonstrative). The ŚKK., however, shows « ō » only in the genitive ওহার « ōhã-rã » (twice), and it is « ū, u » in the nominative (thrice). The West Rāḍha dialect even now prefers « u » to « ō ». There is no instance of this pronoun in the Caryās. The ordinary demonstrative « sē, tãhã » seems to have been more popular than the « ō (u) » demonstrative in OB. and MB. This was certainly the case in some other forms of Magadhan, e.g., Assamese and Oṛiyã, which use « sē, sēi » (in Assamese = [xi, xei]) and « sēhi », and do not possess the « ō » form. In the case of some of the pronominal derivatives, Bengali, too, prefers the bases « sē-, tã- » to « ō, ō > ă » : thus, সেখান « sē-khãṇḍ » beside ওখান « ō-khãṇḍ » there, NB. তবে

« tābē » rather than MB. *অবে* « ābē » *then*. In the Śaurasēni Apabhraṇśa, however, as well as in the Avahaṭṭha of the 'Prākṛta-Paingala' and of Vidyāpati and others (cf. p. 91), « ō » is found: *e.g.*, Hēma-candra (verse 45, under Apabhraṇśa) « jāi puechahu ghara vaḍḍāi, tō vaḍḍā ghara ōi » *if thou askest about big houses, then big houses are there* (« ōi » = « *avē », locative of « *ava »: Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 432); verse 97, « ō gōri-muha-nijjiaū baddali lukku mianku » *that moon, more beautiful than even Gaurī's face, is hid in the cloud*; 'Prākṛta Paingala' (ed. Bib. Ind.), p. 139, « ō bakkala, ō pasu, ō pāsāṇa »; p. 348, « saśi ō » (= śaśi sah); Vidyāpati (Kirtti-latā) — « bāla-canda, Vijjāvai-bhāsā, duhū nabī laggaī dujjāṇa-hāsā: ō Paramēsara-Hara-sira sōhai, i niceaya nāra-maṇa mōhai » *the scorn of bad men cannot touch these two — the young moon and Vidyāpati's language: that adorns the crest of the Supreme Deity Hara, this certainly pleases the mind of gallants*; etc. In the Apabhraṇśa which is connected with Gujarātī, as in the Jaina writers, the « ō » demonstrative does not occur: neither is it found in Marāṭhī.

The source of NIA. « ō » (and its variants in the different languages, as below) would seem to be the OIA. base « *ava », which looks like having been current in the spoken dialects, although ignored by the literary speeches—Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali and the various Prakrits—and came to its own only in Late MIA. literature through occurrence in the popular poetry in Apabhraṇśa. The base « amu- » is quite popular in Pali, it is common enough in Second MIA.; its development in Late MIA. and NIA. would have been « *aū-, *aũ- »: this may have existed in Late MIA., but it gave place to the colloquial « *ava- > ō- ». The « ava, ō » pronoun has always been a living one in Iranian, and it occurs in Dardic (*e.g.*, Šinā): it can well have been a living one in some OIA. and MIA. dialects.

The oblique, honorific and secondary plural forms run parallel to those for « ē », and there is the alteration between « ō, ū (u) » similar to that between « ē, i (i) ». In the Bihārī dialects, « ū, ũ » are the nominative, and « ōh-, ō-, uī- » are found for the oblique: and corresponding to the honorific « uni, uhā- » etc. of Bengali, Maithilī has « huna-k < *unha-ka », and Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā have « unh- ».

573. The «ava-» base is thus represented in some of the other NIA. speeches :

	Nominative		Oblique	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Awadhī	ū, wai	on, un, ō	ō-, obī-, ōh-, wabī-	on-, un-
Hindōstānī	wah, wōh, wuh	wē	us-	un-
Brajbhākhā	wah, wuh, wō	wē, wai	wis-, wābī-, wā-	un(i)-, win(i)-, unhaū-(winhaū-)
Panjābī	uh, ōh	uh, ōh	us-, uh-, ōs-	ōh-, unh-
Lahndī	ō, ū, ūh	ū, ū, ō, ōh, ūhē	us-, uh-, ū-	unhā-, unhē-
Sindhī	hū, hō, huā	hū, hō, hōē	huna-	hunc-, hunanc-
Rājasthānī	wō, u, wōh, wā	wāī, vī, wai	wāī-, ū-, un(ī)-, wāī-	un-, unāī-, wāīā-, wā-
Khaskurā	u	una, unī, un	us-	una-, unī-, un-

The oblique singular «-s-» forms of Western Hindī, Panjābī and Lahndī, and Pahārī (Khaskurā), are apparently based on the old genitive «*avasya» > MIA. «*avussa», paralleling «ētasya > ētissa», «kasya > kissa». The plural nominatives, Western Hindī «wē», Lahndī «uhē», Rājasthānī «wai, wāī, vī», would be from an instrumental nominative plural, «*avahi, hī- > *avēbhiḥ». The «-ṇ-, -n-» in the Rājasthānī and Sindhī singular oblique would appear to be by the analogy of the Near Demonstrative. Gujarātī and Marāṭhī do not possess a form corresponding to this «*ava- > ō, ū». Sinhalese has «u», equally derived from «ava» (Geiger : see *supra*, p. 834).

574. There is a NB. locative adverb ૐ «ōi» *there*, which represents either a Māgadhī Apabhraṇśa «*ōi» < *avē » as in Hēma-candra, *supra*, p. 837), or the locative in «-hi» (*ōhi = OIA. ava+ -dhi). ૐ «ōi» is

commonly written অই « *ai* », but that does not alter its « *ō* » pronunciation. There is no « *-thi* » form in Bengali as a substitute for the oblique (cf. তথি, ইথে « *tāthi, ithē* », *supra*, pp. 825, 834), which we see in the Bihārī dialects (e.g., Bhōjpurīyā « *ōtthu, ōthuā* » *that*, Maithilī « *uthī, uthi* »).

575. Dialectal forms for « *ō, u* » run parallel to those for « *ē, i* », with only substitution of the back vowels proper to this pronoun, and it is unnecessary to describe them. In many of the dialects, for instance in parts of West Rāḍha as well as E. Bengal, as a characteristic phonetic habit, অ « *ā* » is substituted for ও « *ō* ».

576. The emphatic ওই « *ōi* » < ওহি « *ōhi* » (frequently written অই « *ai* ») = *that, that there*, is used as a demonstrative adjective.

577. There is a superficial resemblance between the NIA. demonstrative bases and those of Dravidian, which has the bases « *i-* » for the proximate, « *a-* » for the remote and a less common « *u-* » for the intermediate demonstrative (or « *iv-, av-, uv-* »: C. P. Venkatarama Ayyar, 'Madras University Dravidic Studies,' I, 1919). But that resemblance is only accidental: the NIA. forms can be easily traced back to OIA., and Dravidian influence here is extremely problematic. The Kōl demonstrative pronouns are more complicated in their construction and employment (cf. Santali, in LSI., IV, pp. 43-44), and here the question of influence is even more unlikely. The question of Tibeto-Burman influence seems to be still more remote.

[D] THE RELATIVE PRONOUN.

578. The forms are—

	Singular		Plural	
	Old Singular	Old Plural Honorific	New Plural	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	যে jē [neuter যা(হা) jā(hā)]	জেই jēhā, জিই jīhā, যিনি jini	যা হা রা jā(hā)rā	যা(হা)রা jā(hā)rā
Oblique	যা(হা) jā(hā)	যা হা jā(hā)-, বেনা jēnā-	যা(হা) দিগ jā(hā)- digā-, যা(হা) দেৱ jā(hā)dērā-	যা(হা) দিগ jā(hā)- digā-, যা(হা) দেৱ jā(hā)dērā-

The pronoun is written with য < y = j > in NB., but in OB. and MB. জ < j > was preferred, although য was also used in MB. through Skt. influence (the OIA. source of the word in Skt. < ya- > being well-known).

579. The source of this pronoun is the OIA. relative < ya- >. The nominative যে < jē > = Māgadhī < yē >, OIA. < yaḥ >, has developed like < sē > from < sa, saḥ >: Assamese has < ji > [zi]. A plural nominative < jē > (< *yahi = *yēhi >, MIA. instrumental plural: cf. W. Hindī < jē > plural of < jō >) may have merged into the singular. The honorific is based on the plural genitive < yāna(m), yāṇa(m) > = < yēṣām >: the < ē, i > vocalism in জেই, জিই, যিনি < jēhā, jihā, jini > may be due to the nominative. The oblique is the strengthened form of a genitive < jāha >. In Assamese, the neuter oblique has the < i > vowel, being based on the nominative (masc. nom. < ji >, oblique < jā- >: neuter nom. < ji >, oblique < ji-hā >).

Oṛiyā and Bihārī in the main agree with Bengali: thus—

	Old Singular	Old Plural = Honorific	New Plural
Oṛiyā	jē, jāhā-	jēū, jāhā-	jē-mānē
Maithilī	jē, jāhi, ja-	jani-k (genitive)	jē-sabh
Magahī	jē (jaun), jēh-	jinh- (oblique pl.)	jinh-ak-an-i
Bhōjpuriyā	jē (jawan, jaun), jēh-	jinh-(oblique pl.)	jinh-kā

Eastern Hindī (e.g., Awadhī, Chattis-garhī) shows < jē > in the nominative, representing the vocalism of Ardha-Māgadhī. The form < jaun > (cf. < taun > for the 3rd personal pronoun) agrees with < kaun > (see *infra*, under 'Interrogative'). The OIA. < ya- > is preserved in other NIA., excepting Sinhalese, which has adopted the Dravidian device of employing adjectival relative participles instead of the relative pronoun, and this pronoun has consequently dropped off.

580. OB. forms :

Nominative : < jē jē āilā tē tē gēlā > *those who came went away* (Caryā 7); < jē jē gēlā > *he who* (or *those who*) *went* (Caryā 15); < ja ēhu jaati > (= < *jē ēhu jugati >, following the Commentary : Caryā 26): < jē bham-anti > (plural, < *jahi, *yēbhiḥ >: Caryā 22) ;

Accusative : « jā ēthu cāhāma » (the printed text has « vāhāma » : cf. Commentary, « yam paśyāmy atra » : Caryā 21) : « jā laī acchama » (Comm. = « gṛhitvā tiṣṭhāmi » : Caryā 29) ;

Instrumental : « jē ajarāmara hōi » (Caryā 3) ; « jēna (archaic) tuṭai avaiṇā-gavaṇā » (Comm. = « tēna yātāyātaṃ trutyati » : Caryā 21) ;

Genitive : « jā, jāhēra » (see *supra*, p. 752) ;

Locative : « jahi » (Caryā 31).

Besides, there are numerous (some dozen) instances of the Western Ap. nominative « jō » in the Caryās, and one or two instances of the corresponding Western genitive « jāsu » (in one case, as « jasu » in Caryā 40, it is used for the locative). This « jō » figures in Brajabuli poetry, and « jāsu, jasu » occur there as बहू « jāchu » (see *supra*, pp. 473-474).

The locative « jahi » is used as the oblique base in MB., esp. in the genitive, e.g., बहिर « jāhirā » : cf. Oṛiyā neuter « jāhi » = masculine and feminine « jā(hā) ». Corresponding to « tāthi » (see p. 825), MB. has बथि « jāthi », as in locative बथित « jāthi-tā », genitive बथिर « jāthi-rā » (see *supra*, p. 297).

581. The dialectal forms correspond to those for the demonstratives. The relative, with its emphatic form বেই « jēi (< jēhi) », is used as an adjective.

[G] THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN.

582. The following are the forms for the masculine and feminine :

	Old Singular	Old Plural > Honorific	Old Plural	Double Plural = Honorific
Nominative	কে kē [adj. কোন্ kōṇḍ]	কেই kehā, কিনি kini	কা হা রা kā- (hā)-rā	কা(হা রা kâ(hā)-iā
Oblique	কা হা kâ(hā)-	কা হা kâ(hā)-	কা হা দিগ kâ- (hā)digā-, কা হা দেৱ kâ(hā)dērā	কা(হা দিগ kâ(hā)- digā-, কা হা দেৱ kâ(hā)dērā- (কেনাদের kēnādērā)

The neuter has a separate form :

Singular Nominative कि, की ki, kī (adj. = ক়োন্ kōṇṣ) ;

Oblique कि ki, क़िसे kiṣē (from base « kīsa- ») ;

Genitive क़िसेर kiṣērṣ ;

Plural : कि-सब, कि-सकल, क़ोन्-गुला ki-sābṣ, ki-sākālṣ, kōṇṣ-gulā, etc.

583. The nominative के « kē » is the form which characterises all Eastern speeches, Eastern Hindī included. Assamese also shows « kē » instead of the expected « *ki » < Māgadhī « kē », and Oṛiyā also has « kē ». The neuter « ki », from common OIA. « kim » (not « kad », corresponding to « tad, ētad, yad »), is a characteristic form, and this apparently brought about the introduction of « kē » for the masculine.

ক়োন্ « kōṇṣ » was originally indefinite, and in its emphatic form ক়োন্, ক়োনো, ক়োনও « kōṇā, kōṇō, kōṇāō < kōṇā-hō » the indefinite sense still survives. The pronoun is found as « kaun, kōṇ, kaun, kōn » in most NIA., and has its parallel in the other bases, like « taun, jaun ». It occurs in Western Apabhraṇśa as « kavaṇu, kavaṇa- ». Hoernle derives « kavaṇu » from an Apabhraṇśa quantitative pronoun « kēvaḍu » ('Gauḍian Grammar,' p. 291) : but this is inadmissible. Pischel traces it to an OIA. diminutive or pejorative base « kava- » (from the old pronoun « ka- », and from « ku- » *bad* as well) which we find in Skt. forms like « kava-patha » *bad way*, « kavōṣṇa » *slightly warm* ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 428). The « -ṇ- » remains obscure still. But « kaun, jaun, taun » apparently form one group : and there is no pejorative sense in this indefinite form. It seems likely that the source of the « -vaṇa, *-vuṇa, -un » forms is the OIA. indeclinable « punaḥ » : « kaḥ punaḥ », apparently regarded as one group from Early MIA. times, « *ka-puna- » > Second and Late MIA. « *kavuṇa- > kavaṇa ». It is a noteworthy fact that « kaun, kōn » is found only in the nominative in the Northern Indian languages, although the oblique use is found in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī : thus the genitive of ক়োন্ « kōṇṣ » in Bengali is ক়ার « kārṣ », in Hindōstānī « kis-kā », but in Gujarātī it is « kōṇ-nō » and in Mārāṭhī « kōṇā-cā ». In the ŚKK., the forms are ক়োণ, ক়োণ « kṣaunṣ, kōṇṣ », beside ক়োমণ « kōmāṇṣ = kōṣṣāṇṣ », and emphatic ক়োণোহো, ক়োহো

« kōṇō-hō, kōnhō ». It seems that in the Early MB. of the ŚKK. there was a confusion between the uncontracted কণ, কমন « kāmāṇā, kāmāṇā = kāwāṇā » and the interrogative pronominal adjective কেমন, কেমন্ত, কেমত « kē-māṇā, kē-māntā, kē-mātā » (see *infra*). Early Middle Bengali কোণ « kāṇā » has its counterpart in Oṛiyā « kāṇā-si » *only, some*; and the equivalent of « *kāwāṇā » of MB. (in MB. it is always an adjective) in Oṛiyā is « kāṇā, kāṇā » = *what*.

584. The oblique « kā(hā)- » is based on the « -ā(ha) » genitive; and the honorific is the genitive plural, MIA. « kāṇa(m) » for OIA. « kēṣām », with vocalism from the nominative.

The neuter base কিস « kisa- » goes back to the Early MIA. genitive « kissa » (which is already present in Pali) or « kiśśa » (as in Māgadhi) (= OIA. *kasya*). The « -i- » vowel seems to have been due to the influence of the neuter base « ki- » (« *kisyā > kissa, kiśśa »: cf. Pali locative « ki-smiṁ, ki-mhi », beside « ka-smiṁ, ka-mhi »). During the Early MIA. period, this form extended its sense to the ablative (in addition to the dative), and became stereotyped into the neuter nominative as well, in the sense of *what*: and « kissa, kiśśa > kīsa, kīśa » was loosely compounded with a following noun (especially in the ablative), in Second MIA. (cf. Pischel, § 428). It seems that on the analogy of « kissa », other forms like « *tissa, *ētissa, *yissa » etc. were built up, which ultimately gave the oblique singular forms of the pronouns in Western Hindī and Panjābī. Of these, the base « kisa- » alone occurs in Standard Bengali: it is found in OB. independently, without an affix: e.g., Caryā 6, « acchahū kisa » *in what am I*; Caryā 29, « kāhērē kiśa (= kīsa) bhaṇi māi doi piricchā » = « *kasya kim ukṭvā mayā siddhāntaḥ pradātavyaḥ* » as the Commentary explains; *ibid*, « Lui bhaṇai, bhāiba (= bhāwiba) kiś (= kīsa) » = « *Lūyī-pādaḥ siddhācaryō hi vadati, mayā... kim bhāvyam* ». In the ŚKK, we have post-positional forms, like কিসক, কিসকে, কিসে (also কীহে), কিসের, কিসেরে « kiśā-kā, kiśā-kē, kiśē (kiśē), kiśērā, kiśērē ». The base form occurs in Oṛiyā as « kiśā »; Assamese has it as « kihā » (< kiśā), neuter pronoun (beside a neuter « jihā » < « jiśā = *yasya* »). The Bihārī dialects do not, however, show the « kisa » base. The oblique of « ki » is « kiśā- » in NB.

but in eMB. we have also the oblique use of « ki » (e.g., किके « ki-kē » in the SKK).

585. The honorific is based on MIA, « kāṇa(m) = kēṣām » : the genitive कहान « kāhā-nā » is found in MB. In Maithilī, it is the honorific base, « kan-ikṣ », The « -n- » oblique occurs as usual in other NIA. as well.

586. The locative कहि, कहि « kahī, kahi » of OB., and MB., is found in NB. in the form कहे « kâi » *where* : in the Standard Coll., कहे « kâi » is used in response to a statement or question, but in E. Bengali, it is a general word for *where*. The use of « kâhi » as the oblique base is found in MB. : e.g., कहिर « kâhi-râ » of *where* = *whose* ; also in Oṛiyā, e.g., « kâhī-râ ». The other locative adverb कथि « kâthi » is found in MB., also as an oblique base : e.g., (SKK). कथिर « kâthi-râ » *whose*. As « kâthi », it also forms the locative base of the neuter in the Bihārī dialects (especially Maithilī).

In NB. there is the form कय « kây » (in the standard language also as क' « kâ ») *how many*, which is from OIA. « kati ».

587. The forms in OB. :

Nominative indefinite masculine « kē-hō » (Caryā 18) ; neuter « kâhi kariai » *what is done* (Caryā 1 : locative-oblique used for nominative, « kâha ») ;

Accusative : neuter « kiṣa, kiṣ=kisa » (Caryās 6, 29) ; « kâh-ē » (Caryā 6) : « kâ » (Caryā 39) :

Genitive : fem. « kâhari » (Caryā 10) ;

Dative : « kâhērē » (Caryā 29) ;

Locative : « kahī » (Caryās 7, 31, 49) ; « kâhi » (= « kâha » + locative affix : Caryā 43).

As an interrogative particle, « ki » occurs in OB. in some instances, e.g., Caryā 33 « duhila dudhu ki bēṇṭē sāmāi » (see *supra*, p. 263) ; « bhāga (= bhāṅga) tarāṅga ki sōsaī sāara » *can broken breakers suck up the sea ?* (Caryā 42). An archaic « kiṃ » is found in some instances (22, 34, 41). Besides there are the common Western forms—nominative « kō » (16, 29), indefinite « kōē, kōi » (as in 42, 43), genitive « kâsu » (23).

The dialectal forms do not call for any special comment.

[H] THE INDEFINITE PRONOUN.

588. কেহো, কেহ, কেউ «kēhō, kēhā, kēu» occurs only in the singular. It is a nominative Māgadhi form, coming from OIA. «kaḥ api» > Māgadhi «*kē' pi» > *kē' vi > *kē-va > «*kē-wa, kē-o» > «kēha, kēhō» (with influence from the emphatic particle «hu, hō»): cf. Oṛiyā «kēi» (= *kēvi). Assamese has «kūo, kēo», Magahi «kēū», Maithili «kēo», Bhōjpurīyā «kēhū, kēū»; Eastern Hindī as a Prācya speech shows the «ē» vowel: «kēū, kēhū». Western Hindī has the proper Śaurasēni «kōi (< kō'vi, kō'pi»). The word «kēhō» occurs in ('aryā 18 : «kēhō kēhō tōhōrē biruā bōlāi» *some call thee deformed*).

The oblique form of «kēhō, kēu» is «kā(ha)-» or «kā(hā)-» + case-affix or post-position + «hō, ō», or «kā(ha)-, kā(hā)-» + «hō, ō» + case-affix or post-position: *e.g.*, «kāhā-+rā+ō» > MB. (ŚKK.) কাহো «kārō, kārō», NB. কারো, কার «kārō, kārū» *whose*; «kāhā-+ō+ -kē» > MB. কাহোকে «kāhōkē» > NB. কাউকে «kāukē», beside literary কাহাকেও «kāhā-+ -kē+ō» > colloquial কাকেও «kākēō» (and ŚKK. কাথো «kākho» < «kāhā-+ -kā+ hō») *whom*. For the plural forms, the «-ō, -hō» comes at the end of the inflected word: কারাও «kārā-ō», কাদেরও «kādēṛ-ō», etc. The NB. genitive has a peculiar form in the colloquial, কারর «kārur» (either = «kā-r-u» + additional genitive «-r» ; or = «kā(hā)-+ō+ -rā» > কাউর «kā-u-r», with euphonic «-r-» : «kā-r-u-r»).

589. The neuter indefinite is কিছু «kichu» which is found in other Magadhan (in Oṛiyā, however, as «kichi»). The OIA. «kim + -cid» occurs as «kiñchi, kichi» (= kicchi) in the Central and Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka, with the aspirate «ch», as opposed to stop «kiñci» of the South-West (Girnar). This aspiration, so old, is peculiar: was it due to the influence of a possible masculine indefinite «*kacchi < kaścid»? The NIA. «kichu» also has the emphatic particle «hu»: «kiñchi-hu» (or «kiñci-hu»?) > «kichu». (cf. Hoernle, 'Gaudian Grammar,' § 465). The Oṛiyā «kichi» may represent the emphatic «hi» (< *kiñchi = kiñci + hi). The loss of nasalisation is very ancient. In Western Hindī, the form is

« kachu, kuch » (= « *kañ » used as neuter, +- « -cid, + hu = kñu, kñalu » ?), also « kichu ».

590. The relative যে « jē », যা « jā » is combined with কেহ কেউ, « kēhā, kēu » and কিছু « kichu » respectively to mean *whosoever, whatsoever*. This combination would seem to be recent in Bengali. The earlier way would be by periphrasis: e.g., যে হৌউক সে হৌউক « jē hōuk sē hōuk » = NB. যে কেউ হোক « jē-kēu hōk » *whoever it may be*; or by adding the emphatic particle: e.g., যেউ « jē-u », যেহো « jē-hō », as in the ŚKK.

[I] THE REFLEXIVE AND HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

591. OIA. « ātman » *self* changed to « atta- » in Early MIA. (Udīcya, Madhya-dēśa, Prācya). From « atta- » we would expect a neo-Māgadhī « *āta »: but this « atta », in Māgadhī as well as Ardha-māgadhī and Śaurasēnī, appears to have been overlaid by a cognate form « appa- » from South-Western MIA. (cf. « atpā » in Aśōkan Girnar: *ante*, p. 508). Pali shows only the basic Midland « atta- »; and « atta- » is continued in the Second MIA. in Māgadhī and the rest, but by the Second MIA. period, the South-Western form established itself in the North and the East. The Second MIA. forms were: singular nominative « appā », instrumental « appanā », genitives « appanō », pl. « appāṇa », besides other ones (cf. Pischel, § 401). The nasal of MIA. has been preserved in NIA. in most cases, owing no doubt, to the base being regarded as being, in a vague way, « appāṇa- ».

In the Caryās, we have the following instances of the reflexive use of « ātman » > apā, āpaṇa, āpaṇa »:

3 : « āīla garāhaka apanē bahiā »

The customer came, journeying all by himself;

6 : « apanā mānsē harinā bairī »

Because of its own flesh, the deer is a foe;

22 : « apanē raci raci bhava-nirvāṇā,

michē lōa bandhāvāe apanā »

Creating again and again being and extinction by himself,

For naught man binds himself;

31 : « na jāṇami apā kahī gaī paithā »

I know not where the self having gone has entered ;

32 : « apanē apā bujha tu nia-maṇa »

By thyself understand thou in thy own mind ;

39 : « disai para-apyañā (= appañā) »

Other and self are seen.

In the Caryās, as can be seen from the above instances, « apā (= āpā) » is the nominative, « apanē » instrumental, « apanā » genitive and accusative. The OB. nominative « apā (= āpā) » is an extended form of « *āpa » = IMIA. « *āppā », Second and Early MIA. « āppā » = OIA. « atmā ». The oblique forms are regular OB. derivations of the MIA. « appañā » stem. The OB. nominative « āpā, apā (= *āpā) » is now rather obsolete in NB., the « -n- » oblique having encroached upon the realm of the nominative : « āpñ » , without « -n- », meaning *self*, is preserved in the nominative in Oṛiyā (āpē). Instances of the old form আপ « āpñ » *self*, however, are found in Bengali : e.g., আপ ভালো তো জগত ভালো « āpñ bhālō tō jagatñ bhālō » *if self is good, the world also is good* (cf. Hindī. « āp bhalā tō jag bhalā ») ; আপ চাইতে পরের উপর দরদ « āpñ cāitē pārērṣ upārṣ darād » *anxiety for another more than for oneself* ; cf. also আপি আপি « āpi-āpi » *all by oneself*, in baby language (cf. Oṛiyā « āpē-āpē »). But in Eastern and Western Hindī, it has been extended to mean the honorific pronoun as well : e.g., Awadhī, both nominative and oblique, singular « āpu » plural « āp » = *your honour*, beside nominative « āpu », genitive « āpan », oblique « apanē » = *self, of self* ; Hindōstānī nominative and oblique singular « āp » *your honour, his honour*, plural « āp-lōg, āp-lōgō- », beside reflexive « āp », oblique « apnē », genitive « apnā, apnē, apnī ».

592. The extension of the sense from the Reflexive to the Honorific (Second) Personal Pronoun is a recent thing in NIA. It is absent in MIA. It is not found in OB. and eMB., nor in the older literatures in the other NIA. tongues. In Early Bengali documents (e.g., in the letter of c. 1555 A.C. from the Kōc king of North Bengal to the Ahom king of Assam, *supra*, p. 828), তুমি, তোমার « tumi, tōmārṣ » are used as respectful or honorific forms, not আপনি « āpāni » as in NB. or « āpuni » as in Assamese.

The Bihārī dialects employed, and even now employ, words like « āhā, ahā, ahaī; ais; raur; rauwā » (see *infra*), and Eastern Hindī also employed « raur », for the honorific of the 2nd person : these words correspond to the NB. মোসাই, মশায়, মহাশয় « mōsāi, māśāyṣ, māhāśāyṣ » and the Urdū « janāb, huzūr ». The use of the reflexive for the honorific second person is not an Eastern NIA. innovation : nor is it characteristic of the North-Western, South-Western, and Southern NIA. : e.g., Panjābī (Eastern and Western) uses « tus(s)I », the ordinary plural, for the honorific, and « āp » is an imposition from Hindōstānī ; so Sindhī has « tavhī » (? = *tusī < *tussa- < *tuṣma-, yuṣma-), and the reflexive « pāṇa » (= appaṇa < ātman-) is used as an honorific, as in the genitive « pāha-jō », to mean *yours* as well as *yours and mine* ; and in some of the dialects of Rājasthānī, and in Gujarātī, the reflexive base « āpā, āpan- » is used, not to mean *you*, but *you and we* (Gujarātī, however, has « āp » as an honorific second person = *your honour*, declined like a regular noun, but in the plural and in the second person : this use of « āp » is possibly the result of Brajbhākhā or Hindōstānī influence through the Rājasthānī dialects : to denote *self*, New Gujarātī has the base « pōta- » < *pōpa » < OWR. « apōpa » < Apabhraṇṣa « *appahu-appa- » : cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 92) ; and Marāṭhī employs the base « āpaṇ » as an honorific for all the three persons, as well as to denote the inclusive personal pronoun (1st and 2nd persons), like Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. Sinhalese partly agrees with the South-Western speeches in using the form « api, apa » (appa-) for the plural of the 1st personal pronoun, only it does not include the 2nd person. (The reflexive in Sinhalese is « tamā », a *sks.* form from « ātman » : Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 67, 69). Honorific use of the reflexive seems to be absent in the Himalayan (Pahārī) speeches ; and it is not found in Gipsy dialects outside India.

The Eastern, Northern, Western, South-Western, and Southern NIA. speeches thus do not seem to have developed in themselves the extension of the Reflexive for the Honorific of a special pronoun : in the last two groups, the reflexive was used as an inclusive 1st personal pronoun. On the other hand, we find that the Midland speech, Western Hindī, uses the reflexive

base for the honorific of both the 2nd and 3rd persons. It is exceedingly likely that the Eastern and other speeches borrowed this use of the reflexive from the Midland dialects, and the Magadhan speeches especially restricted it to the 2nd person only, as they possessed an honorific form for the third. Probably this borrowing is not older than two centuries from now.

593. The forms for the base আপন «āpān-» in Bengali are:

	OB.	Early MB. (SKK.)	NB. (Standard Coll.)
Nom.	apā (āpā), apaṇā, appaṇā	আপনে, আপুণী, আপুণি āpānē, āpuṇi, -I	আপনি āpāni, আপুনি āpuṇi
Acc.	apaṇā	আপনে, আপনাক, আপনা, আপন āpānē, āpānā-kā, āpānā, āpānā
Ins.	apaṇē	(as Nominative)	আপনি āpāni
Gen.	apaṇā	আপন, আপনা, আপনার āpānā, āpānā, āpānā-rā	আপন, আপনার, আপন- কার āpānā, āpānā-rā, āpānā-kārā
Dative	...	(as Accusative)
Oblique base	...	আপনা āpānā-	আপনা āpānā-

The nominative «āpāni» as an honorific has its final vowel through analogy of «tini, ini, uni, jini» etc.: otherwise we would expect «āpānē», and this form does occur dialectally. The plural is made in NB. by adding «-rā, -digā, -dērā» etc. to the oblique, as in the other pronouns. There is a base form, e.g., আপন পর «āpānā-pārā» *self and others*. The genitive আপনা «āpānā» (beside «āpānā») has the definitive «-ā».

594. There is the form আপস «āpāsā» used in the plural, = *among themselves, mutually*, which is found also in W. Hindi and other NIA. The form is obscure, but it can be from a MIA. genitive «*appassa» (< *ātma-sya = ātmanah), as Beames suggested (Comp. Grammar, II, pp. 330-331). It is used in Bengali in the locative as well as the genitive, but in a locative expression only: e.g., আপসে «āpāsē», আপসের মধ্যে «āpāsēr mādhvē» *among themselves (ourselves, yourselves)*. Can it be affiliated to a MIA. locative plural «appasu = ātmasu», as a solitary survival of a loc. pl. form in NIA.?

595. A blend of « āpa » and the Skt. « ātma- », pronounced [ātta], has given the MB. and NB. আত্ম « āptā » of *self*, which has quite a currency in some compounds, e.g., আত্ম-জন « āptā-jāṇḍ » *relations*, আত্ম-সুখী « āptā-sukhī » *seeing to one's own happiness*, আত্ম-নারী « āptā-nārī » *one's own wife*, আত্ম-গরজে < গরজিয়া « āptā-gōrjē < -gārāj-iyā » *selfish* (Perso-Arabic garz, cf. Pers. xv ud-garzi), etc.

596. Among dialectal forms for this pronoun may be noted only the S.E. Vanga (Chittagong) আঁওনে, আঁওনা « āññē, āññā », or আঁনে, আঁনা « āññē, āññā », with rather long « āññ », which show the nasalisation of the NIA. « -p- » : « -p- » > « -w- » > « w̃ ».

597. The *ts.* word নিজ « nijā, nijā » is used in NB. to denote *self*. It is found as a *tblh.* « nia » in the Caryās in some 3 places, but the *ts.* « nijā » is established in the ŠKK. (over a dozen times).

598. The Bihārī forms « rāur-, raur; rāuwā; āis-, ais-; āhā-, ahā- » may be noted. These are used as honorific terms of address, and also as equivalents of *your honour*. « rāur » is found in Eastern Hindi, and is very common in Bhōjpuriyā : it is from a MIA. « lāūla », occurring, e.g., in the 'Prabōdha-candrōdaya'; the source is an OIA. « rāja-kula- » or « rāja-kulya- » *royal* (cf. Hoernle, 'Gaudian Grammar,' § 447) : the Western equivalent of this word is « rāwal ». The word « rāuwā » is only an extended form of « rāū », which is from « rāja- ». The form « āis-, ais- » occurs in dialectal Maithilī; the source may be a form like « ati-śa » *pre-eminent*, or « atīśa » *supreme lord* (cf. « Atīśa », or « Atīśa », the title of Dipaṅkara Śrī-jñāna, the Buddhist scholar and saint of Bengal, c. 1000 A. C., whose original name was Candra-garbha : Śarat Chandra Dās, 'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,' Calcutta, 1893, pp. 50, 51, 60) : this can be compared with the use of « mahāśaya » in Bengali. The source of « āhā, ahā » is obscure : « ahā- » is found in Early or literary Maithilī, as nominative or vocative, and « ahāī-, ahaī » are the oblique bases, « -āī, -aī » of which are the genitive and instrumental plural forms. Connexion with the OIA. « bhavān », MIA. « bhavañ » presents some phonetic difficulties. The form « ahā, ahāī-, ahaī- » is used in Maithilī not for superiors

in age or status, but among equals : and it is very likely that the OIA. « āyusmān » > MIA. « āyasmā » (as in Pali) is the source : this would give an Apabhraṃśa « *āmbha, *āmha, āhā ». There is no form corresponding to « āhā, āhaṭ-, āhā- ; ahā, ahaṭ-, ahā- » in Bengali, but it is possible that the personal affix « -ēhē, -ē » for the second person of the verb is connected with it (see *infra*, under Verb : 'Personal Affixes').

[J] PRONOMINAL DERIVATIVES, ADJECTIVE AND ADVERB.

[I] Adjectives of Quality or Manner in মত- « -mātṣ », মন « -mānṣ ».

599. These are : তেমত, তেমন « tē-mātṣ, tē-mānṣ » *in that way, like that* ; এমত, এমন « ē-mātṣ, ē-mānṣ » *in this way, like this* ; ওমত, অমত, অমন « ō-mātṣ, ā-mātṣ, ā-mānṣ » *like that, in that way* ; যেমত, যেমন « jē-mātṣ, jē-mānṣ » *like that, in the way that* ; কেমত, কেমন « kē-mātṣ, kē-mānṣ » *like what ? in what way ?*. The affix is added apparently to the nominative bases of the various pronouns : for the 3rd personal pronoun the oblique base has influenced the form, though we have সেমত « sē-mātṣ » which is rather rare. For the remote demonstrative the form ও- « ō- » has been broadened to « ā- ». The « -m- » in this affix is often pronounced as [w̃].

The source of « -mātṣ » in NB. and MB. is OB. « -manta » < OIA. « -mant-, -vant- » : cf. Vedic forms implying likeness or size, like « ētā-vant-, tā-vant- » *so great*, « yā-vant- » *as*, « i-vant- » *so great*, « kī-vant- » *how far*, and Vedic and Sanskrit quantitatives like « i-yat, ki-yat » *so much, how much*. The « -manta » affix in this employ seems to be peculiar to the eastern Magadhan speeches only. Oṛiyā, as being more archaic than Bengali-Assamese, preserves the full form in the adjectives « tē-māntā, ē-māntā, jē-māntā, kē-māntā ». The group « -nt- » changed to « -t- » in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 502). The Oṛiyā adverbs « ti-māti, ē-māti, ji-māti, ki-māti » also show the « -t- » < « -nt- ».

The « -mānṣ » forms of Bengali and Assamese are irregular. It seems that quite early in the OB. period, when the full form « -manta » was current, through contamination with the pronominal adjectives of quality in « -hana » (see *infra*, p. 853), « -manta » came to have a variant « * -mana, * -maṇa ». It is already well-established in the ŚKK., so much

so that the proper « -mâtâ » affix is much restricted, কেমনে, কেমনে, কেমনে, কিসনে « kē-māṇē, kē-māṇē, kē-māṇā, ki-māṇē », for instance, occurring some 20 times, and কেমতে « kē-mâtē » only twice. In NB., the « -t- » forms are archaic, even for the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and the colloquial knows only the « -n- » forms.

Bengali has also a form মতন « mâtānḍ » *like, similar to* (see next para), which is a blend of « -mâtâ » and « -mānā ».

This affix « -mâtâ, -mānḍ, mâtānḍ » quite early came to be regarded as a separate word in Bengali and Assamese, through confusion with the Skt. « mata, manas < √man » : e.g., আমার মত(ন) « āmarḍ mâtâ(nḍ) » *like me*, তোমার মত(ন) « tōmārḍ mâtâ(nḍ) » *like you*, পুরানো মত(ন) « purānō mâtâ(nḍ) » *like old, oldish*. As a separate word, মত « mâtâ » is now frequently written মতো « mâtō » (< *mantaṭa, manta + ka >), following the pronunciation. The independent use of « mâtâ, mānā » is fairly common in the ŚKK., where it generally occurs after and strengthens the pronominal adjective of quality in « -hānā, -hūnā, -nā » : e.g., কেনে মনে, মনে, মতে « kēnā + mānē, mānē, mâtē » *in what way*; এহি মতে « ēhi mâtē » *in this way*; যেহু মনে « jēhū mānē » *in such a way that*; NB. poetic হেন মতে « hēnā mâtē » *in this way*.

Early Assamese had the « mâtâ, mānā » forms : e.g., Śaṅkara-dēva, « ḥṛdi-sthitā huā tumi jēnā kārābāhā swāmi, Ḥṛṣīkēśā, kārībā tēmānā » *remaining in my heart, just as you will make me do, Lord Ḥṛṣīkēśa, so shall I do* (Dēvēśwar Chaliḥā, 'Asamiyā Sāhityar Burāñji,' Jorhat, Saka 1833, p. 123); « cāri dinā sēhi mātē thākiyā Iśwārā » *in that way, the Lord, staying for four days* (ibid., p. 133). Early Assamese also has forms like « jēntē, tēntē » etc. = « jēwāntē, tēwāntē < jēmāntē, tēmāntē ». In Modern Assamese, the full « -m- » or the altered « -w- » forms no longer occur, but contracted ones, « ēnē, jēnē » < *ēmānē, jēmānē », pronominal adverbs, which seem to have merged into the « -hānā, -hēnā » forms (see *infra*).

With addition of the instrumental « -ē » we have corresponding adverbs : এমতে, এমনে « ēmâtē, ēmānē » [æmote, æmone] *in this way*, কেমনে « kēmānē » [kæmone] *how?* etc.; but the adverbial use of the simple « mâtḍ, mānḍ », without the « -ē » affix, is also found. There is in NB. also a locative use of the « -mān-ē » forms, in which the « -ē » is certainly the locative affix :

কম্বে « kāmñē » *where?*, যম্বে, যেম্বে « jāmñē, jēmñē » *in the direction that*, এম্বে « ēmñē » *in this direction*, etc. (the forms « kñ- » etc., rather than « kē- » etc., are probably due to the analogy of কই « kñi » etc., for which see *supra*. Contracted forms of these adverbs of direction are found in dialectal Bengali: e.g., EB. কনে « kñē » (< kññē, kññē, kāmñē); এনে, এয়ানে « ēñē, ēāñē » (< ēmñē) etc. Oṛiyā also has similar forms—« ēñē, tēñē » etc.

[II] Adjectives and Adverbs of Quality in হন, হেন, হ্, ন « -hñā » > -hñā » > -hñā » > -ñā ».

600. NB. has the following: হেন, যেন, কেন « hñā, jñā, kñā », dialectally যেনে, কেনে « jñē, kñē » (with instrumental « -ē » affix). Besides there is a rare তেন « tñā ». Of these, হেন « hñā » alone is used as an adjective: e.g., হেন কাজ « hñā kājā » *such work*; cf. also যেন তেন উপায়ে « jñā tñā upāyē » *in any way possible, by some means or other*. কেন, কেনে « kñā, kñē » simply means *why* < *in what way*, and যেন, যেনে jñā, jñē » is also a conjunction = *so that, in order that*.

In eMB. (ŠKK.), the corresponding forms were (এ)হেন, তেহেন or তেহ্, যেহেন or যেহ্, কেহেন or কেহ্ « (ē-)hñā; tē-hñā, tēñā; jē-hñā, jēñā; kē-hñā, kēñā », and these were adjectives as well as adverbs—the instrumental « -ē » affix being commonly used for the adverb: e.g., কি নাম তাহার, কেহেন তার রূপ « ki nāmā tāhārā, kēhēñā tārā rūpā » *what is her name, what is her beauty like* (ŠKK., p. 11). In NB., the adjectives in « -mātā, -māñā » have practically ousted the « -hñā, -hñā, -ñā » forms from adjectival use.

The eMB. « -hñā » forms correspond to the Maithili « ē-han, tē-han, kē-han » (< « *-hana »: the Bengali change of « *-hñ- » to « -hē- » is due to the influence of the preceding bases « ē-, jē-, kē-, tē- »).

The Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa source of the Maithili and Bengali forms would be « *aihaṇa- (or ēihaṇa-?), *taihaṇa-, *jaihaṇa-, *kaihaṇa- »; which would represent Second MIA. (Māgadhī) « *ēaiśaṇa-, *taiśaṇa-, *jaiśaṇa-, *kaiśaṇa- » (see *supra*, pp. 95, 555). OIA. has pronominal adjectives in « -dṛśa »—« tādṛśa-, ētādṛśa-, yādṛśa-, kīdṛśa- »

etc. This «-dṛśa-» affix became «-disa-, -diśa-», and then «-isa-, -iśa-» through loss of interior «-d-» in MIA. With a pleonastic adjectival affix «-na» (cf. Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' §§ 1223 g, 1245 f), this affix was extended, either in dialectal OIA. or in MIA., to give «yaīśaṇa (jaīśaṇa), taiśaṇa (taiśaṇa)» etc., beside «jaīśa-, taiśa-» etc. The OIA. vocalism of the pronominal bases has been regularised in MIA., through what process we do not know. The change of the sibilant to «-h-» in Maithili and Bengali is peculiar and unexplained. Early Oṛiyā shows forms like «jē-sānā», and Old Bengali like «aiśana». The «-s-» forms occur in Magahi and Bhōjpurīyā, and in E. Hindī and W. Hindī, and in most forms of NIA. besides. The presence in OB. of the sibilant in these adjectives (as in «aiśana, kaiśē, jaīsō, taiśō, aiśa, kaiśē» in the Caryās) is certainly due to Western Apabhraṃśa influence (see *supra*, p. 115). Similarly in Early Maithili we have the Western «-s-» forms side by side with the native «-h-» ones. Through the Brajabuli dialect the «-s-» forms were once more introduced into Bengal through W. Hindī influence, and from the 16th century onwards, the «-s-» was written ছ «ch»: e.g., বৈছন «yāichānā=jāīśāna», আইছন ঐছন «āichānā=āiśānā», কৈছে «kāichē=Hind. «kāīśē», কৈছন «kāichānā=kāīśānā». The forms without «-n-», corresponding to the Western Hindī «aiśā, aiśī; aiśē» etc., do not seem to occur in East Magadhan.

In the ŚKK. occurs the correlatives জৈসানে, তৈসানে «jāīśānē, tēśānē», as in জৈসানে রতি জাগবৌ, তৈসানে কাহু আগিবৌ «jāīśānē rāti jāgābō, tēśānē Kānhā āgibō» *when I shall understand love's sport, then I shall bring Kṛṣṇa* (p. 21). These correspond with Early Asamese «jāīśāni» (ŚKK., Comm., p. 447): and they are Śaurasēnī «-s-» forms borrowed in OB. which persisted with the earlier literary tradition in MB. and Early Assamese: probably some sort of confusion with a word like সময় «samaya = saṃaya» also existed here.

[III] Nouns and Adjectives of Quantity in ত «-tā» or তো «-tū».

601. They are তত (তেত), এত, অত, যত (যেত), কত < *কেত «tātā, (tētā [tæto]); etā; ātā; jātā (jētā=[jṛætō]); kātā < *kētā», also ততেক,

এতেক, [অতেক], যতেক, কতেক « tātēkṣ, ētēkṣ, ātēkṣ, jātēkṣ, kātēkṣ », with pleonastic « -ēkṣ » affix, as in Maithili. These agree with Oṛiyā « tētē, ētē, sētē, jētē, kētē », and Assamese « tētē(k), ētē(k), kētē(k) » etc. Early Assamese also had forms in « -tā, -tō » like Bengali. Corresponding forms occurs in other NIA. speeches : *e.g.*, Hindōstānī « titnā, tittā ; itnā, ittā ; utnā, uttā ; jitnā, jittā ; kitnā, kittā ».

As sources of these in MIA., we have in Western Apabhraṃśa « tēttiu, ēttiu, jēttiu, kēttiu », Second MIA. « tēttia, ēttia, jēttia, kēttia », and First MIA. (Pali) « tattaka, ēttaka, kittaka ». These MIA. forms are derived from, or are connected with, Vedic quantitatives in « -yant- », like « i-yant- » *so much*, « ki-yant- » *how much*. It seems that formations made up of the pronominal base + the affix « -yant- (-yat-) » + an adjectival « -tya, -tiya » (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 153) gave in Early MIA. forms¹ like « i-yatta-, *a-yatta- (*i-yat-tiya, *a-yat-tiya-) ; *ki-yatta- (*ki-yat-tiya-) ; *ya-yatta- (*ya-yat-tiya-) » etc., which were regularly altered into the Pali (with a pleonastic « -ka » as in « ētta-ka, kittā-ka »), Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa forms. The source-forms of Bengali would seem not to have had the « -ia » ending as in Western Apabhraṃśa (« ēttia, kēttia » etc. should give « *ēti, *kēti » in NIA.), but rather « -a-ka » ending, as in Pali (ēttaka > ēttaa > OB., MB., ētaṃ, ētā > NB. ētā, ētō [ato]). In Caryā 35 we have « ēta-kāla » (see *supra*, p. 808).

The above forms are also used as nouns in Bengali, as in other NIA., and as such for the genitive they take not the simple « -rā- » affix, but the affix কার « -kāṛṣ », or the archaic form কের « -kērṣ ».

In Bengali, the form কতক, কতোক « kātākṣ, kātōkṣ » has an indefinite sense (= kātā + ō, hū + -kā pleonastic : cf. kēu, p. 845). MB. has the emphatic কথো « kāthō » (= kātā + hū, hu), which corresponds in formation to the Maithili « kathū ».

¹ OIA. « -(t)tya » would be expected to become « co » in MIA. ; but a *sts.* 'tt' treatment is not unknown, cf. 'āditya-vāra > MIA. ātitta-vāra > NIA. (Hindī) āit-wār, it-wār' Sunday. In the present case, the form with intrusive 'i-' (*e.g.*, '*ya-yat-tiya > yettia, jettia') certainly helped to prevent palatalisation of a corresponding '*ya-yat-tya-.'

[IV] Adverbs of Time in বে « -bē ».

602. These are তবে, এবে, যবে, কবে « tābē, ēbē, jābē, kābē » ; « ēbē » is archaic and poetic for NB., and it is also found as ইবে « ibē », অববে « ābē », dialectally in NB. and occasionally in MB. In OB., they were respectively « tabē, ēbē, jābē, *kabē, *abē (?) »—the first three actually occurring in Caryās 46, 35 and 21 respectively. Equivalent forms in Oṛiyā are « tēbē, ēbē, jēbē, kēbē », while « ābē » is not found. The difference in the vowel of the pronominal base between Oṛiyā (tē-, jē-, kē-) and Bengali (tā-, jā-, kā-) is to be noted. Modern Assamese does not possess these forms, but Early Assamese did, and the Early Assamese forms agree with the Oṛiyā ones. In Early and Modern Maithilī « taba, tabē, tabē; aba, abē, abē, ābē; jaba, jābē, jābē; kaba, kabē, kabē » are found. In Western Hindi, the same forms are found as « tab, ab, jab, kab » (Hindōstānī), and as « tabai; abai, abē; jabai; kabai » (Brajbhākhā).

The forms in « -ē, -ai » are palpably locatives, with the locative affix « -ē, -ai < -ahi, ahi ». The source of the forms in Western Hindi and in the Magadhan speeches would be Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa forms like « *tabba- (*tēbba-), *ēbba-, *jabba- (*jēbba-), *kabba- (*kēbba) », locative « *tabbahi, (*tēbbahi), *ēbbahi », etc.

In Vedic the indeclinable « ēvā, ēvā » originally meant *thus*; in later Indo-Aryan it became merely an emphasising particle. In the sense of *thus*, however, in later Vedic, the form « ēvām » came in, and this « ēvām » in all likelihood is but an extension of « ēvā, ēvā ». In Second MIA., « ēvām » became « ēvvaṁ », in the sense of *thus*. In MIA., « ēvvaṁ » seems to have occurred also as « ēbbaṁ, *ēbbā » which further seems to have developed a temporal sense from a modal one, and this temporal meaning was strengthened by putting it in the locative (*ēbbahi, *ēbbahi). Corresponding to « ēvā, ēvām » « *ēbbaṁ » which in the Apabhraṁśa stage easily affiliated itself to the pronominal base « ē- < ēta- », it is exceedingly likely that other analogous pronominal adverbs were evolved, like « *tēvā(ṁ), *yēvā(ṁ), *kēvā(ṁ) », in Early MIA., which would become « *tēvvaṁ > *tēbbaṁ » etc.; or « *tavvaṁ > *tabbaṁ »

etc. through substitution of the pronominal bases in «-a-», namely «ta-, ya-, ka-». Thus all these are on the basis of «ēva, evām > ēvām». The form «ab-ē, ab» would seem to be merely a weakening of «ēbai, ēbē».

Western Apabhraṃśa as in Hēma-candra actually has forms which would presuppose the new formations «*tēva, *yēva, *kēva» on the model of «ēva»: and these forms show MIA. nasalisation of «-v-»: «emva = ēwa; temva = tēwa, tiwa»; jemva = jēwa, jiwa; kemva = kēwa, kiwa» (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 261). NIA. representatives of these adverbs of manner are now found (see *infra*, p. 860). Locative forms of these occurred as adverbs of time in Western Apabhraṃśa: Hēma-candra actually cites «ēwahī=idānīm» (Pischel, § 261). This «ēwahī» of course cannot give the Bengali «ēbē > ēbē», or the Maitthilī «abē», and Western Hindī «abaj»; but a parallel MIA. formation «*ēvva- > ēbba-, ēbbahī» alone can.

[V] Adverbs of Time in খন «khāṇḍ».

603. These are তখন, এখন, যখন, কখন «tā-khāṇḍ, ē-khāṇḍ, jā-khāṇḍ, kā-khāṇḍ» = *then, now, when, when?*, besides an অখন < ওখন «ā-khāṇḍ < ō-khāṇḍ» *then, at that time* which is used as a sort of indefinite addition after future verbs (e.g., দেবোঅখন দেবো-খন, দেবে-খুন «dēbō-ākḥāṇḍ, dēbō-khāṇḍ, dēbō-khunḍ» *I shall give at some future time*, দেবে-অখন, দেবে-খন, দেবে-খুন «dēbē-ākḥāṇḍ, dēbē-khāṇḍ, dēbē-khunḍ» *he will give*: this influenced the past formations in the Standard Colloquial like দিলুম-খুন «dilumḍ-khunḍ» = *I gave then, and I gave*: see *infra*, Verb, 'Pleonastic Affixes'). The «khāṇḍ» is from the OIA. «kṣaṇa», which occurs in Bengali as a *sts.* ক্ষণ «[khæ:n, (k)khon]: «tat-kṣaṇam > takkḥaṇa, tākhāṇḍ» etc., with irregular absence of lengthening. This form of temporal adverb occurs in all the Magadhan languages. Cf. 'Prākṛta Paṅgala' (Bib. Ind. ed.), p. 304, «jakkḥaṇa vīra Hamīra calē» *when Hamīr the warrior marches*; p. 318, «Kāśī-rāa jakkḥaṇa calē» *when the king of Kāśī marches*.

[VI] Adverbs of Place in *tha* « -thā ».

604. We have তথা (*setha*), হেথা, হোথা, যেথা (*yetha*), কোথা « *tāthā* (*sēthā*) ; *hēthā* ; *hōthā* ; *jēthā* (*jāthā*) ; *kōthā* », which have also locative forms তথায় (*sethay*), হেথায়, হোথায়, যেথায় (*yethay*), কোথায় « *tāthāy* (*sēthāy*), *hēthāy*, *hōthāy*, *jēthāy* (*jāthāy*), *kōthāy* ». The Bengali সেথা « *sēthā* » is a new formation with a generalised « -thā » base added to the nominative form « *sē* », and « *hētha*, *hōthā* » are for « *ēthā*, *ōthā* » with prothetic « *h-* » (see *ante*, p. 556). OB. gives « *ēthu* », a form influenced by W. Apabhraṃśa, in Caryā 15.

These « -thā » forms are based on MIA. « *tattha*, « *ēttha* (**ōttha*), *yattha* > *jattha*, *kuttha* (**kōttha*) » which already occur in Pali, and thus date from the First MIA. period. The corresponding OIA. forms are « *ta-tra*, **i-tra* = *a-tra*, **ava-tra*, *ya-tra*, *ku-tra* ». The aspiration in the MIA. forms presents a difficulty. This may be due to the « -r- » (see *supra*, p. 438). Pischel refers « *ēttha* » to the Vedic « *itthā* » (in Skt. « *ittham* ») = *thus* ('Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 107), and the rest apparently would follow analogically. But W. Geiger derives these from the « -tra » forms ('Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' §§ 9, 62), and cites cases from Pali where we have « -tth- < -tr- », like « *sōtthiya*, *sōtthiya* = *śrōtriya* », and « *ubhayattha* = *ubhaya-tra* ». Can it be that we have the OIA. « *√sthā* » here, in original forms like « **tat-stha*, « **yat-stha* » etc. ?

Old locatives of these « -tha » forms like তথি « *tāthi* », যথি « *jāthi* » are used as oblique bases for their corresponding pronouns : see *supra*.

The MIA. forms were strengthened with the definitive « -ā » in OB. The « -thā » forms do not occur in Assamese and in Oṛiyā : the latter has « *sēthi*, « *ēthi*, « *jēthi*, « *kēthi* » ; and corresponding « -th- » forms occur also in the Bihārī dialects (see *infra*, § 607).

Assamese has as adverbs of place « *tāt* (*tātē*), « *jāt* (*jātē*), « *kāt* (*kātē*) », which correspond to the Maithilī « *tatay* (*tatē*), « *jatay* (*jatē*), « *katay* (*katē*) », besides « *ētay* (*ētē*) » and « *ōtay* (*ōtē*) » ; and W. Hindī (Brajbhākhā) has « *tita*, « *kita* (*kata*), « *jita* » and « *ita*, « *itai*, « *itai* » and

« uta ». The Maithili forms occur in Brajabuli also. They are connected with the Western Ap. locatives like « tēttahē, ēttahē (tēttahī, ēttahī) » etc., noted by Hēma-candra : « tētta, ētta » etc. are apparently the OIA. « tatra, *itra = atra » etc., altered in MIA. in some Western dialect, without the aspiration which we find preserved in Pali « tattha » etc. and Bengali তেথ্য « hēthā » etc.

[VII] Adverbs of Place in খানে « khānē », etc.

605. Like সেখানে, এখানে « sē-khānē, ē-khānē » etc. These are late formations, being compoundings of « sē, ē, ō, jē, kōṇḍ » and the noun খান « khāṇḍ » *place* (< « khaṇḍa », see *supra*, pp. 365, 779 : there seems to have occurred some contamination with the Skt. « sthāna » as well as Pers. « xānah », both meaning *place*).

606. There are similar compounds with ধার, ধারে « -dhārḍ, -dhārē » = *side, edge, bank, limit, line* (e.g., এধারে « ē-dhārē », ওধারে « ō-dhārē »), agreeing with the Hindōstānī « i-dhar, u-dhar » etc., and with Bhōjpuriyā « ihar, uhar » with weakening of « -dh- » to « -h- ». (Hoernle derives these latter differently : cf. p. 315 of 'Gauḍian Grammar'). The Maithili « em-har, jem-har » etc. are connected.

607. Dialectal Bengali (W. Raḍha) shows উকে, উকে « indhē, undhē » *here, there*, etc. which agree with the Bihārī (Maithili) « indē » undē » or « inda, unda » etc. They seem to be connected with the Hindōstānī « yahā, wahā » etc., which are old MIA. ablatives, from Western Apabhraṇśa « *ēahā, *ōhā » < Second MIA. « *ēamhā, *ōamhā » < OIA. « ētasmāt, *avasmāt » etc. From Māgadhī Apabhraṇśa forms similar to those of Western Apabhraṇśa, the new Magadhan dialects could easily have « ihā, uhā, inha, unha » and then « indha, undha », locative « indhē, undhē » etc.

608. Dialectal Bengali preserves also some locative forms in « ṭhi, -ṭi », e.g., সেটি, এটি, জেটি « sēṭhi, ēṭhi, jēṭhi » as in South-West Bengali ; ইটি, সেটি « iṭi, sēṭi » in North Bengali. This « ṭhi » seems to come from an OIA. « sthāman » *place* (see *supra*, under ঠাই « ṭhāi », p. 762).

Oṛiyā also has it, both as « ̥hi » and as an extended « ̥hā-ra- » with the genitive affix.

609. The New Bengali correlatives যাই—তাই « jāi, t̥ai » *when—then*, *as soon as—immediately* are from the OIA. « yadā-hi, tadā-hi ».

610. OB. as in the Caryās shows some adverbs of manner in « -ma », unquestionably pronounced « -w̥a »: *e.g.*, jima » (Caryās 13, 19, 29, 30, 31, 41, 43) and « tima » (Caryās 9, 43), and also probably « kima » (Caryā 39). These are Western Apabhraṃśa forms borrowed in OB. Cognate forms in other NIA. speeches are—Eastern Hindi « jimi, timi » etc.; Western Hindi « jyaū, tyaū; jyō, tyō; jyū, tyū; jū, tū » etc.; Gujarātī « jēm, tem » etc. These are derived from Western Apabhraṃśa « jemva, temva, kemva = jēw̥a, tēw̥a, kēw̥a » etc., which are nasalised modifications of OIA. « *yēva, *tēva, *kēva », formed on the analogy of « ēva » (see *supra*, p. 857. Cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 261; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.', § 98 [3]).

CHAPTER V

THE VERB

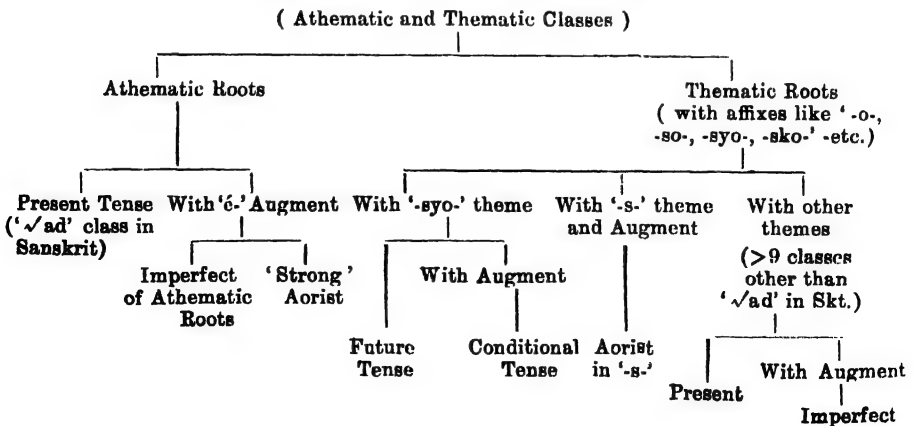
[A] CONJUGATION OF THE VERB IN INDO-EUROPEAN, IN OIA., AND IN NIA.

611. The elaborate conjugation of the verb such as we find in Vedic and in Greek did not obtain in Primitive Indo-European. The conjugational system was exceedingly simple in the oldest period. There was no distinction of tenses as such, and the subjunctive and optative moods were just evolving out of the indicative. The verb root (in simple, extended, or reduplicated form), in the active voice, took up certain personal affixes, either added direct to the root, or with certain *themes*, or syllables like « -*o-, *-nu-, *-so-, *-to-, *-sko-, *-dho- » etc. which were added as links joining the root and the personal termination; and sometimes there was a nasal infix, « -*ne-, -n- » which came in and modified the form of the root. The force of the affixed themes was to indicate the *aspect* or nature of the action, whether it was progressive or transitory, iterative or intensive, or indefinite. To express a state attained, as the result of a completed or perfected action, the verb root underwent a special modification in itself and further took up certain other personal terminations, slightly different and curtailed forms of the ones mentioned above. The conjugation of the verb in Primitive Indo-European thus fell into two parts, taking in view the kind of action (whether it was completed or not) and the kind of pronominal affixes it adopted accordingly. The paradigm of a root thus falls into two divisions—or *systems*—which have been named (i) the *Present-Aorist*, and (ii) the *Perfect*. These systems did not indicate time relation, but only the action in the present time, incomplete or perfected. If past time were to be emphasised, an adverbial particle « é », called the *augment*, which was always stressed, was placed before the verb form. In course of time this particle became loosely attached to the verb, and the combined

« *é » (> Indo-Aryan = « á ») and verb form resulted in the imperfect and aorist (as well as the 'plu-perfect') tenses of Vedic and Sanskrit.

The themes or affixes which were added in between the root and the personal terminations (e.g., Skt. « kar-ō-ti, krī-ṇā-ti, div-ya-ti, sah-a-tē, ga-ccha-ti < IE. *g^wṛ-sko-ti », etc.) had in Prim. IE. each its special meaning or force, but in the later phase of IE., the earlier *nuances* were to a great extent lost, and in several cases they took up distinct and well-defined values not known before. Thus the « -s- » theme came to denote the past tense in Italic, Celtic and Slav, and developed into the aorist tense of Greek and Sanskrit; the « -so- » and « -syo- » themes developed into the future tense respectively in Greek and in Sanskrit and Baltic. The *Perfect System* gradually evolved into the perfect tense in most IE. languages: thus IE. « *√dṛk » *to see*, with a strong grade (*dórk), reduplicated (*de-dórk) and with the personal affix « -a », gave a form « *de-dórk-a », which was a present form, = *I am after completing the act of seeing*, form which easily developed the perfect or past sense of *I saw*, and the form became the perfect tense, as in Sanskrit (dadárśa) and in Greek (dédorka). The tense and mood forms of OIA. were developed in this way out of the simple *aspects* of IE. The tables below give the relation borne by OIA. tenses to the Prim. IE. forms :

(i) Indo-European Present-Aorist System.



(ii) Indo-European Perfect System

Without Augment
(=Original Present)

Perfect Tense

With Augment
(=Original Past)

Pluperfect of Vedic

Originally in IE. there were two moods, the indicative and the imperative. From the indicative developed the conjunctive and the optative. The thematic vowels « *-ĕ-, *-ē-, *-ǝ-, *-ō- » which at first denoted some particular aspect of the action in the indicative, came to acquire the sense of a special mode, that of the conjunctive or subjunctive : and in some of the IE. languages they became well-established as modal affixes, deviating from their original aspect-indicating function. Similarly the affixes « *-yē-, *-yǝ-, *-i-, *-oi- » came to be associated with the optative mood : originally (like the « *-ĕ-, *-ē-, *-ǝ-, *-ō- » above, and the « -s- » of what later became the aorist, as well as « *-syē-, *-syǝ- » of what was later changed to the future), « *-yē-, *-yǝ- » etc. indicated some aspect of the action, as much as « -nu-, -nā- » and the other *themes* which have not become specialised for a mood or tense and of which the proper force is no longer understood. And themes of the groups « *-yé-, *-yó- » and « *-éye-, *-éyo- » became respectively the affixes of the denominative and causative forms. The germs of these later modal and other developments in all cases existed in these aspect-indicating themes of Primitive IE.

612. Below is given a conspectus of all the conjugational forms of Vedic, from its own stand-point, and not in historical relationship to Prim. IE. :—the development and systematisation of the former from the latter has been of an intricate character.

This will indicate the extent of the losses sustained by Bengali, which is typical for all NIA.

A CONSPECTUS OF OIA. (VEDIC) VERB-FORMS.

Root: « car », or « cal » *to move, to walk*. (Finite forms given are of the 3rd person singular, unless otherwise stated).

I. The Present System.

A. Indicative Mood :

(i) With Primary Personal Affixes = Present Tense :

(a) Active Voice . cár-a-ti (cár-a-si, cár-ā-mi, etc).

(b) Middle Voice : (1) Reflexive : cár-a-tē ; (2) Passive : car-yá-tē.

(ii) With Secondary Personal Affixes, preceded by the Augment = Imperfect Tense :

(a) Active : á-car-a-t.

(b) Middle : (1) Reflexive : á-car-a-ta ; (2) Passive : cf. á-hū-ya-ta.

(iii) With Secondary Personal Affixes, without Augment = Injunctive :

(a) Active : cár-a-t.

(b) Middle : (1) Reflexive : cár-a-ta ; (2) Passive : cf. sū-yá-ta.

B. Subjunctive Mood :

With Primary Personal Affixes = Present Subjunctive :

(a) Active : cár-ā-ti, cár-ā-t.

(b) Middle : (1) Reflexive : cár-ā-tāi, cár-ā-tē ; (2) Passive : cf. bhri-y-ā-tē, uh-y-ā-tē.

C. Optative Mood :

With Secondary Personal Affixes = Present Optative :

(a) Active : cár-ē-t.

(b) Middle or Reflexive : cár-i-ta.

D. Imperative Mood :

(a) Active : 2 sg. cár-a, 2 pl. cár-a-ta.

(b) Middle : (1) Reflexive : 2 sg., cár-a-sva ; (2) Passive : cf. 2 sg., hū-yá-sva.

E. Participles of the Present System :

(a) Active : cár-ant-.

(b) Middle : (1) Reflexive : cár-a-māṇa ; (2) Passive : car-yá-māṇa.

II. The Aorist System, in Simple or Non-Sigmatic, Sigmatic (with « -s-, -sa-, -iṣ-, -siṣ- »), and Reduplicating forms of Roots.

A. Indicative Mood :

(i) With Secondary Personal Affixes *plus* Augment = Aorist (past).

(a) Active : á-cār-ṣ-i-t, á-cār-I-t, á-ci-car-a-t ; cf. á-ruk-ṣa-t, á-vid-a-t.

(b) Middle : á-cār-ṣiṣ-a-ta, á-cār-a-ta, á-ci-car-a-ta ; cf. á-vid-a-ta, á-bud-dha, á-stō-ṣ-ṭa, á-sthi-ta ;
Passive : 3 sg. only : á-cār-i.

(ii) With Secondary Personal Endings, without Augment = Injunctive Aorist.

(a) Active : cār-I-t ; cf. dvik-ṣá-t, kār-ṣ-I-t, bhū-t, di-dhar-a-t, etc.

(b) Middle : cār-ṣiṣ-a-ta, cār-a-ta, ci-car-a-ta : cf. 1 sg. sthē-ṣ-am ; páv-iṣ-ṭa ; 3 pl. hā-siṣ-ur ; vid-á-ta ; vṛ-ta, 3 pl. sī-ṣap-a-nta etc.

B. Subjunctive Mood :

Subjunctive Endings added to Aorist Base, without Augment = Subjunctive Aorist.

(a) Active : cf. stō-ṣ-a-ti, stō-ṣ-a-t ; kār-iṣ-a-t ; yá-siṣ-a-t ; vid-á-ti, vid-á-t ; kár-a-ti ; sī-ṣadh-ā-ti.

(b) Middle : cf. stō-ṣ-a-tē ; 3 pl. sán-iṣ-a-ntē ; vid-á-tē ; kár-a-tē.

C. Optative Mood :

(i) Optative Endings added to Aorist Base = Optative Aorist.

(a) Active : cf. vid-é-t ; bhū-yá-t ; vōc-é-t.

(b) Middle : cf. bhak-ṣ-I-ta, mam-siṣ-ṭa ; jan-i-siṣ-ṭá ; ar-I-tá.

(ii) Aorist « -s- » added after Optative Base « -yā-, -ī- » = Benedictive or Precative :

(a) Active : car-yá-s : cf. gam-yá-s, bhū-yá-s.

(b) Middle : car-i-ṣ-ṭa : cf. pad-i-ṣ-ṭa.

D. Imperative Mood :

- (a) Active : cf. 2 dual, mṛk-ṣá-tam ; 2 sg. nē-ṣ-a, av-iḍ-ḍhi, sad-á, kṛ-dhí, bōdh-í.
 (b) Middle : 2 sg. dhuk-ṣá-sva ; 2 sg. sák-ṣva ; 2 dual, yā-siṣ-ṭám ; 2 pl. sad-a-dhvam ; 2 sg. kṛ-ṣvá, yuk-ṣvá.

E. Participles of the Aorist System :

- (a) -Active : cár-ṣ-ant- ; cf. sák-ṣ-ant-, śuc-ánt-, gm-ánt-, kr-ánt-, sthā-nt-, etc.
 (b) Middle : cf. śuc-á-māna, kr-āṇá, budh-āná, yam-a-s-āná, mand-a-s-āná, etc.

III. The Future System.**A. Indicative Mood.**

- (i) With Future «-syá-» Base and Primary Personal Endings = Future Tense.
 (a) Active : car-i-ṣyá-ti.
 (b) Middle : car-i-ṣyá-tē.
 (ii) Augment Preterit of the Future, with Secondary Personal Endings = Conditional.
 (a) Active : á-car-i-ṣya-t ; cf. á-bhar-i-ṣya-t.
 (b) Middle : á-car-i-ṣya-ta.

E. Participles of the Future System :

- (a) Active : car-i-ṣyá-nt-
 (b) Middle : car-i-ṣyá-māna : cf. stav-i-ṣyá-māna.

IV. The Perfect System.**A. Indicative Mood :**

- (i) Primitive Indo-European Present of the Perfect System = Perfect in Sanskrit.
 (a) Active : ca-cār-a.
 (b) Middle : cēr-é, cf. tēp-é, da-dh-é,

(ii) Augmented Perfect=Imperfect of the Perfect System=Vedic Pluperfect:

- (a) Active: cf. á-ca-cakṣ-a-t.
- (b) Middle: cf. 3 pl. á-ca-kri-ran.

(iii) Injunctive Perfect, without Augment:

- (a) Active: cf. ta-stambh-a-t.
- (b) Middle: cf. di-diṣ-ṭa.

B. Subjunctive Mood:

Subjunctive Inflexions added to Perfect Base=Subjunc. Perfect.

- (a) Active: cf. mú-mōc-a-ti, mu-muc-a-t.
- (b) Middle: cf. ta-táp-a-tē, jú-jōṣ-a-tē.

C. Optative Mood:

- (a) Active: cf. ja-gam-yá-t.
- (b) Middle: cf. va-vṛt-I-tá.

D. Imperative Mood:

- (a) Active: cf. ci-kid-dhí.
- (b) Middle: cf. va-vṛt-svá.

E. Participles of the Perfect System:

- (a) Active: cf. ca-kṛ-vāms, ja-gm-i-vāms.
- (b) Middle: cf. tēp-āná, ja-gm-āná.

V. Participles.

A. Active and Middle, as under the various Tense Systems above.

B. Past or Passive Participle: car-i-tá; cf. li-ná, kṛ-tá.

C. Perfect Participle: car-itá-vant (a late formation).

D. Future Passive Participles and Adjectives: cár-ya, car-áyya, car-énya, *cár-tva, car-tavyà, car-i-tavyà, car-aṇ-íya.

E. Indeclinable Participle or Conjunctive: car-i-tvā, car-i-tvī; -cár-ya; cf. kṛ-tvā, kṛ'-tya.

VI. Verbal Nouns and Infinitives:

cáras, car-āsē; cár-i-tu-m, car-i-tav-āí, cár-i-tav-ē, cár-i-tō-s; car-í, car-áy-ē; car-i-ty-āí; car-ádhy-āi; cár-am; -cár-a-m; car-aṇ-i; car-í-tra; car-á-tha; cf. also bhár-man-ē, dā-ván-ē, dhūr-van-ē, sã-táy-ē.

VII. Periphrastic Forms.

- A. Perfect Active : car-ay-ām + āsa, -babhūva, -cakāra.
 B. Future : caritā, 1 sg. caritāsmi.

VIII. Secondary Conjugations.

- A. Passive : car-yā-tē (Present), á-cār-i (Aorist 3 sg.).
 B. Causative : inflected forms like cār-āya-ti, cār-āya-tē, á-cār-aya-t, cār-āy-isyā-ti, cār-āy-ē-t, cār-āya-tu, á-cār-ay-i-ṣy-a-t, cār-yā-tē; etc.; Active Present Participle cār-āy-ant-, Passive cār-yā-māṇa, etc.
 C. Denominative : cār-āyā-tē, cār-āyā-tē, etc.
 D. Desiderative : cí-car-iṣ-a-ti, cí-car-ṣ-a-ti; á-ci-car-ṣ-it; ci-car-i-ṣyā-ti; Causative-Desiderative—ci-car-iṣ-āya-ti; etc.
 E. Intensive : Indicative cār-car-i-ti; also Optative, Imperative, Imperfect Indicative, etc. Present Active Participle, cār-i-car-ant-; Passive Participle—cār-car-āṇa (cf. kán-i-krad-ant-, jár-bhur-āṇa), car-cūr-yā-māṇa.

613. Compared with the above elaborate system, that of the NIA. speeches shows a very great simplification. And Bengali (with Assamese) is perhaps more simplified than any of its sisters and cousins—the distinction in number for verb forms, which obtains in almost all NIA. speeches, the inflected passive, the « karmaṇi » and « bhāvē prayōgas » of W. Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī etc., the negative conjugation of Khaskurā, etc., are all absent. The curtailment of the OIA. system has been carried out along the lines indicated below, to give that of Bengali :

- I. The Present System : the OIA. *themes* have been in a few instances retained in the root in NB.

A. Indicative Mood :

- (i) The forms for the Present Tense alone have been retained :

OIA. calati > NB. calē :	OIA. calanti > NB. calēṇṣ ;
calasi > calī-s :	calatha > calā, calō.
calāmi > calī :	(calāmah > calō).

D. Imperative Mood :

3 pers. calatu > cālāu > cālu, cālu-kṣ; calantu > cālunṣ;
 2 pers. cala > cālṣ; calata > cālā, cālō.

E. Participles :

(a) Active : calant- > calanta > cālāntā, cālīt- (=the base of the Conditional or Habitual Past).

(b) Passive or Middle : calamāna > cālānā (with Causative influence).

II. The Aorist System : entirely lost.**III. The Future System :**

A. The Indicative future in « -syā- » was inherited in OB., but NB. retains only the forms for the 2 person as a Future Precative, or Imperative with Future implication : « calisyasi > cālīs, calisyatha > cālīhā > cālīō > cālō ».

IV. The Perfect System : entirely lost.**V. Participles :**

The Past Passive Participle in « -tā, -itā », fortified in Late MIA. by the pleonastic « -illa » affix, gave the Past as well as Adjectival Base of Bengali, in « -ila », and also the Conditional Gerund in « -il-ē »; without the « -ila », this OIA. « -(i)tā » participle in the source of the Bengali Verbal Voun in « -ā ».

The Future Passive Participle in « -(i)tavya » was altered into the Bengali Future Base in « -ibā », and of the Verbal Noun in « -ibā ».

The Conjunctive Participle affix « -ya » of OIA. lives in the Bengali Conjunctive affix « -i-yā ».

VI. Verbal Nouns :

Some have been preserved : « cālṣ, cālṣ, cāl-ānṣ » etc.

VII. Periphrastic Forms—not preserved.**VIII. Secondary Conjugations :**

The Causative, in the MIA. form of « -āpa- », and the Denominative, are partially represented in the Bengali affix « -ā- ». The original ablaut grade of the Causative has occasionally been maintained.

The above are thus the comparatively few forms inherited by Bengali as a NIA. language. In MB. and OB. a few other relics of OIA. forms are found which are already tending to become obsolete. The losses have been to a great extent made good by newer formations (*e.g.*, by the development of compounded verbs, and the use of particles and help-words). The syntax too has altered, to help in fixing the language in its new and altered environment.

[B] BENGALI VERB-ROOTS.

[I] HISTORICAL CLASSIFICATION.

614. The number of Sanskrit verb-roots, according to the grammarians, comes up to some 2,000 (1961, according to N. L. Westergaard's lists in O. Böhtlingk's 'Pāṇini,' Leipzig, 1887, pp. 62*-84*). Of these, only slightly over 800 have been found in literature (Vēdas, Brāhmaṇas, the Epics, and Early Sanskrit works), employed their conjugated forms. Of this number, again, some 200 belong to the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas alone, about 500 occur in both Vedic and Sanskrit, and less than 150 are found in the later literature alone (W. D. Whitney. 'The Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language,' German ed., Leipzig, 1886, p. 244). OIA. as in the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas has consequently registered less than 700 roots which were in living use as verbs, apart from those occurring only in nominal and other derivatives. This number, 700, can by no means be said to exhaust all the verb-roots in the speech of the OIA. period, but considering the extent of the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic literature, and fact that this literature touches upon almost all the aspects of the life of the times, the number of roots not represented cannot be very many.

Many of the 800 roots actually used in OIA. literature (Vedic and Early Sanskrit) are merely extensions of primitive roots, and in some cases, as we advance into the MIA. stage, are but Prakritic modifications of OIA. roots. The number of primitive roots inherited from IE. by OIA. will necessarily be rather small. Be it as it may, the absence of some 200 Vedic roots in Sanskrit shows that this inheritance was not retained

intact by the Aryan speech in India. Old roots changed their meaning, and went out of fashion; and the losses were made good by building up anew with the old materials, and in a few rare instances by possible borrowings from the non-Aryan speeches. The MIA. vernaculars employed a large number of derived forms as new roots. The spoken language reacted on the literary speech, Sanskrit, and numerous MIA. forms were adopted into Sanskrit in a slightly altered form, and were gradually accepted by the Sanskrit grammarians, and given an equal place with the primitives. There could be no rule to guide the caprice why some Prakrit roots were taken up and others rejected by Sanskrit: thus « brud < budḍa, hiṇḍ, hikk, khēl, kaṭṭ, lag, piṭṭ » and a number of others have found a place in both the « dhātu-kōṣa » and the literature of Sanskrit, but other equally good Prakrit roots like « kaḍḍha < kṛṣṣa, lukka, cukka, phiṭṭa, cagh, bhar < smṛ, ghūl < ghūrṇa » were rejected. The grammarians of later ages (from the Second MIA. period) seem to have encouraged this practice to some extent. Sanskrit the language the Gods and the *Rishis* was the mother of all language, and this was apparent from the vernaculars of Northern India; consequently, vernacular words and roots must necessarily originate from those of Sanskrit: when the grammarians were agreed on this principle, at a time when the historic development of forms by phonetic and other changes was not fully understood, the Sanskrit « dhātu-kōṣa » began to grow in extent by the accession of new roots foisted on it by grammarians. Of the roots in the current « dhātu-kōṣas » a small number may even have been the creations of grammarians to explain words of doubtful etymology; but the bulk of them may legitimately be regarded as having been in actual use in IA., though not in its oldest period. Thus in addition to the aristocratic roots of direct IE. origin like « as, bhū, sthā, gam, yā, ad, mṛ, dṛś, dram, cal, pat, dhā, div, mṛj, snih, duh » etc., the « dhātu-kōṣas » give as good Sanskrit humbler roots of late and obscure origin, like « 'gu(ṇ)li' vēṣṭanē, cūrṇikaranē'pi; 'ḍipa' kṣēpē; 'bha(ṇ)ḍi' parihāsē; 'kha(ṇ)ḍi' manthē; 'capa' kalkanē; 'juḍa' prēranē; 'caha' pari-kalkanē; 'khiṭa' uttrāsānē; 'lōḍṛ' unmadānē; 'jimu' adanē; 'huḍṛ, hōḍṛ' gatāu; 'ḍipa' vihāyasa-gāmanē; 'muṭa'

sañcūrṇanē; 'dhakka' nāśanē; 'bukka' bhāṣanē; 'kaṇa' nimīlanē; 'kaḍḍa' kārkkāśyē; 'laḍa' vilāsē; 'aḍḍa' abhiyōgē; 'aḍa' udyamē; 'ṭuṭa' alpa-bhāvē, etc., etc., which have in almost all cases NIA. equivalents, and can in the majority of cases be explained easily as secondary formations from words derived from primitive Aryan roots; the origin of quite a number of them, however, remains obscure.

615. The number of verb-roots in Bengali is 1,056, according to the excellent grammar of Paṇḍit Nakuleśwar Vidyābhūṣaṇa (4th ed., Calcutta, Bengali year 1315). This includes original or primitive roots, causatives, and a number of denominatives used chiefly in literature, and excludes onomatopoeics. A Bengali « dhātu-kōṣa » of about 1,500 roots has been easily compiled by me on the basis of Jñānēndra-Mōhan Dās's dictionary (see *supra*, p. 218): this includes onomatopoeics, and a number of obsolete roots not used in NB., beside a large number of Sanskrit denominatives used in high literature. The number will be much larger if proper *tbh.* roots in early Bengali literature and in the present-day dialects are all brought together.

Roots in Bengali, as in other cognate IA. speeches, can be classified on the lines indicated below, taking into consideration their origin, and partly also their function:

- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|---|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Primary Roots | Roots | —Primary Roots inherited from OIA. (<i>tbhs.</i>):
(a) Simple Roots, (b) Prefixed Roots. | | | | |
| | | —Primary Roots from Causatives in OIA. | | | | |
| | | —Primary Roots re-introduced from Sanskrit
(<i>tss.</i> and <i>stss.</i>) | | | | |
| | | —Primary Roots of doubtful origin (<i>dēśi</i> ?) | | | | |
| 2. Secondary Roots | Roots | —Causatives in « -ā- ». | | | | |
| | | —Denominatives | | | | |
| | | <table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="604 1105 739 1164">—Native
(<i>tbh.</i>)</td> <td data-bbox="750 1105 1008 1135">—(a) Early (inherited)</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="604 1194 739 1224">—<i>Tatsama.</i></td> <td data-bbox="750 1164 1008 1224">—(b) MB. and NB.
(coined)</td> </tr> </table> | —Native
(<i>tbh.</i>) | —(a) Early (inherited) | — <i>Tatsama.</i> | —(b) MB. and NB.
(coined) |
| | | —Native
(<i>tbh.</i>) | —(a) Early (inherited) | | | |
| | | — <i>Tatsama.</i> | —(b) MB. and NB.
(coined) | | | |
| | | —Foreign. | | | | |
| —Compounded and Suffixed (<i>tbh.</i>) | | | | | | |
| —Onomatopoeic.
—Doubtful. | | | | | | |

(1) Primary Roots.

616. Primary Roots in Bengali, at a rough computation, number about 300. Strictly speaking, denominatives derived from MIA., which number about 100, may be classed under primary roots, since they have been inherited as roots by Bengali and behave exactly like primitive roots derived from OIA. (e.g., a root like কাড় « kār » *snatch away* < « kaḍḍha = kṛṣṭa »): these might have been denominatives in MIA., but the nouns or adjectives which were their sources are in many cases obsolete in Bengali.

617. There are a little less than 200 roots in Bengali which can mostly be traced right up to primary roots of OIA. (Vedic and Sanskrit, and in some cases only to the early Prakrits). Examples are, of unprefixing roots: « আছ āch (MIA. acchati, IE. *es-sko-ti); ইছ ich (icchati); কষ kās *tighten* (kṛṣ); কান kār (kr); কান্দ kād *weep* (krand); কাপ kāp (kamp); কাট kāt (kṛt); কিন kin (krināti); কুদ kūd (kūrdati); খন khān (khan); খা khā (khād); খুঁজ khūj *seek* (? ksudyatē); খেল khēl (khēlati); গণ, গুণ gān, guṇ (gaṇ); গিল gīl (gīl, gir); চর cār *graze* (car); চল cāl (cal); চি oi *awaken* (cit, cf. cētayati); চু cu (cyav); চুন cinōti); চুম cum (cumb); ছা chā (chād); ছাড় chār (chard); ছিঁড় chīṛ (chind, chindati); ছেঁচ chēc (sic, siñc); জপ jāp *persuade* (jāp); জাগ jāg (jāgr); জি ji (jiv); জিন jin (jināti); জল jwāl = জল jāl (jval); তান tān (tan); টুট ṭuṭ (truṭ); টডহ ḍāh (dah); ঢাক ḍhāk (MIA. ḍhakk); তর tār (tr); তাজ tāj (tarj); তুল tul (tul); টডহ ḍāś (daśś); দল dāl (dal); দুল dul (cf. dōla); দুহ duh (duh); দুধ duṣ (duṣ); দে dē (dā); দেখ dēkh (MIA. dekkh < dṛkṣ); ধর dhār (dhr); ধর dhwās = ধস dhās (dhvas); ধা dhā (dhāv); ধো dhō (dhāv); ধুন dhun (dhvan); নাহ nāh (snā); নে nē (nī); হু, নো nu, no (nam); পচ pāc *to get rotten* (pac); পি pi (pibati); পিজ pīj (piñj); পুছ pueh (pṛcchati); পুজ pūj (pūj); ফাট phāṭ *split* (OIA. sphāṭ < *sphl̥t); ফুট phuṭ (ibid); বাঁট bāṭ *distribute* (vaṇṭ); বট bāṭ *remain, be* (vṛt); বর bār (vṛṣ ?); বাঁচ bāc *live* (vañc); বোল bōl (brū); বস bās (vas); বহ bāh (vah); বাঁধ bādh (bandh); বিঁধ bīdh (vyadh); বুঝ bujh (budh); বুল bul *wander about* (val); ভজ bhāj (bhaj); ভর bhār (bhr); ভাজ bhāj *fry, roast* (bhr̥j); ভাঁজ bhāñj *fold*

(bhañj); ভূষ bhūṣ (bhūṣ); মহ mäh *churn* (math); মজ māj *sink, get juicy* (majj); মিশ miś (miśr); মিল mil (mil); মাড় mār (mrd, mard); মাখ mākḥ (mrakṣ); মল māl (mard); যা jā (yā); যাচ jāc (yāc); যুঝ jujh (yudh); রাখ rākḥ (rakṣ); লহ lāh (labh); লখ lākḥ (lakṣ); লাগ lāg (lag); লাজāj (lajj); লাল lāl (lal); লুঠ luṭṭh (luṭṭh); শুষ śuṣ (śuṣ); শুন śun (śṛṇōti); শুক śūk (śuṅgh); শো, সো śō, *lie down* sō (svap); সহ sah (sah); সর śār (sr); সিসি si (siṣ); সিদ্ধ sijh *be boiled* (sidh); শৌহ, সৌহ sōh (śubh); হের hēr *scrutinise, gaze* (cf. ākṣheṭṭa *hunting*) », etc., etc.

Of prefixed roots, examples are « আ ā (ā-yā); আস, আইস ās, āis (ā-viś); আঁজ āoj *make half-shut* (ā-vṛj); আঁচ ācā (ā-cam); আন ān (ā-nī); আছাড় « āchār » *dash, throw down with force* (ā-chard); উছল uohāl *overflow* (ut-śāl); উঠ uṭṭh (ut-sthā); উত্তর utār *reach* (ut-tr); উপেখ upēkh (ut-pra-īkṣ); উই ui *rise, as the sun* (ud-i); উজা ujā *flow up, as a river* (ud-yā); উপচ upāc *flow over* (ut-patyatē); উপজ upāj (ut-padyatē); উলহ, উল, উর ulāh, ul, ur *descend* (ut-labḥ); নিবা, নিভা nib(h)ā (nir-vā); নিখর nirākḥ (nir-īkṣ); নিসর nisār (niḥ-sr); নিহাল, নিহার nihāl, nihār (ni-bhāl); নিবিড় nibār *finish* (nir-vṛt); নৈউট nēuṭ *return* (ni-vṛt); পাখাল pākḥāl (pra-kṣāl); পরখ pārākḥ (pari-īkṣ); পরশ pārāś *serve food* (pari-viś + sparśa); পর < পহির pār < pāhir (pari-dhā); পরিহর pārihār (pari-bṛ); পস, পৈস pās, pāis (pra-viś); পৌছ pōch *wipe* (pra-uñch); পোহা pobā *dawn* (pra-bhā); বস, বৈস bās, bāis (upa-viś); ভিজ bhij *get wet* (abhi-añj); বিক bik *sell* (vi-kri); সাতর sātār *swim* (sam-tr); সামাল sāmāl *gather up, save* (sam-bhāl); সাপ, সৌপ sāp, sōp (sam-arp) », etc., etc.

618. The primary roots have all come to Bengali through the MIA., and as such they bear the stamp of the phonetic modifications of the various periods. The ten classes (gaṇas) into which the Sanskrit grammarians have arranged OIA. verb-roots, taking into consideration their *themes*, became levelled down to one in Apabhrāṇśa, and all original thematic affixes which were added to the root in the present system were lost in MIA., being either dropped or incorporated with the root. In some instances, however, a characteristic theme could not be dropped; and the presence of the « -ya- » theme is indicated by the result of its assimilation with the consonant of the root. Bengal

primary roots inherited from OIA. have preserved only a few traces of these themes : thus—

1. « -ya- » theme: *e.g.*, « সিকে sijhē (sidh-ya-ti); নাচে nācē (naccāi, nrt-ya-ti); যুধে, জুধে jujhē (yudh-ya-ti); শুষে śuṣē (śuṣ-ya-ti); বুধে bujhē (budh-ya-ti); সমুধে samujhē (sam + budh-ya-ti); টুটে ṭuṭē (truṭ-ya-ti); মানে mānē honours (man-ya-tē) »; etc.

2. « -nō- » theme: « চুনে cune *culls, selects* (ci-nō-ti); শুনে śunē (śr-ṇō-ti); ধুনে dhunē (dhu-nō-ti) »;

3. « -nā- » theme: « কিনে kinē (kri-ṇā-ti); জিনে jinē (ji-nā-ti) »; (cf. জানে jānē = jānāti) ;

4. The « -ech- » theme (= IE. * -sko-), not recognised by Sanskrit grammarians, occurs in the roots « আছে āchē (acchati, * es-sko-ti); †ইছে ichē (icchati); †পুছে puchē (prcchati); পহুছে pāhūchē (pahuñcaī, pahucchāi, * prabhucchati, * pro-kheu-sko-ti) ».

Original Passive forms, with « -yā- » affix of the Passive, *e.g.*, « উপচয় upācāy *overflows* (utpatyātē); †উপজয় upājāy (utpadyātē); OB. দীসাই (dīśāi (dīś-yātē); রোচে, রুচে rōcē, rucē *is pleasing* (rucyātē) », etc., may be noted here.

The « -n- » infix of OIA. remains as a nasalisation of the root vowel in Bengali forms like « ছিড়ে chīrē (chiṇḍ-a-ti, chi-n-d-a-ti); ভাঁজে bhājē (bha-ñ-j-a-ti) », etc. (cf. « বাঁধে bādhē (*bandh-a-ti); রাঁধে rādhē (randh-aya-ti) ».

619. Apart from phonetic modification and decay, and the analogical tendency which brought about a general uniformity in the stem seeking to marshal the roots under one head, primary roots underwent certain modifications in MIA which would appear erratic and inexplicable. These have been described by Hoernle in his paper on Hindī Roots (JASB., 1880, Part I, p. 35ff.). Phonetic changes which altered « samarpayati » to « sāpē », « vismarati » to « bichurē », « upaviśati » to « bāsē », « svapiti » to « śōy », « abhyaajyatē » to « bhijē » « prōñchati » to « pōchē, mōchē » are sufficiently clear: and the analogical tendency levelling down the diversities in the forms of roots is plain enough. The striking thing is that in MIA., the bases

of active roots are frequently derived, not from the active form in OIA., but rather from the passive one, and in some cases apparently from the future base rather than that of the present. Causative bases of OIA. also supplied the simple root forms of MIA. and NIA. The deponent forms in MIA. can be explained as taking up a reflexive character, from which the active sense easily evolved, and this was sometimes accompanied by slight semantic changes: *e.g.*, «*abhyajyātē*» is *anointed* > *anoints oneself* > ভিজ়ে «*bhijē*» = *gets wet*; «*tapyātē*» > MIA. «*tappai*» is *heated* > *heats oneself*, > তাপ়ে «*tāpē*» *gets hot*; «*namyātē*» is *bent, gets bent, bends* > নাম়ে «*nāmē*» *descends*; «*brūyātē*» is *said* > «**buriyati*» > ব়োলে, ব়লে «*bōle, bālē*» *says*; etc. A number of derivatives from passive participles are similarly used actively. Certain roots in OIA., ending in «*ś, ṣ*» (also other consonants — «*c, j, h*»), change the final consonant to «*k*» before the «*-sya-*» in the future, resulting in «*-k-ṣya-*» for the future base. The MIA. change of «*-k-ṣya-*» was «*-kkh-*» or «*-cch-*». In some instances, it seems that on the model of MIA. bases like «*puccha*» = OIA. *prcch*, *gaccha*, *pēccha* = *pra+ikṣ*, *accha*, *yaccha*, «**pahuñca*» = NIA. *pahūch-*, certain roots employed for the present their future bases in «*-ccha-*» < «*-k-ṣya-*». (Hoernle, *op. cit.*). Thus OIA. «*ā+krak-ṣya-ti*», from «*√kṛṣ*», would give «*ā+kacchāi*» > *ā-acchāi*, «**āyacchāi*», «**āyañcāi*» in MIA., which apparently was the source of Hindi «*aiñcaī*, *aīcaī*» *draws*, Bengali হ়েচ়ড়় *h-ēc-ṛ-ā-y*» *drags* (with prothetic «*h-*», and «*-ṛ-*» > «*-ḍ-*» extension). Such future > present bases do not, however, seem to have been as numerous in MIA. and NIA. as Hoernle makes them out to be (*op. cit.*).

620. There are slightly over 50 roots in Bengali which were originally causatives in OIA. The old ablaut modification (*guṇa*) of the root vowel is preserved in Bengali, and the meaning has in many cases been slightly modified. These old causatives have become primary roots in Bengali, and a regular causative form with the «*-ā-*» affix has been built up both from this causative-primary and its basic root: *e.g.*, «*patati*» > পড়়ে «*pārē*» *falls*, «*pātayati*» > পাড়়ে

« *pārē* » *causes to fall, fells, gets a thing down* ; whence new formations in « -ā »—পড়ায় « *pārāy* » *causes to fall*, and পাড়ায় « *pārāy* » *causes to fell, causes to get something down from high*. The root পাড় « *pār* » has become, so far as NB. is concerned, an independent form, with the sense of *taking down a thing*. Examples of these causativel formations : †উঘারে « *ughārē* » (*udghātayati*) ; †উপাড়ে, উপড়য় « *upārē* » *upārāy* » (*utpātayati*) ; গালে « *gālē* » *strains, causes to flow off* (*gālayati*), beside গলে « *gālē* » *melts, slips through like water* (*galati*) ; MB. গোঙায়ে « *gōṅgāyē* » *passes time* (*gamayati*) ; চাবায়, চিবায় « *cābāy, cibāy* » *chews* (*carvayati*) ; চালে « *cālē* » *causes to move* (*cālayati*), beside চলে « *cālē* » *walks* (*calati*) ; ছোঁড়ে « *chōrē* » *casts, throws from a distance as a ball*, beside ছুটে « *chuṭē* » *runs* (*Dhātupāṭha* = $\sqrt{\text{chuṭ}}$ —*chōṭayati splits, cuts*) ; টানে « *ṭānē* » *pulls* (caus. < $\sqrt{\text{tan}}$) ; তারে « *tārē* » *saves* (*tārayati*), beside তরে « *tārē* » *crosses, is saved* (*tarati*) ; †তায়ে, তাওয়ে « *tāyē, tāwē* » (*tāpayati*) ; ধারে « *dhārē* » from earlier উধারে « *udhārē* » *borrows, remains a debtor* (*uddhārayati*), besides ধরে « *dhārē* » *holds* ; থায় « *thōy* » *places* (*sthāpayati*) ; MB. নোঙে « *nōṅgē* », NB. নোয় « *nōy* » *bends* (« *nāmayati* », confused with « *namati* ») ; পায় « *pāy* » (« *prāpayati* », in the sense of « *prāpnōti* ») ; পসারে « *pāsārē* » *extends, spreads out* (*prasārayati*) ; পারে « *pārē* » *is able, succeeds* (*pārayati*) ; পূরে « *pūrē* » (*pūrayati*) ; ফাড়ে « *phārē* » *splits* (*sphātayati*) ; বাহে, বায় « *bāhē, bāy* » (*vāhayati*) ; বাটে « *bāṭē* » *pounds (spices) with a stone roller* (*vartayati*) ; বারে « *bārē* » *shields, stops* (*vārayati*) ; MB. ভায়ে « *bhāyē* » *appears* (*bhāvayati*), beside MB. হোয়ে « *hōyē* » (*bhavati*) ; মারে « *mārē* » *kills, strikes* (*mārayati*), beside মরে « *mārē* » (**marati* = *mriyatē*) ; মাপে « *māpē* » *measures* (old *sts.* = **māppēi* < *māpayati* : cf. Hindi *nāpe measures* = *nāppēi* = *jñāpyatē*) ; মোহে « *mōhē* » (*mōhayati*) ; রাঁধে « *rādhē* » *cooks* (*randhayati*) ; টালে « *ṭālē* » (*tālayati*), beside টলে « *ṭālē* » (*ṭalati*) ; সারে « *sārē* » *repairs* (*sārayati* *arranges, nourishes*) besides সরে « *sārē* » *moves, goes to* (*sarati*) ; হারে « *hārē* » *is defeated* (*hārayati*) beside হরে « *hārē* » *takes away, steals* (*harati*) ; cf. *dēśi* ঢালে « *ḍhālē* » *pours* beside ঢলে « *ḍhālē* » *reels* ; etc., etc.

621. A number of roots, which do not at all look like secondary formations, cannot be traced to any OIA. (Sanskrit) form ;

although it is extremely likely that they are in most cases *tbhs*. Analogous forms occur in the « dhātu-kōṣas » in some cases, but that is no help in determining the origin. A few resemble Dravidian roots of similar meaning, and these may be of Dravidian origin: e.g., এড় « ēṛ = ēḍ » *give up*; নড় « nār = naḍ » *move, walk* (< OIA. nṛt *dance* > MIA. naṭ, naḍ?); কুদ « kud » *leap* (cf. Skt. kūrḍ); মড় « mur = muḍ » *fold, wrap*; dialectal শাপড় « śāpār = śāpaḍ » *eat, gobble up, finish* (e.g., ভাত শাপড়ান « bhātṣ śāpārāṇā » *finishing one's meal of rice*): roots exactly similar in form and meaning to all of the above are found in Tamil. Roots that would come under this group of obscure etymology would be, among others—

« আঁচ āc *guess*; আঁট āṭ *tighten*; কাচ kāc MB. *dress*, NB. *wash clothes*; কুঁড় kūṛ *pound*; কুঁদ kūḍ *carve*; খস khās *slip off*; খাট khāṭ *work, labour, put money on a trade, or lend at interest* (in the last sense a late Skt. « √khaṭṭ » has been found: see Jñānēndra Mōhan Dās's Dictionary, under খাটান); খুঁট khūt *scratch, rub, rub gently with the finger-tips or nails, peck with the beak*; খুল khul *loosen, open, open bolt*; গাদ gād *ram in*; ঘির ghir *surround*; ঘূচ ghuc *come at an end, be finished*, cf. Assamese গুচ gus *enter*; চট cāṭ *be angry, get ruffled or cracked*; চাহ cāh *look at, ask* (OIA. « caks »?: cf. Asōkan « caghati » = *strives, wants* < OIA. « *cagh » = IE. root?); চাঁচ cāc *scrape*; চাট cāṭ *lick* (OIA. caṣṭa. √caks?); চাপ cāp *press*; চাঁক chāk *strain*; ছাঁট chāṭ *clip off*; ছাপ chāp *print, press*; ছিপ chip *hide*; ছুট chuṭ *run*; জোখ jōkh *measure*; জুট juṭ, জুল jul *meet together*; জল, জুল jhāl, jhul *hang*; জুক jhūk *lean out*; জাঁপ jhāp *plunge*; জাল jhāl *mend a metal pot, clean a well*; জুঁজ jhūj *ooze*; টস tās *drip* (onomat. ?); টাঁস tās *be finished, die*; টাঁক, তাঁক, টেঁক tēk, টিক tīk *endure, repair*; টাক tāk *taste* (cf. টাকরা tākṣrā *palate*); টিপ tip *pinch with the fingers*; টেল tēl *push*; ডাক ḍāk *call, shout*; ডুব, বুড় ḍub, বুৰ sink, drown; তাড় tāṛ *hustle, pursue*; থুড়, থুর thur, thur *mince* (cf. thurv *kill*); পট pāṭ *be in agreement*; পিঁজ piṅ *card cotton*; পুড় pur *burn* (cf. Skt. √puṭ); পুত, পুত put, pūt *bury*; ফির phir *turn*; বাঁচ bāc *live* (Skt. vañc); বাছ bāch *select, choose*; বিহা, বিয়া bi(h)ā *give birth to*; ভাস bhās *float* (< Skt. bhās *shine*

> *appear* ?); রহ *rāh remain* (? *arh*); রট *rāt spread* (as a rumour); রড় *rār run*; লড় *lār fight*; লুস, লুঘ *lus, luṣ gorge oneself*; সাঁট *sāṭ ibid*, also *tighten*; হাঁট *hāṭ walk* (cf. Skt. *hiṇḍ*, Gujarātī *hēḍ-vū*); etc.

622. MIA. borrowings from Sanskrit may be included under the inherited or the proper *tbh.* element of Bengali. After Bengali emerged from Māgadhī Ap., as a distinct speech, and literature began to be produced in it, the habit of borrowing from Sanskrit obtained a greater impetus. A practice grew up in Bengali literature from very early times of adopting Sanskrit roots bodily into the language, like the adoption of *ts.* nouns and participles. This practice received a fresh support during the age of Vaiṣṇava renaissance in the 16th century, and again in the 19th century, in the hands of modern poets like Madhusūdan Datta. This use of Skt. forms, even when their *tbh.* counterparts were in actual use, is not peculiar to Bengali alone: we find it in the medieval vernacular poetry of all Aryan India. It was the inevitable effect of a revival of classical studies—in grammar, literature, law, theology and philosophy, the results of which were brought to bear upon the vernaculars. The revival of Brahmanic studies strengthened the position of Sanskrit, which had throughout retained a living touch with the vernaculars as their natural feeder. We thus find from Middle Bengali times *ts.* roots or bases like « আহ্ব *āhwa*, কীর্ত *kīrtta*, গর্জ *garja*, চুম্ব *cumba*, তিষ্ঠ *tiṣṭha*, ত্যজ *tyaja*, ধ্যা *dhyā*, ধ্বন *dhwan*, নম *nam*, নিৰ্মা *nirmā* (*s/ts.*, নিরমা *nirāmā*), নির্ণি *nirṇi*, নিশি *niści*, প্রণম *praṇam*, বদ *bad* (*vad*), বন্দ *banda* (*vand*), বর্জ *barja* (*varj*), বর্ত *barta* (*vart*), ভঞ্জ *bhañja*, ভংস *bhartsa*, ভিদ *bhid*, মর্দ *marda*, যজ *yaj*, রাজ *rāj* (the last two may be *tbhs.*), শোভ *śūbh*, সেব *sēb* (*sē.a*), স্মর *smar*, হিংস *hiṇsa* » etc., etc. to be in common use, side by side with *tbh.* equivalents in many cases. These *ts.* roots, although understood by most people, figure mainly in literature, and only a few have been adopted in the colloquial, like তিষ্ঠ « *tiṣṭha* » (cf. তিষ্ঠাইতে দেওয়া *tiṣṭhāitē dēwā* > Standard Coll. তিষ্ঠুতে দেওয়া *tiṣṭhute dēwā* = *let one remain at peace*), বর্ত « *barta* » (cf. কাঁচিয়া বর্তিয়া > বেচে-ব'র্তে থাকা *bāciyā-bārtiyā* > *bēcē-bōrtē thākā* to remain alive and well, বর্তিয়া > ব'র্তে যাওয়া *bārtiyā* > *bōrtē jāwā* to feel saved, to get a new existence). The number of such common *ts.* roots comes up to some 100; but it is often difficult to determine

whether they are *ts.* roots, or denominatives, as frequently the base in Bengali shows « *guṇa* » of the Skt. root characteristic of noun forms.

(2) Secondary or Derivative Roots.

623. The Causatives are the most characteristic of this class. They have the affix « *-ā-* » which comes from the Second MIA. « *-āva-* » = First MIA. « *-āpa-* », which is only a generalisation of the « *-pa-* » affix found in the causative of some OIA. roots ending in « *-ā* », *e.g.*, √*dā* > *dā-pa-ya-*, *hā* > *hā-pa-ya-*, *mā* > *mā-pa-ya-*, *yā* > *yā-pa-ya-*, *sthā* > *sthā-pa-ya-*, *snā* > *snā-pa-ya-*, etc. Their verbal nouns as well as infinitives and passive participles have the affix আন, আনো « *-ānā*, « *-ānō* ». Almost every primary root and denominative which is not already a causative in form can have its causative in « *-ā-* ». A number of denominatives (especially in the case of bases in three syllables, ending in ড় « *-ṛ-* », original or affixed) have become obsolete, their places being taken by causative formations which are used without causative meaning: *e.g.*, আঁকাড় « *āṅkāṛḥ* » *embrace, hold with both hands* (*aṅka-ḍa* : cf. *aṅka-pālikā embrace*), proper verb form আঁকাড়ে « *āṅkāṛē* », causative extension * আঁকাড়াএ > আঁকাড়ায় « *āṅkāṛāḍē* > *āṅkāṛāy* »; উখাড় « *ukhāṛḥ* », উখাড়ে « *ukhāṛē* » > *উখাড়াএ, উখাড়ায়, উখাড়োয় « **ukhāṛāḍē* > *ukhāṛāy*, *ukhāṛōy* » *roots out*; উজাড় « *ujāṛḥ* » *desolate*, উজাড়ে « *ujāṛē* » > *উজাড়াএ « **ujāṛāḍē* », উজাড়ায়, উজাড়োয় « *ujāṛāy*, *ujāṛōy* » *makes desolate, ransacks*; উগার « *ugārḥ* » > উগারে « *ugārē* », *উগারাএ « **ugārāḍē* » > উগরায় উগরোয় « *ugārāy*, *ugārōy* » *vomits*; তাকে « *tākē* » *gazes* (*tarkayati*) > তাকায় « *tākāy* »; হাঁকাড়ে « *hāṅkāṛē* » *shouts, hits* > *হাঁকাড়ায় « **hāṅkāṛāḍē* » > হাঁকড়ায়, « *hāṅkāṛāy*, beside হাঁকরায় « *hāṅkāṛāy* » *belabours*; etc., etc. The causatives present a numerous class in Bengali, the proper « *-ā-* » causatives numbering some 400.

624. Denominatives are made up from nouns and participle adjectives, these nouns and participles being treated exactly like roots. A vowel ending the noun or participle base is dropped. IA. developed early this habit of making roots out of nouns and adjectives, without adding the denominative-forming affix « *-āya-* ». According to the Skt. grammarians (who doubtless were guided by vernacular Prakrit usage in

this respect), any noun-stem could be used as a verb-stem. With the decay of inflected past forms, the past participles became, after the present base, the most important. In some cases there was a very great difference in form between these two outstanding parts of the verb. The levelling tendency in MIA. simplified matters by making the passive participle the basis of a new present formation, which in course of time ousted the old present: since in Late MIA., the latter often appeared (from point of view of MIA.) irregular and peculiar. Equally frequently the reverse process took place. Thus, OIA. « upaviśati » and « upaviṣṭa- » gave MIA. « uvaśai » and « uvaṣṭha », but « uvaṣṭha » assumed the function of the present, so that in NIA. (Hindōstāni) we have present « baiṭhē » (rather than « baiśē »), and pass. participle « baiṭhā »; and in the OIA. group « śṛṇōti, śrūta » > MIA. « suṇai, sudō » > suō, « suṇai » made « suō » obsolete by bringing about the creation of a new form « suṇiō », so that in Hindōstāni we have present « sunē » and pass. part. « sunā ». The simple « -a » verbal noun, as presenting the root in a very intelligible form, also often supplied a basis for the new conjugation.

The Kōl and Dravidian speeches might have been responsible for the wide development in IA. of the practice of forming denominatives. Anyhow, it was a late MIA. characteristic which has come down to Bengali. Denominatives in « -ā- » are now freely formed, even from foreign nouns and adjectives.

625. As for the *tbh* (and *dēśi*) denominatives of Bengali, absence of literary records does not allow us to fix with certainty when they were first employed as verbs—whether in the pre-Bengali period, or in later times. The forms without « -ā- » seem to be earlier. Examples are: « উগে ugē rises (uggaa, udgata); উজাড়ে ujārē clears (*ujjhāḍa, *ud-jhāṭa with trees cut down); MB. উনাএ unāē gets hot (uṇha, uṣṇa); উবে ub(h)ē is volatile (ubbha, ūrdhva; ubbhaa, udbbhṛta); MB. উমাএ umāē steams (umha, uṣṃa); কহে, কয় kāhē, kāy (kahēi, kathāyati); কাড়ে kārē snatches away, robs (kaḍḍha, kṛṣṭa); কামায় kāmāy earns, shaves (« kamma, karma »: Second MIA. « kammai » cuts; connexion with Pali « kappēti » trims, as suggested by R. Morris, 'Pali, Sanskrit and Prakrit

Etymology,' Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 494-495, not likely); কালায় *kālaya* gets black, blackens (*kāla*); কুড়ায় *kurāy* gathers (*kūḍa*, *kūṭa*); খোয়ায় *khōwāy* gets lost (**khawā*, *khaa*, *ksaya*); গাড়ে *gārē* buries (*dēśi* *gaḍḍa*: ? < *garta*); গাবায় *gābāy* vaunts (*gabba*, *garva*); গাহে, গায় *gāhē*, *gāy* sings (*gāhēi*, *gāthayati* < *gāthā*); গুছায় *guchāy* arranges (*guccha*); ঘোলে *gholē* mixes thoroughly as liquids (*ghōlla* = *ghūrṇa*); ঘামে *ghāmē* sweats (*gharma*); চিনে *cinē* recognises (*cihna*); চোরায় *cōrāy* steals (*cāura*); চেতায় *cētāy* comes to senses (*cittāvei*, *citta*-); চিরে *cirē* slits, pie ces (*cīara*, *cīvara*); ছাঁদে *chāḍē* grips, holds tight, binds (*chanda*); ছিনে *chinē* snatches away (*chinna*); জিতে *jitē* wins (*jitta* < *jitā*); ছিটায় *chitāy* sprinkles (*chittā*,-? *ksipta*); জুতে, জোতে *jutē*, *jōtē* hitches ox or horse to vehicle (*jutta*, *yukta*); টকে *ṭakē* gets sour (*ṭakka*=*takra*); ঠাটায় *ṭhātāy* stiffens (*ṭhaḍḍha* < **ṭhaṭṭha*: *stabdha* ?); দাঁড়ায় *dārāy* stands (*daṇḍāyatē*); তাকে *tākē* gazes (*takkēi*, *tarkayati*); তাতে *tātē* gets hot (*tatta*, *tapta*); তিতে *titē* gets wet (*tinta*, √*tim*); থামে *thāmē* comes to a standstill, stops (*thambha*, *stambha*); থিরায় *thirāy* (*sthira*) থিতায় *thitāy* subsides as a residue (*sts.* ? < *sthitā*); দুখায় *dukhāy* pains (*dukkha*, *duḥkha*); ধুঁয়ায়, ধোঁয়ায় *dhūāy*, *dhōāy* smokes (*dhūwā*, *dhūma*); পাকে *pākē* ripens (*pakva*); MB. পতিয়াএ, পইতায় *pātiyāē*, *pāitāy* believes (*sts.* < *pratyaya*); পইঠে *pāiṭhē* enters (*pāiṭṭha*, *praviṣṭa*); পিটে *piṭē* beats (*piṭṭa*, *piṣṭa*); বাকে *bākē* (*ban̐ka* = *vakra*); বাথানে *bākhānē* explains, praises (*bakkhāṇa*, *vyyākhāṇa*); বাজে *bājē* is played, as music (*vajja*, *vādyā*); মাগে, মাজে *mā(ṇ)gē* begs (*maggaī*, *maggēi*, *mārgati*, *mārgayati*); মাতে *mātē* becomes intoxicated (*matta*); মুতে *mūtē* (*mūtra*); মুদে *mudē* closes, as eyes (*mudrā* seal); রুঠে *ruṭhē* angers (*ruṭṭha*, *ruṣṭa*); রুধে *rudhē* prevents, forbids (*ruddha*); শুখায় *sukhāy* dries (*suṣka*); সঁতায় *sētāy* gets wet (**sinta*, *sitta* < *sikta*), etc., etc. *Tadbhava* derivatives of NIA. origin in Bengali can be exemplified by forms like « আঁধারা *āḍhārā* (*andhakāra*); আঁলা, আলা *āulā*, *ālā*, *elā* make dishevelled (*ākula*); আলগা *ālāgā* loosens (*ālaggā*, *ālagna*); আঁতকা *āṭaka* be seized with a sudden fright (*āṭanka*); ইটা *iṭā* stone, hit with pellets (*iṣṭaka*); উঁচা *ūcā* raise, level as a weapon (*ucca*-); আঁগা, আঁগা, আগা, এগো *āguā*, *ālgā* > *ēgō* advance (*agra*+*uka*); কঁসা *kaṣā* tighten (*karṣa*); কাঁধা *kāḍhā* to shoulder (*skandha*); কীলা *kilā*

give blows with the fist (kilḥ fisticuff); খেঙ্ৰা khēṅrā strike with a broom; খেপা khēpā become mad; গালা gālā abuse (gālī=garbhikā); চাপড়া cāpḍā pat (cāpḍāḥ patting with the flat of the palm); ঘনা ghānā deepen (ghana); ঘুমা ghumā sleep (ghumḥ sleep: see p. 482 supra); ঘোঁজা gōjā tuck inside (cf. গুঁজা gūjā a peg); চড়া cārā slap (cārḥ a slap); ছোঁচা chōcā wash after evacuation (śāuca); জুতা jūtā strike with the shoe (jūtā shoe); বাঁটা bāṭā strike with a broom; ঢেউআ ḍhēuā dash water in a tank or stream (ḍhēu wave); তলা tālā sink deep (tala); তাসা tāsā play cards (slang: tāsḥ playing cards); তেওড়া tēorā make deformed (tri-vṛta); দাঁতা dāṭā gnash teeth, show teeth (danta); MB. নিন্দা nindā sleep (nidrā); পাদা pādā break wind (parda); পাছুআ > পেছো pāchuā > pēchō fall back (paścāt); বিষা bi-ā fester as a wound (viṣa); ভাঙ্গা bhāṅ(g)ā break (bhaṅga); রাঙ্গা rāṅ(g)ā redder (raṅga); লাঠা lāṭhā belabour with sticks (lāṭhi < yaṣṭi? < *lak-ṭhi=*lak-, *lag- [cf. lak-uṭa, lag-uḍā + yaṣṭi); শাণা śāṇā whet (śāṇa); হাতা hātā receive in hand to one's advantage (hasta); MB. হুমা humā (hōma), etc., etc., The noun base not infrequently ends in -u: thus আশুয়া > এগো āg-u-ā > এগুō advance, পাছুয়া > পেছো pāch-u-ā > পēchō recede, পারুয়া > পেরো pār-u-ā > pērō cross, etc.

The *tbh.* derivatives convey mainly an instrumental or acquisitive sense.

Common *tbh.* roots of this class number some 200 in Bengali.

626. Sanskrit denominatives, in *ts.* or *sts.* forms, like Skt. roots and participial forms, occur from the oldest Bengali onwards. Almost any Sanskrit noun, preferably in -a, which is not the name of a concrete object, can be used as a root in the language of Bengali poetry. About 100 denominatives of this class are in common use in the Bengali. A few of this have developed characteristic vernacular or *sts.* forms from MB. onwards, e.g., তেয়াগ ātēyāgā < ātyāga, বরণ bārāṇā < varṇa, দর্শ dārśā < darśa, পরশ pāṛāśā < sparśa etc.

Examples of *ts.* demonstratives: āgrasara, ādara, ādēśa, ākula, āghāta, ānanda, ālāpa, āśīṣa, ācchēda, uttāpa, uddhāra, unṁōca, ulāṅga citra, trasta, dvēśa, dvandva, dāna, dīpa, nāda, nīrava, nīscaya, niṣphala,

nistāra, parihāra, pradāna, prañāma, pramōda, prasāra, prasāda, praśama (*ts.* root, pra + √śam?), puraskāra, bhāti, bhāva, vikāsa, vighōṣa, vināśa, vistāra, vēṣṭa, rāga, yōga, lēpa, samhāra, santōṣa, stuti > etc., etc.. we have even a word like « prati-vidhitsā » turned into a denominative root, প্রতিবিধিত্স « prāti-bidhitsā », in poetry (*e.g.*, in Madhusūdan Datta and in Giriś Chandra Ghōṣh).

627. Foreign denominatives number barely 20. They are almost all from the Persian (or Perso-Arabic): *e.g.*, অর্শা « ārsā » *be entailed as property* (°arsab); কবলা « kâblā » *make agree or accept* (slang: < qabūl); কুলুপা « kulupā » *lock up* (qufl = *lock*); খতা « khātā » *cast accounts, estimate* (xatt); খামচা, খিমচা « khāmṣcā, khimṣcā » *pinch* (Ar. xams = *five* : *pinch with the five fingers* ?); গুতা « gūtā » *butt with horns* (gutah *plunge*); গুজরা « gujārā » *pass time* (guṛār); জম « jāṃ » *gather*, জমা « jāṃā » *collect* (jam°); MB. তপাস « tāpās » *seek* (tafaḥḥus : see *supra*, p. 213, footnote 2); তোয়া « tōā » *flatter* (? tawā-jah); দাগ, দাগ « dāg, dāgā » *mark* (dāg); নরমা « nārṣmā » *be soft* (narm); গরমা « gārṣmā » *be hot* (garm); ফসকা « phāṣṣkā » *slip from hold* (fasx); বদলা « bādḥlā » *change* (badl); MB. মানা « mānā » *forbid* (man°); সাবাসা « sâbāsā » *cry bravo* (šābās < šād-bās) ; etc., etc.

There are no denominatives proper from the other foreign sources, Portuguese and English. English verbs like *edit, manage, quote, note, agree*, etc., as well as nouns and adjectives, are freely compounded with Bengali roots like « kār, dē » to form verbs, in the familiar speech of persons educated in English, but such words by themselves are not used as verb roots, with or without the « -ā- », as in the case of Persian words. Slang is responsible, however, for one or two genuine denominatives, *e.g.*, in student slang in Calcutta one can hear পাসানো, পেসুনো < পাসুনানো « pās-ānō, pēsunō < pās-u-ā-nā » *to pass* < English *pass*.

628. Compounded and Suffixed Roots.

There are over 125 roots which are derivative, being made up of either two roots combined, or a root preceded by a noun or adverb, or in the majority of cases, of a root (primary or denominative)

modified by a suffix. Instances of the first type (two roots combined) can be easily analysed. The second root which is suffixed is commonly আসা, আইসা « ā(i)sā » *come*. Thus, we have দেখসে, দেখসা « dēkhā-sē, dēkhā-sā » *come and see* found from early MB. times, = দেখ + আইস « dēkh + āis » *see and come*, and শক চড়া « cārāsā » *come and mount* ($\sqrt{\text{cār}} + \sqrt{\text{āis}}$). We have also occasionally a similar combination with গা from গিয়া « gā < giyā » (করগা, খাওয়া « kārā-gā, khāo-gā » *go and see, go and eat*). We have beside a combination of रह « $\sqrt{\text{rah}}$ » *to remain* and सह « $\sqrt{\text{sah}}$ » *to endure*, in the imperative only—contemptuous र'स् « rōsṣ », ordinary रोसो « rōsō » < « rāhā sāhā » *wait*, in the Standard Colloquial. The above forms strictly speaking are not roots,—they are merely compounded forms, contracted and stereotyped. Besides, they do not occur in all persons and tenses, but only in the imperative. Of the second type (noun or adverb and root) are found some instances, also from eMB., like आगुहा « āguchā (< *āgusā, āgu + $\sqrt{\text{āis}}$) » *advance*, राकाड़ा > राकड़ा « rā-kārā > rākārā » *shout, raise a shout*, and the negative forms नार « nār < nā + pār » *fail, not succeed*, नह « nāh < na + $\sqrt{\text{ah}}$, hā » *not be*.

The periphrastic forms composed of a noun (*tbh.*, *ts.* or foreign) and a root like « kār » *do*, like दर्शन करा « dārśanā kārā » *to see*, गमन करा « gāmanā kārā » *to go*, do not come under this.

629. The bulk of these secondary compounded roots are suffixed. We have these suffixes: (i) क « -k- », (ii) ट « -ṭ- », (iii) ड « -ṛ- », (iv) र, ल « -r-, -l- », and (v) स, च « -s-, -c- » (cf. G. A. Grierson, 'On the Irregular Causals in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' JASB. 1896, Part I). These modified the meaning of the original root or denominative base in various ways,—as an intensive or continuative, frequentative or approximative affix. Corresponding forms occur in the other NIA. speeches. These roots may again be described as denominatives from nouns ending in « -k-, -ṭ-, -ḍ- (-ṛ-), -r-, -l-, -ś-, -c- ».

630. Of these affixes, (i) क « -k- » in Bengali indicates, generally, the suddenness of the action, or its continuity: it is thus an intensive. Its origin has been discussed before (see *supra*, pp. 679 ff.). Examples in Bengali: চুক « cuk » *be at an end* (*cyut-kṛ); কৌচকা « kōcṣkā »

wrinkle (kuñc); খিঁচকা « khicṣkā » *pull, nag* (cf. খেঁচ khēc *pull* : ? « krakṣyati < √krṣ », whence MIA. « kacchāi, kañcaī », vowel influenced by « ā-krakṣati » > *ākacchāi > āyañcaī > NIA. aīcaī »); ঢলকা « cālṣkā » *spill, as water from a vessel full to the brim* (cal); চুলকা « culṣkā » *scratch* (√cal ? cf. চুলবুল cul-bul *wander*); চানকা « cāṇṣkā » *glance, make eyes, draw the eyes as in a picture*; (? *cayana-kka, cētana-); চুম্কা « cumṣkā » *sip, touch vessel with lips* (cumb); ছিটকা « chitṣkā » *sprinkle* (chitṣ = drop, sprinkling); so চমকা « cāmṣkā » *be bright, dazzle, be startled as at a sudden flash or noise*; জমকা « jamṣkā » *be showy*; টপকা « ṭapṣkā » *jump over*; টসকা « ṭasṣkā » *drip, run out*; ঠমকা « ṭhāmṣkā » *caper, walk with a dancing gait*; ঢুলকা « ṭhulṣkā » *wave a fly-flap*; ভড়কা « ṭarṣkā » *be in fits*; থমকা « thāmṣkā » *be at standstill*; থকা « thākā » *ibid*; থাকা « thākā » *remain*; দমকা « dāmṣkā » *come as a gust of wind*; ধমকা « dhāmṣkā » *rebuke*; নড়কা « narṣkā » *move about*; বখা < বহকা « bākhā < bāhṣkā » *be borne away* > *go astray*; ভড়কা « bhārṣkā » *be confused, fear* (bhraṣṭa); মচকা « macṣkā » *break with a noise, sprain*; মুচকা « mucṣkā » *smile, wrinkle*; লটকা « laṭṣkā » *hang*; সট্কা < সড়কা « saṭṣkā < sarṣkā » *slink away* (sṛta); হড়কা « harṣkā » *slip one's foot, be slippery*; হেঁচকা « hēcṣkā » *drag*; etc.

A few words of other origin have come in line with these « -k- » denominatives: e.g., আঁতকা « āṭṣkā » *be filled with sudden fear* (sts., < ātanṣka, ā-√tanñc); উসকা « usṣkā < ukṣṣā » *trim a lamp, incite* (? utkarsa); কড়কা « kaṛṣkā » *rebuke* (cf. « kaḍakkha- = katākṣa- », whence NIA. [Hindī etc.] « kaṛṣkā » *war-song* < *challenge* < *glance of contempt*: confusion with, or influence of কড়া « kārā » *stiff* likely); ফসকা « phāsṣkā » *slip, from the Persian* (see p. 884); চট্কা « cātṣkā » *rinse* by metathesis from কচটা, কছটা « kac(h)ṣṭā » (next para.); etc.

631 The affix (ii) ট « -ṭ- » is the « -ṣṭā- » affix (No. 41), noted at pp. 684 ff. *supra*. It indicates continuity of the action. Examples: কছটা, কষটা « kachṣṭā, kaṣṣṭā » *rinse* (karṣa-varta-); ঘষটা « ghāṣṣṭā » *rub along* (gharṣa-varta-); চিপটা « cipṣṭā » *press down*; so জাপটা « jāpṣṭā » *embrace, hold with both arms*; জাপটা « jhāpṣṭā » *struggle* (MIA. *jhappa, jhampa); দাপটা « dāpṣṭā » *be aggressive* (darpa); পাশটা « pāṣṣṭā » *pass by* (pārēva-

varta-); রপট *« rāpṭā » gad about*; লপট or লিপট *« lāpṭā, lipṭā » stick on, etc.* Cf. MB. নেউট *« nēutā » return (nivartt-)* which is of different origin.

632. (iii) The ড *« -ṛ- »* affix is the pleonastic ড *« -ṛ- »*, discussed before as Formative Affix No 46 (pp. 689 ff.) The sense is sometimes intensive, but generally it is merely pleonastic. In some instances the sense is continuative or approximative, and then the ড *« -ṛ- »* would seem to be connected with *« √vṛt »*, either as a phonetic modification of *« -ṭ- < vaṭṭa, vṛtta »* above, or it is the same ড *« -ṛ- »* as Formative Affix No. 44 (pp. 687-688 *supra*): thus ঘেঁষড়া, ঘষড়া *« ghēṣṣṛā, ghāṣṣṛā »*, দাবড়া *« dābṣṛā »* beside ঘষট *« ghāṣṣṭā »*, দাপটা *« dāpṣṭā »* above; হেঁচড়া *« hēcṣṛā » pull, see supra, p. 878*; in আওড়া *« āoṛā » repeat*, তেওড়া তোবড়া *« tēoṛā, tōbṣṛā » disfigure*, and MB. নিবড়া *« nibṛā » finish*, we have the OIA. *« √vṛt »*. Examples of *« -ṛ- »*: আঁকড়া *« āṅkṣṛā » embrace (see supra, p. 880)*; আঁচড়া *« ācṣṛā » scratch, (? √añc wander, bend, curl + -ṛa-)*; কঁকড়া, কোঁকড়া, কুঁচড়া, কোঁচড়া *« kūṅkṣṛā, kōṅkṣṛā, kūc-, kōc- » crumple, wrinkle, be curly (kuñc)*; খেঁদড়া *« khēdṣṛā » hustle (cf. খেদা « khēdā » drive away, Hindi and Bengali noun « khēdā » 'kheddah,' enclosure to which wild elephants are driven and caught: sts. < « √khiḍ » torment?)*; খিঁচড়া *« khicṣṛā » feel tense or annoyed (see « khicṣṛā », supra, p. 886)*; ঘাবড়া *« ghābṣṛā » be frightened (connected with ঘাপটা « ghāpṭā » etc., p. 685)*; চাপড়া *« cāpṣṛā » slap, pat (carpaṭa)*; চিমড়া *« cimṣṛā » dry up, reduce to skin and bone (√cip > *civ > *ciw, cim)*; চুমড়া *« cumṣṛā » flatter (cumb), also চুমরা « cumṣṛā »*; জোবড়া, জাবড়া *« jōbṣṛā, jābṣṛā » blotch (cf. জবজবে « jābṣṛjābē », onomatopoeic to denote the idea of stickiness and moisture)*; তংড়া, তামড়া *« tāṅṣṛā, tāṃṣṛā » save up, store up (Yōgeś Chandra Vidyānidhi, Bengali Dictionary, VSPd., gives a late Sanskrit « tryaṅgaṭa-śikya-bhēdē », = Marāṭhi « tāṅṛaḍ » bind the feet: Monier Williams, « tri-aṅgaṭa » three strings suspended to either end of a pole for carrying 'urdens)*; থাবড়া *« thābṣṛā » slap (cf. থাবা « thābā » paw)*; থুবড়া *« thubṣṛā » give a blow, fall down on the face (Dhātu-kōṣa √thurv kill: cf. থুড়া « thurā » pound, cut into small bits)*; দাঁদড়া *« dāḍṣṛā » be aggressive (dvandva + ṭa), also দাঁদলা « dāḍṣṛlā »*; হুমড়া *« humṣṛā » bend, crumple (< ?)*; দৌড়া *« dāuṛā » run (drava + -ṛa)*; নিঙ্গড়া *« niṅṣṛā < niṅṣṛā » wring wet clothes (niñj)*; নেংড়া *« nēṅṣṛā » limp (cf. লেঙ্গ « lēṅ[ṅ]ṣ » foot, kick)*; নেবড়া *« nēbṣṛā »*

smear (sts. < lēpa); পাকড়, MB. পাকড় < pākārṣ, -khārṣ > *seize* (? parka + -ḍa : √prc *mix, unite*); পাছড়া < pāch(u)rṣ > *dash, toss, clean corn* (< ?); মুচড়া < mucṣṛā > *wring* (cf. macṣkā, mucṣkā : onomatopoeitic); মুষড়া < muṣṣṛā > *be dispirited* (cf. muṣ *steal, rob* : cf. the expression < hanta muṣitāḥ vayam > *alas, we are done for!*); রগড়া < rāgṣṛā > *rub* (< *beat*? cf. late Sanskrit < drakata, dragada > *drum*; Yoges Chandra Vidyānidhi, Beng. Dictionary); হাঁকড়া < hāḱṣṛā > *drive* (MIA. *hakka shout*); হাতড়া < hātṣṛā > *feel with the hand* (hasta); হুমড়া < humṣṛā > *push through eagerness, fall face forwards* (connected with হামা < hāmā > *crawl*); etc., etc. It would be seen that the < -ṛ- > roots are mostly very obscure, and these suffixed forms or roots, a most characteristic element inherited by NIA. from MIA., constitute a problem of prime etymological importance. From these roots with the ড < -ṛ- > affix are to be distinguished roots like আছাড় < āchār > *dash, throw down with force* (ā-chṛd); উজাড় < ujār > (see page 881, *supra*, with a variant আজাড় < ājār > *empty a vessel*); উপাড় < upār > (utpāṭayati); etc. : but উখাড় < ukhār > may represent < utkhāta + -ḍa >.

633. (iv) The affixes র, ল < -r-, -l- > represent the OIA. adjectival and pleonastic affix occurring both as < -ra-, -la- > (see *supra*, pp. 697-698). In compounded denominatives, the force is that of approximation or resemblance, or connexion. The < -r- > form in some instances may be a modification of ড < -ṛ- > above; and in other cases it may be for < -ārṣ formative < -ākāra >, implying resemblance (Affix No. 18, *supra*, pp. 668-669). Similarly the < -l- > form may represent the adjectival < -ālṣ > (No. 19, p. 669). Examples : আগলা < āgṛlā > *watch* (arga-la-); উঁচলা, ওঁচলা < ūcṣlā, ōcṣlā > *sift* (uñch); খোসলা < khōṣlā > *peel* (khōṣā *skin of fruit*); চোমরা, চুমরা < cōmṣṛā, cumbṣṛā > *flatter* (cumb); চোবলা < cōbṣlā >, ছোবলা < chōbṣlā > *bite as a snake* (cf. চোপ < cōpṣ > *blow* : see p. 482 *supra*); ঝাঁকরা < jhāḱṣṛā > *shake* (see p. 479 *supra*); বামরা < jhāmṣṛā > *be pale, dry up* (p. 480); ঠাওরা, ঠাহরা < ṭhāorā, ṭhāhārā > *look over, scrutinise, examine a thing that is standing still* (ṭhāha, ṭhāwa < √sthā); ডুকরা < dukṣṛā > *shout, lament loudly* (cf. ḍāḱṣ *shout*); বেঁতলা < thēṭṭlā > *pound, batter* (cf. বেঁত *thēṭṭ* *pounded*); নাগলা < nāgṣlā > *reach* (lāga + -ālā-); দাঁদলা < dāḍṣlā > *swagger* (dvandva); পিকলা < pikṣlā > *spit, squirt out*

(onomatopoetic); फुसला *< phusṣlā >* *wheedle, lead astray by whispering in the ear* (onomatopoetic); फुकरा *< phukṣrā >* *shout out, lament loudly* (onomatopoetic: *< phukka >* *puffing, blowing*, cf. Hindi *< pukār >* *shout*); बाँला *< bāolā >* *fan, winnow* (vāta); हाँकरा, हाँकारा *< hāṁkṣrā, hāṁkāṣrā >* *shout, give a blow* (MIA. *hakkāra shout*); हामला *< hāmṣlā >* *be eager, fall down on all fours in eagerness* (cf. *hammati crawls*); etc., etc. This affixed *< -r-, -l- >* of course is not to be confused with original *< -r-, -l- >* in forms like आँगला *< āṅḡṣlā >* *to use fingers* (aṅguli); उँडभरा *< ubhṣrā >* *bring down, pour* (udbhārayati); निकला *< nikṣlā >* *get out* (niḥ + kr); बातला *< bātṣlā >* *explain* (from Hindōstānī, a causative in *< -lā- >*); etc.

634. (v) The affix स, च *< -s-, -c- >* is the affix of resemblance (No. 55, p. 699). Examples with it are कपचा *< kṣpṣcā >* *chatter like a bird* (kṣp); गुमसा *< gumṣsā >* *be stuffy* (*< grīṣma? >* cf. गुमट *< gumṣṭ >* *stuffy weather*); so चकसा *< cākṣsā >* *become clear, as sky* (see p. 699); चूपसा *< cupṣsā >* *be lean, be hollow* (p. 699); बलसा *< jhālṣsā >* *roast* (see p. 479); लेङ्गसा *< lēṅḡṣcā >*, नेङ्गसा *< nēṅḡṣcā >* *limp* (see p. 699); धामसा *< dhāmṣsā >* *rummage as a bed* (cf. MB. धामालि *< dhāmāli >* *horseplay, sport*); बालसा *< bālṣsā >* *get fever as a baby* (bāla); भाँपसा *< bhāṣṣsā >* *smell fetid* (bāṣpa); भेङ्गसा *< bhēṅḡṣcā, bhāṅḡṣcā >* *make faces* (bhāṅga); etc., etc.

635. Onomatopoeitics also fall under denominatives. These can be classed under two heads—Onomatopoeitics Proper, and Roots Reduplicated or Repeated, which produce a jingle. Onomatopoeitics Proper can also be either simple or reduplicated.

It is evident that in the early stages of IA., onomatopoeitics were not so common. Compared with the Vedic, the MIA. dialects are specially rich in onomatopoeitics.

Vedic has registered about a dozen onomatopoeitics formed by repeating a root to produce a jingle, or by compounding an imitative word with a root of action or existence (cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1091; see also *supra*, pp. 175, 200). Onomatopoeitics were included in the category of *dhēsi* words by Prakrit grammarians, as they cannot show counterparts in Vedic or Sanskrit. We have onomatopoeitics

of two types in the speech of Ancient India (Vedic, Skt., and the Pkts.): *simple*, like the Sanskrit nouns « jhaṅ-kāra, guṇj-ana, kūj-ana », Pkt. verbs « jhaṅkārei, *guṇjai, kūjai »; and *reduplicated*, like Late Skt. « khaṭ-khaṭāyamāna, maḍamaḍāyitā, pharpharāyatē », etc., Pali « halahālā, kinikīṇāyati, capucapu », etc., and Prakrit « caḍapaḍanta, cuhūcuhū, tharahara- », etc. It would be seen that in Sanskrit the onomatopoeics are treated as denominatives in « -āya- », but in MIA., we have the direct use of the stem as root.

Onomatopoeics of the reduplicating type are found in abundance in all NIA. languages. In Bengali, onomatopoeic reduplications are ordinarily used as adverbs, absolutely i.e., without any affix, and modify a verb of action: e.g., চক্‌চক্‌ করে « cākṣ-cākṣ karē » *glitters*; or they are employed as gerundives in « -iyā », also standing in adverbial relation to the verb of action, e.g., কনকনাইয়া < কনক'নিয়ৈ উঠে » « kank-kānāiyā > kankkōniē uṭhē » *gives a throbbing pain*. A group consisting of a reduplicated or simple onomatopoeic and a verb like কর « kār » *to do* may be regarded as a compound verb formation.

There are over 125 common onomatopoeics in Bengali which are used as verb-roots. The list of onomatopoeics given in Rabīndra-nāth Tagore's 'Śabda-tattwa' comes up to 651, which includes words of all kinds that would come under this head. By change of the vowel, the same consonant group can be made to take numerous forms, which are slightly differentiated in meaning. Thus টক্‌টক্‌ « ṭākṣ-ṭākṣ » *tick of a clock*, টিক্‌টিক্‌ « ṭikṣ-ṭikṣ » *tick of a watch, nagging in a mild way*, টুক্‌টুক্‌ « ṭukṣ-ṭukṣ » *gentle battering with a tiny hammer*, ট্যাঙ্ক্‌ট্যাঙ্ক্‌ « tyākṣ-tyākṣ » [ṭæktækt] *jangle, unpleasant remarks*, টিক্‌টাঙ্ক্‌, টুক্‌টাঙ্ক্‌ « ṭikṣ-ṭākṣ, ṭukṣ-ṭākṣ » *gentle blows with alternation of sound*, টকাটক্‌ « ṭakātākṣ » *quick one after another*, etc. The proper significance and use of the onomatopoeic forms in the psychology and art of Bengali speech has been discussed by Rabīndra-nāth Tagore in 'Śabda-tattwa' and by Rāmēndra-sundara Trivēdi in 'Śabda-kathā.'

Examples of Onomatopoeic Verbs in Bengali.

A. Onomatopoeics Proper :

(i) Simple : চিল্লা *« cillā »* shout ; চুঁয়া *« cūā »* scorch in cooking, be fried black ; টুপা, টুসা *« tupa, tusa »* drip ; ফুক *« phuk »* whiff, smoke, puff ; ফোঁসা *« phōsā »* hiss ; হাঁক *« hāk »* shout (MIA. hakka) ; হাঁচ *« hāc »* sneeze (cf. OB. *« bhāñji »* as in Sarvānanda) ; etc.

(ii) Duplicated : কটকটা *« kātṭa-kātṭa »* sense of biting or breaking pain ; কটমটা *« kātṭa-mātṭa »* look with glaring eyes ; কড়মড়া *« kārṭa-mārṭa »* gnash one's teeth ; কুড়মড়া *« kurṭa-murṭa »* chew something crisp ; কাঁচকাঁচা *« kyācṭa-kyācā »* creak ; খটখটা *« khātṭa-khātṭa »* rattle, knock ; গড়গড়া *« gārṭa-gārṭa »* roll ; ঘেঁগা *« ghēṅā »*, গেঙা *« ghēṅā »* groan, have a dried-up throat or choked voice in speaking ; চড়চড়া > চচ্চড়া *« cārṭa-cārṭa, cāccārṭa »* striking with a cane, sense of whipping pain ; ঝলমলা *« jhālṭa-mālṭa »* dangle, be bright ; ঝমঝমা *« jhāmṭa-jhāmā »* make a hollow ringing noise, tinkle as anklets, patter as heavy rain ; ঠকঠকা *« ṭhākṭa-ṭhākā »* knocking sound ; তড়বড়া *« tāṛṭa-bārṭa »* clatter as galloping horses, chatter ; থিকথিকা *« thikṭa-thikā »* sense of teeming as with maggots ; পিলপিলা *« pilṭa-pilā »* sense of being over-crowded ; ফরফরা *« phārṭa-phārā »* flutter ; বজবজা *« bājṭa-bājā »* sense of being moist and rotten ; বিড়বিড়া *« birṭa-birā »* mutter ; মচমচা *« mācṭa-mācā »* crackle in the mouth ; সপসপা *« sāpṭa-sāpā »* sense of being wet and uncomfortable ; হড়হড়া *« hārṭa-hārṭa »* sense of being slippery and uncanny ; etc., etc.

B. Roots Repeated.

(i) Complete repetition : জলজলা *« jāl-jālā »* be brilliant (jval) ; টনটনা *« ṭān-ṭānā »* sense of binding pain (ṭan = ṭān) ; টলটলা *« ṭāl-ṭālā »* be clear and ready to run off, as water (ṭal) ; ধুকধুকা *« dhuk-dhukā »* pant (cf. dhūk pant, gasp) ; সড়সড়া *« sār-sārā »* feel creepy, as with an insect crawling over the body (sāḍ < sṛta) ; গলগলা *« gāl-gālā »* ooze or flow out, as blood (gal) ; গনগনা *« gān-gānā »* burn brightly (< gan < agni ? cf. Pali gini) ; etc.

(ii) Modified repetition, where another root of similar sense and association echoes the preceding one : চুলবলা, চিলবিলা *« cul-bulā, cil-bilā »* be fidgety, be eager to move away (*« cāl, bul »*: cf. চলাবলা *« cālā-bulā »* wander about, move and walk) ; টলবলা *« ṭāl-bālā »* be shaky and moving (ṭal, bāl = bul < Skt. val) ; দলমলা *« dāl-mālā »* shake and pat (*« dal, mal »*: cf. দলাইমলাই *« dālāi-mālāi »* currying a horse) ; etc., etc.

636. In addition to roots which easily affiliate themselves to one or the other of the above classes, there are a few roots of which the origin has not been found out, and which from their look are secondary formations : e.g., কাঁচা « *kācā* » *bring to a failure, make 'cutcha'*; গজা « *gājā* » *sprout*; MB. গাহা « *gāhā* » *cauker*; গুটা, গুড়া « *guṭā, guṛā* » *gather up, as a net or line*; গুঁড়া « *gūṛā* » *pound*; জিরা « *jirā* » *cool one self, rest*; টাঙ্গা « *ṭāṅ(g)ā* » *hang on high*; বিলা « *bilā* » *distribute*; হেদা « *heda* » *pine away*; লেলা « *lēlā* » *set a dog on a person*; etc. In some cases they appear to be *dēśī*.

In a number of *dēśī* and *tlh.* roots, we find a wide range of vowel change: চিপসা and চূপসা « *ciṭṣā, cūṭṣā* » *get shrivelled*; জাবড়া, জোবড়া « *jābṛā, jōbṛā* » *smudge, blotch*; etc. This, as well as other variations, like nasalisation or the absence of it, and interchange of consonants, etc., have been noticed under *Phonology*. The dislocation of the MIA. tradition in Bengali spelling from the very beginning, through Sanskrit influence, has been responsible for the state of chaos which exists in the spelling of verb-roots (as of other forms) in Middle and New Bengali. Dialectal modifications are not properly discriminated and kept in their proper place. The result is that we have the same root spelt differently, e.g., গোঙা and গোয়ী « *gōṅā, gōyī* » (= *gāṅā*) *pass (gam-aya-)*, শু and সু « *śu, su* » *sleep, lie down (svap)*, নেউটা and লেউটা « *nēuṭā, lēuṭā* » *return (ni-vṛt)*, আইশ, আইস, আস « *āīś, āīs, ās* » *come (ā-viś)*, etc., etc.

[II] FORMAL CLASSIFICATION OF ROOTS.

637. The proper classification of roots in Bengali, viewed from the formal aspect, is not with regard to their affixes (because they are always the same—the Bengali verb presents only *one* conjugation, and apparent irregularities are only the result of recent phonetic changes), but with regard to the modifications of the root-vowels and also of the affix-vowel in the case of the causatives and denominatives. These modifications are the result of Epenthesis-cum-Umlaut and Vocalic Harmony (*supra*, pp. 376 ff.). Roots have [i, e, u, o] when the following affix has a high vowel, [i, u]; and these are lowered respectively

to [e, æ, o, ɔ] in the case of a low vowel [e, o, a, ɔ] following; and [æ, ɔ] are changed to [e, ɔ] through the influence of a following [i, u].

The principal parts of a Bengali verb, judging from these vowel modifications, can be taken to be (i) Inferior Imperative, which is identical with the Root; (ii) 3rd pers. Present; (iii) 3rd pers. Past; or 3rd pers. Future; (iv) Present Participle, and (v) Conjunctive in «-iyā». All the variations a root can undergo are found in the above forms. To classify formally the Bengali verb, it is best to take the Standard Colloquial in which the phonetic advance has been the greatest. The «sādhū-bhāṣā» spelling does not consider the present-day vowel changes and contractions, and conjugation in the «sādhū-bhāṣā» means only a rigid and regular adding of a series of affixes.

Below are given in phonetic transcript the groups into which the Standard Colloquial verbs would range themselves: the spelling in Bengali is not uniform, as has been noted before.

Class I (a): Roots in «-ā-» [ɔ] closed by a consonant:

- (i) [kər] *do*; (ii) [kore]; (iii) [korle, kolle < *kōrile; korbe < *kōrībe]; (iv) [korte, kotte]; (v) [kore];
 (i) [bəl] *say*; (ii) [bōle]; (iii) [bolle; bolbe]; (iv) [bolte]; (v) [bole].

Class I (b): Roots ending in «-ā-» [ɔ], originally in «-āh-» [ɔɦ]:

- (i) [rɔ < rɔɦ] *remain*; (ii) [rɔḥ]; (iii) [roilo; roibe, rōbe]; (iv) [roite]; (v) [roē];
 (i) [ʃɔ < ʃɔɦ] *suffer*; (ii) [ʃɔḥ]; (iii) [ʃoile; ʃoibe, ʃobe]; (iv) [ʃoite]; (v) [ʃoe]. Similarly [dɔ, bɔ < dɔɦ, bɔɦ] *burn, bear*; etc.
 (i) [fiɔ < *ɔɦ] *be*; (ii) [fiɔḥ]; (iii) [fiolo; fiōbe]; (iv) [fiote]; (v) [fiōe].

Class II (a): Roots ending in «-ā-» [a]:

- (i) [kha] *eat*; (ii) [khaḥ]; (iii) [khele, khelo; khabe]; (iv) [khete]; (v) [kheḥē];

Class II (b): Roots in «-ā-» [a] ending in a consonant:

- (i) [mar] *beat*; (ii) [mare]; (iii) [marle, malle, marlo, mallo; marbe]; (iv) [marte, matte]; (v) [mere].

Class II (c) : Roots in « -ā » originally closed by « -h » [afī > a] :

- (i) [ga < gafi] *sing* ; (ii) [gað] ; (iii) [gaile ; gaibe] ; (iv) [gaite] ;
(v) [geðe < *gaifia, gafia].

Class III (a) : Roots in « -i » (rare, archaic) :

- (i) [ʃʒi] *live* ; (ii) [ʃʒie] ; (iii) [ʃʒilo ; ʃʒibe] ; (iv) [ʃʒite] ; (v) [ʃʒie].
So-[pi] *drink*, etc.

Class III (b) : Roots in « -i- », ending in a consonant :

- (i) [mil] *unite, be found* ; (ii) [mele] ; (iii) [millo ; milbe] ; (iv) [milte] ; (v) [mile].

Class IV (a) : Roots in « -e » (irregular) :

- (i) [de] *give* ; (ii) [dæð] ; (iii) [dile ; debe] ; (iv) [dite] ; (v) [die] ;
(i) [ne] *take* ; (ii) [næð] ; (iii) [nile ; nebe] ; (iv) [nite] ; (v) [nie].

Class IV (b) : Roots in « -e- » ending in a consonant :

- (i) [khel] *play, inferior imperative* [khæl < *khelə] ; (ii) [khæle] ; (iii) [khelle ; khelbe] ; (iv) [khelte] ; (v) [khele].

Class V : Roots in « -u- » ending in a consonant :

- (i) [ʃun > ʃon] *hear* ; (ii) [ʃone] ; (iii) [ʃunle ; ʃunbe] ; (iv) [ʃunte] ;
(v) [ʃune] ;
(i) [khũʃʒ > kbõʃʒ] *search* ; (ii) [khõʃʒe] ; (iii) [khũʃʒle ; khũʃʒbe] ;
(iv) [khũʃʒte] ; (v) [khũʃʒe].

Class VI : Roots in « -o » :

- (i) [ʃo] *lie down* ; (ii) [ʃoð] ; (iii) [ʃulo ; ʃobe] ; (iv) [ʃute] ;
(v) [ʃue] ;
(i) [do] *milk* ; (ii) [doð] ; (iii) [duile ; duibe, dobe] ; (iv) [dute, duite] ;
(v) [due] ; (irregular ; « -o < -uh »).

Class VII : Causatives and Denominatives in « -ā » (see also *supra*, under *Phonology*, 'Umlaut') :

- (i) [kora] *cause to do* ; (ii) [korað] ; (iii) [korale ; korabe] ; (iv) [korate] ; (v) [korie] ;
(i) [ʃʒaða] *cause to go* ; (ii) [ʃʒaðað] ; (iii) [ʃʒaðale ; ʃʒaðabe] ; (iv) [ʃʒaðate] ; (v) [ʃʒaie].

- (i) [c̥ina > c̥ena] *cause to recognise* ; (ii) [c̥inaə > c̥enaə] ; (iii) [c̥enale ; c̥enabe] ; (iv) [c̥enate] ; (v) [c̥inie].
 (i) [dækha] *show* ; (ii) [dækhaə] ; (iii) [dækhale ; dækhabe] ; (iv) [dækhate] ; (v) [dekhie] ;
 (i) [ʃona] *cause to hear* ; (ii) [ʃonaə] ; (iii) [ʃonale ; ʃonabe] ; (iv) [ʃonate] ; (v) [ʃunie].

[III] ROOTS AND VERBAL NOUNS IN BENGALI.

638. Although roots are essentially the creations of grammarians, conceived as the foundation of a number of words, there is always present, even among the uneducated speakers of an inflexional language, what may be called *root-consciousness*. Often the barest form, identical with the grammarian's root, is found to be in use in speech, even in highly inflected languages. Thus in Sanskrit, we see that « dṛś » means *a seeing, a seer* ; so « bhuj, bhū, pṛech » are used as nouns ; and similarly « vṛt » is *that which turns*, and « vid » occurs as a noun in the sense of *knower*. The nominal inflexions were of course added in Sanskrit, although, as a result of phonetic decay, it would so seem that in the nominative singular the bare root itself without any formative affix added was the word. And in the modern IE. languages like English, French, Persian, Hindī, Bengali, what was originally a combination of root+affix has commonly been reduced to the bare root through phonetic decay. As a consequence in NIA. what at first sight looks like the root unmodified by any inflexion, features as a verbal noun, and also as the inferior imperative. Historical grammar will tell us that originally such forms ended in an affix, « -i » or « -a », which is now lost. In Dravidian, the simple root is used for the imperative singular : in modern Hindī and Bengali, we have the same thing resulting as the *finale* of a long history ; although it looks like an approximation to the Dravidian usage. Instances of such phonetically decayed *Root-Nouns*, as they may be called, are fairly common in Bengali. These occur either singly, or with another root-word of similar meaning, and are in the accusative or nominative relation to the verb with which they are employed : e.g., সাজ « sāj » as

in সাজ করা « sājṣ kārā » array ; ফাট « phāṭṣ » crack as in ফাট ধ'রেছে « phāṭṣ dhōrēche » it has got a crack ; পচ « pācṣ » rottenness ; চির, চিড় « cirṣ, cirṣ » mark or line of a crack ; পাক ধরা « pākṣ dhārā » become ripe, tend to ripen ; ডুব « ḍubṣ » a dipping ; তাক লাগা « tākṣ-lāgā » gaze, be struck with wonder ; খাখা করা « khā-khā kārā » be eager to eat (but cf. খাউ খাউ করা « khāu-khāu kārā », *supra*, pp. 678-679) ; চল « cālṣ » circulation ; রহ-সহ or রহ-ঠহ করা « rā(hā)-sā(hā), rā(hā)-ṭhā(hā) kārā » to wait and watch ; ভাঙ্গচুর « bhāṅ(g)ṣ-curṣ » breaking and pulverising ; ভুলচুক « bhulṣ-cukṣ » mistakes and omissions ; তোলপাড় « tōlṣ-pārṣ » raising and felling = turning upside down, agitating ; মারধর « māṣ-dhārṣ » striking and seizing ; ধর-পাকড় « dhārṣ-pākṣṛṣ » seizing and catching ; মারকাট « māṣ-kāṭṣ » striking and cutting down ; ভাঙ্গ-গড় « bhāṅ(g)ṣ-gārṣ » destroying and building ; দেখ-মার « dēkhṣ-mārṣ » seeing and striking, attacking at sight (cf. in a daily paper—জার্মানী দেখ-মার নীতি অবলম্বন করিল « Jārmānī dēkhṣ-mārṣ niti ābalāmbāṅṣ kārila » Germany has adopted the policy of 'hit at sight') ; so উঠ-বস « ūṭhṣ-bāsṣ » rising and sitting ; হার-জিত « hārṣ-jitṣ » lose and win ; চল-বল « cālṣ-bulṣ » walk and wander ; হাঁক-ডাক « hāṅṣ-ḍākṣ » shout and yell ; কাট-ছাঁট « kāṭṣ-chāṭṣ » cut and trim (as of garments) ; ফাট-ফুট « phāṭṣ-phuṭṣ » crack and split ; etc., etc. These Root-Nouns also form compounds with other nouns : e.g., ছাড়-পত্র « chārṣ-pātrā » passport. See also under 'Verbal Nouns,' *infra*. For Root Imperatives, see under 'Moods,' below.

[C] KINDS OF VERBS : INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE.

639. Verbs in Bengali are either intransitive or transitive. In their outward form, however, there is no distinction between the two classes. Intransitive roots are chiefly primary ones, although those of secondary origin also occur. *E.g.*, « āch, kād, kās, khēl, gāl, cāl, eu, jwār = jār, jwāl = jāl, ji, jā, jujh, jhār, ṭuṭ, ṭal, mil, hil » etc. Also old denominatives like « pāk, ruṭh, tāṭ, bāk, māṭ, phās, thām » etc. ; and new denominatives « kulā, ghumā, dārā, bāhūrā, śukhā, sētā » etc. All primary intransitive roots can be made transitive by adding the causative « -ā- ».

640. The initial stress of Bengali has in most cases obliterated the means of differentiating between the intransitive and transitive

(causative) forms of roots by making long the quantity of the root-vowel of the latter, and keeping short the quantity of that of the former. This means still obtains in the Bihārī dialects, and in Eastern as well as Western Hindī: *e.g.*, Bihārī « kṛṭab » *get cut*, causative « kṛṭab »; « dīṣab » *be seen*, « dīṣab » *show*; « gṛṭab » *be interred*, « gṛṭab » *inter*; Hind. « pālṇā » *be reared*, « pālṇā » *rear*; « nikālṇā » *get out*, « nikālṇā » *cast out*; etc. These intransitives with a short vowel are frequently new forms in NIA., built out of the old causatives with a proper long vowel (cf. R. L. Turner, 'The Loss of Vowel-Alternation in Indo-Aryan,' in the 'Proceedings and Transactions of the 2nd Oriental Conference,' Calcutta, 1922, p. 492). But the «-ā-» affix is indispensable in Bengali for the causative, or transitive form of an intransitive root, and quantity of the root-vowel does not count.

641. The transitive verb depends largely on its object. In Bengali, as in other NIA. languages, only inanimate nouns can properly be said to have an accusative case,—i.e., only these do not take a dative affix like «-kē, -kō» etc.: *e.g.*, জল আনো «jalṭṭ ānō» *bring water*, ভাত খায় «bhātṭ khāy» *eats rice*, কাঠ কাটে «kāṭṭh kṛṭē» *cuts wood*, etc. Animate nouns when really in the accusative case take the dative affix «-kē, -rē» in NB. when they are personal and definite: but they do not take the dative affix, and thus behave like inanimate nouns, when the object signified is general, vague or indefinite: গোক চরায় «gōru cārāy» *grazes cattle*, but গোকটাকে বাধো «gōru-ṭā-kē bādhō» *tie the cow*. The accusative apparently governed by an intransitive verb in Bengali is properly a dative, or a locative: *e.g.*, বাড়ী চলো «bārī cālō» *come home*; জলকে চল «jalṭṭ-kē cālṭṭ» *come to the water (=river, tank)*; ঘরকে গেল «ghārṭṭ-kē gēlā» *went home*, etc.

The extension of dative the post-position to the accusative is a NIA. development. The NIA. «bhāvē prayōga» or neuter construction of the transitive verb, in the past tense, as in Hindī «us-nē ghōṛī-kō dēkhā» *by-him with-reference-to-the-mare it-was-seen* (as opposed to the «karmaṇi» or passive construction, «us-nē ghōṛī dēkhī» *by-him mare she-was-seen*), was not a characteristic thing in MIA.: it could be established only when the dative post-position came to be attached to the accusative for precision, as the inflexion of the latter was lost. Bengali সে মানুষকে দেখিল «sē mānuṣṭṭ-kē dēkhilā» *he*

with-reference-to-the-man saw and সে মানুষ দেখিল « *sē mānuṣṣ dēkhiḷā* » *he man saw* are in their formation analogous respectively to the « *bhāvē* » and « *karmaṇi* » constructions of Hindi, etc., only the Bengali development has been to make them both active (with the proper nominative rather than instrumental), and definite in case of the post-positional form. The loss of OIA. affixes brought in the employment of post-positions for clearness and definiteness. The accusative did not possess any remarkable inflection—the OIA. « *-am* » had dwindled away to zero in Bengali and other NIA. When the dative post-position was taken up by the accusative, it was to supply this want of an affix; and it brought in greater definiteness. In Apabhraṃśa and in Avahaṭṭha we have the accusative (for the animate noun) without post-position, e.g., in the 'Prākṛta-Pāṇḍala,'—« *girivara-saṇaṃ ṇamaḥa Haraṃ* » *salute ye Hara dwelling in the noble mountain* (p. 313, Bib. Ind. edition); « *gōla (= gōḍa)-rāa jīṇi* » *having conquered the King of Gauḍa* (p. 423); « *Bali chali* » *having cheated Bali* (p. 586); etc.: but « *rajja Suggivaha dijja* » *gave the kingdom to Sugrīva* (p. 576), where we have the dative-genitive. In the OB. of the Caryās, we have the same thing: « *guru pucchia jāṇa* » *ask the guru and know* (2): « *śaḍguru pucchi* » *asking the good master* (4); etc. In MB. and NB., in some cases the old accusative survives: e.g., বন্দো মাতা সুরধনী « *bāṇḍō mātā surādhānī* » *I worship mother S.*; রাম ভজো মন « *rāmṣ bhājō māṇṣ* » *adore R., O mind*. But already in the ŚKK., we find the NB. characteristic of using the dative affix for the accusative established. Bengali in this respect came in line with the other NIA. languages which developed largely the neuter construction: thus রাধাক দেখিআ « *Rādhā-kā dēkhiā* » *seeing R.*, পুছিল রাধাকে « *puchilā Rādhā-kē* » *asked R.* (p. 135); বড়ায়িক ছাড়ী কেহে হৈবো একাকিনী « *bāṛāyi-kā chārī kēhē hāibō ēkākini* » *why should I be alone, leaving the old woman?* (p. 147); etc.

642. One intransitive verb, compounded with a noun or adjective, behaves like a transitive in NB.: the verb বাস « *bās* ». Originally it meant *to feel, to like, to regard, to hold*. The source of it seems to be the common OIA. root « *vas* » *to dwell*, with the long, or causative grade « *vās, vās-aya* » used as

active; but there seems to have merged in it also the other OIA. roots « *vaś* » *desire, wish for*, and « *vas* » *love*, as well as « *vās* » *put on garment*. In NB., the words ভালো, বাসা « *bhālō, bāsā* » = *well* and *like* have formed a compound verb-root, transitive, = ভালবাসা, ভালোবাসা « *bhālā-bāsā, bhālō-bāsā* » *to love*. The compound মন্দ-বাস « *māṇḍā-bāsā* » *dislike* also is heard in NB. But in MB., বাস « *√bās* » was an ordinary root, which was used with other nouns, or was used impersonally: e.g., ভয় বাসি, ডর বাসি মনে « *bhāyāḥ bāsi, ḍārāḥ bāsi mānē* » *I am afraid in my mind*; শরীরে বাসি বল « *śārīrē bāsi balaḥ* » *I feel strong in body*; কোতুক বাস কি « *kāutukaḥ bāsā ki* » *do you think it as queer?*; অদ্ভুত হেন বাসি « *adbhutaḥ hēnā bāsi* » *strange as it were it appears to me*; না দেব কড়ি তোমার মনে বাসে « *nā dēbā kārī, tōmārā mānē bāsē* » *it strikes you as if I shall not pay the money*; লাজ বাসে « *lājā bāsē* » *feels shy*; কোপে না কহিলা মোর মনে বাসে « *kōpē nā kāhila, mōrā mānē bāsē* » *appears in my mind that he spoke not in anger*; বাসি ভাত ব্যঞ্জে জিহ্বায় রস বাসে « *bāsi bhātā byāñjānē jihwāy rāsaḥ bāsē* » *the tongue feels moist (with relish) with cold rice and curry*; আমার আগতে নৃত্য করিতে বাস রণ « *āmārā āgṛē-tē nṛtyā kāritē bāsā ghaṇā* » *holdest in scorn to dance before me*; বন্দ হেন বাসে « *dhāṇḍā hēnā bāsē* » *it seems as if it were a maze*; হাটিতে না পারে চান্দ পাএ বাসে বান্দা « *hāṭitē nā pāre Cāṇḍā, pāḥ bāsē bāṇḍhā* » *C. cannot walk, feels as if fastened by the fest*; etc., etc. (the examples given above are from the 'Padmā-purāṇa' of Vijaya-gupta, but instances abound in all MB. writers). The nouns in apparent accusative relation with « *√bās* » like ভালো, মন্দ, ভয়, ডর, বল, কোতুক etc. above, are properly adverbial in nature, rather than true accusatives.

[D] MOODS: OPTATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE, IMPERATIVE.

643. NB. possesses but two moods, Indicative and Imperative. The Imperative occurs in the second and third persons only, and in the present tense. It is sometimes quite properly called the 'Imperative Tense.' An old future for the second person is used as a Precative or Future Imperative. For the Infinitive, there are some verbal nouns. The other moods of OIA.—Subjunctive or Conjunctive, Optative, Injunctive, and Precative, are entirely lost in Bengali.

644. In the well-known « āryā » or distich giving rules for working land-measures, attributed to the mathematician Śubhaṅkara (under whose name the old Indian system of arithmetic and square and cubic measures as practised in the village schools in Bengal passes), we have an optative or precative form লিজে « lijje » : কুড়ু বা কুড়ু বা কুড়ু বা লিজে, কাঠায় কুড়ু বা কাঠা লিজে « kuṛubā kuṛubā, kuṛubā lijje : kāṭhāy kuṛubā, kāṭhā lijje » *kuṛubā* (= kuḍava, 'bighā' measure = $\frac{1}{3}$ acre) \times *kuṛubā*, take (the result) as *kuṛubā*; *kāṭhā* (= $\frac{1}{20}$ th of a *bighā*, 'cottah') \times *kuṛubā*, take as *kāṭhā*. Here « lijje » take, is properly an optative or precative = *let one take*, representing a Late MIA. « *lahijjaī, lahējjaī », which is made up of the optative form for the 3rd singular, « lahejja, lahijja » (= OIA. « *labh-yā-t, *labh-iyā-t » for « labh-i-ta »), plus the affix for the indicative 3rd present « -i » (< OIA. -ti). The OIA. « -yā- » optative or precative became « -ēyya » in First MIA., which gave later MIA. « -ějja, -ijja », and assumed the personal terminations « -mi, -si- (also -hi), -ti > -i » etc. of the indicative, and sometimes « -tu > -u » of the 3rd person imperative (e.g., 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala,' p. 427—« sō tuha Saṅkara dijjau mōkkhā » *may he, Śaṅkara, grant you liberation*, where « dijjau » = « dějja, dijja [< dadyāt] » + « -u [< tu] » of the imperative. Cf. Grierson, JRAS., 1910, pp. 162-163); and as a distinct tense form—the 'Optative Tense'—it existed in Late MIA. This optative in « -j- » is preserved as a respectful imperative in the Midland and Western NIA. languages—e.g., Hindōstānī « kījīyē » *please do*, Gujarātī « marjē, mārjō », etc.; but it is not found in the Eastern languages, being conspicuous by its absence in the Carylās, and in MB. in general. লিজে « lijje » of Śubhaṅkara is only a stray form which has found a place in a technical verse. It is not unlikely however, that the « -ijja- » optative existed in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa. The 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala' verses with the « -ijj- » forms (see *supra*, p. 124) could from that assumption be connected with the East. There is a NIA. inflected passive in « -Ij-, -I-, -ij-, -i- », which is quite a different thing, being derived from the OIA. passive affix « -yā- ». A connexion between the MIA. inflected passive in « -ijja- < -yā- » and the MIA. « -ij-, -j- » imperative was suggested by Hoernle, but Tessitori has shown how this MIA. form is

only the old optative ('Comp. Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages, §§ 480, 481, 499; 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.,' §120).

645. In MB. the optative sense is expressed by the indicative with the pronominal adverb যেন «jēṇā» used as a conjunction = *so that* (see *supra*, p. 853); and sometimes the instrumental of the pronoun যা «jā» *that*, যাতে «jātē» *so that*, is also similarly employed: e.g., আমি যেন দেখি «āmi jēṇā dēkhi» *so that I may see, may I see*; সে যাতে করে «sē jātē kārē» *so that he may do, may he do*. There is also a periphrastic form with the root পা «pā» *obtain* or পার «pār» *be able*: e.g., যেন আমি দেখ্তে পাই, or পারি «jēṇā āmi dēkhtē pāi, pāri» *may I see*. The conjunctives যেন, যাতে «jēṇā, jātē» have no fixed place in the sentence. This idiom is found as early as the ŚKK.: e.g., p. 168, সে যেহু অন্ধাক বাহাএ দধিভার «sē jēṇā āmbā-kā bāhāē dādhi-bhārā» *may she make me carry the load of curds*; p. 186, সাবধানে লঅ যেহু না ছাড়াএ ঘোল «sābādhānē lā ā jēṇā nā chāṛāē ghōlā» *take it carefully, that the whey may not scatter*; p. 211, কেহো কাহাকো যেহু না করে উপহাস «kēhō kāhākō jēṇā nā kārē upāhāsā» *may no one taunt another*. In other MB. works also this construction figures: e.g., 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata,' p. 204 (ed. Atul Krishna Goswāmī), মোর কামা—যেন দেখা পাই «mōrā kāmā, jēṇā dēkhā pāi» *my desired object—may I get a sight*; etc., etc. The conjunctive or adverbial participle in ইলে «-ilē» implies a condition, and it can be used with an optative force: e.g., গেলে দেখা হয় «gēlē dēkhā hāy» *an interview might take place if one went*. In this idiom, however, the optative sense is not always implied: e.g. OB. Caryā 2, «rāti bhailē Kāmaru jāi» *she goes to Kāmarūpa (would go, may go) when it becomes night*; ŚKK., p. 397, যে বুঝি করিলে রহে আশ্বার জীবন «jē budhi kārile rahē āshvār jībānā» *by doing such contrivance with which my life may endure (or will endure)*, etc.

646. The Subjunctive Mood, which was of so great importance in Vedic, was dropped in Classical Sanskrit, although it lingered on in Early MIA. (cf. E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 108). Bengali in common with other NIA. (except Assamese) possesses a Present Participle form which is used for the Past Subjunctive or Conditional, as well as Past Habitual: e.g., (যদি) করিতাম (করিতে, করিত) «(jādi) kārītām (kārītē, kārītā)», Oṛiyā

« mu kārānti (tu kārāntu, sē kārāntā) » *if I (you, he) did, etc.* ; so Maithili « ham karitahu, sē karitai », Western Hindi « maĩ kartā, ham kartē » etc.

The subjunctive is formed in Bengali with the help of the conjunction যদি « yadi, jādi » *if, a ts.* which has ousted the OB. *bbh.* « jāi ». Occasionally in early Bengali (as in early 19th century prose), the conjunction যে « jē » *that* is used. A similar use of « jāi » or « yadi » occurs in OB. : *e.g.*, Caryā 5, « jāi tumhē, lōa hē, hoība pāragāmi » *if ye, O men, will be goers across* ; 41, « jāi tō mūḍhā acchasi, bhānti pucchā-tu sadguru-pāva » *if thou art ignorant, ask thou about thy mistakes at the foot of the good master* ; in eM¹¹, ŚKK., p. 137, যদি মোরে পুছে আইহনে « jādi mōrē puchē Āihānē » *if Ā. were to ask me* ; p. 244, তোম্বা দেখি যদি মোর বিচলিল মনে « tōmhā dēkhi jādi mōrā bicālilā mānē » *if by seeing you my mind is moved* ; p. 289, আনল শরণ কিবা করিবো যদি না দিবে বচনে « ānālā śārāṇa kibā kārībō jādi nā dibē bācānē » *if you do not give word, I reckon not I shall seek refuge in fire* ; p. 351, যদি কাহ্নাঞি কর পার, হএ মোর তরেসি নিস্তার « jādi Kāhñāñi karā pārā, hāē mōrā tābēsi nistārā » *if you get me across, O Kṛṣṇa, then indeed may come my salvation* ; etc.

This use of « yadi, jāi » is common in the Apabhraṁśa and Avahatṭha : cf. ‘Prākṛta-Paṅgala,’ p. 211, « sēra ḍkka jāi pāvāu ghittā » *if I could get a seer of ghee* ; p. 465, « jāi ḍtthi digantara jāīhi kantā » *if the beloved one were to go to a foreign land even now* ; p. 430, « jāi jaddā rūsaī, cittā hāsaī pētē aggi thappiā » *if cold rages, the heart contracts, and fire is put on the stomach* ; etc., etc.

647. The Imperative Mood, or ‘Imperative Tense,’ has the following affixes :

New Bengali :

First Person : Same as those for the Indicative Present.

Second person : Inferior (= Original Singular) has a form identical with the bare root : *e.g.*, কর্ « kār-ḍ », চল্ « cāl-ḍ » ; Ordinary, used with inferiors and equals (= Original Plural) has root+« -ā » or « -ō » : কর, করো « kār-ā, kār-ō », চল, চলো « cāl-ā, cāl-ō ».

Honorific (= Originally 3 plural) = root + উন্ < -unṣ > :
করন্, চলন্ < kār-unṣ, cāl-unṣ >.

Third Person : Singular, now also Plural : root + উক্ < -u-kṣ > : করক্,
চলক্ < kār-u-kṣ, cāl-u-kṣ >.

Honorific (= Original Plural) : root + উন্ < -unṣ > ; করন্
চলন্ < kār-unṣ, cāl-unṣ >.

Early Middle Bengali :

First Person : Same as for Indicative Present.

Second Person : Singular and Plural অ, < -ā > ; অহ, হ < -āhā, -hā >, and
হা < -hā > : e.g., কহ < kāh-ā >, লহ < lāh-ā >, সূত < sut-ā >
(= sleep !), দে, নে < দেঅ, নেঅ < dē, nē < *dēā, *nēā >;
করহ < kār-āhā >, চিত্তহ < cint-āhā >, জাহ, যাহ < jāh-ā >,
দেহ < dēh-ā >, থাহ < khāh-ā >, নিষধহ < niṣādh-āhā >, থোহ
< thōh-ā > ; থাহা < khāh-ā >, যাহা < jāh-ā >.

Third Person : Singular and Plural : উ, অউ < -u, -āu > with or without
pleonastic ক < -kā > (উক, অউক < -u-kā, -āu-kā >) : rarely,
honorific অন্ত < āntā > : e.g., জীউ < jī-u >, পসু < pāsū = pāīs-u >,
< dē-u >, ধর < dhār-u >, খণ্ডউ < khāṇḍ-āu >, তেজুক < tēj-u-kā
< *tēj-āu-kā >), থাকু < thāku (< *thāu-kā >); দেন্ত
< dē-ntā > (only instance in the SKK.). (Also forms in ইউ
< -iū >, for which see *infra*.)

Old Bengali :

- Second Person : (i) < -a > : < jāṇ-a (Caryās 1, 44); sun-a (2); cāl-a (3);
phāl-a (4); bāha-a (13); bāh-a (14); mār-a (21); kar-a
(28, 41); bindh-a (28); pēkh-a (30, 46); bhōl-a (37);
dhar-a (38); pasar-a, bas-a (39); bhaṇ-a (40, 42);
phuḍ-a (47); hēr-a, chāḍ-a (50); accha = āch-a (37) >;
(ii) < -a-tu > : < pucch-a-tu (5); bāh-a-tu (8); bujh-a-tu
(33) >;
(iii) < -aha, -ha > : < bindh-aha (28); bhul-aha (15);
chēv-aha (45); (bāhaa, Caryā 13 = bāh-aha ?) >;

(iv) « -hu, -u » : « lā-hu (1); hō-hu (6); lē-hu, jā-hu, lō-u = lēhu, lē-u ? (32); dhahu = dhara-hu ? (38); jā-u (38); chāḍ-u (50) »;

(v) « -hī » : « hō-hī, jā-hī » (5).

Third Person : « -au » : « kar-au » (22);

Passive Third Person : « -iu », as in « ghōl-iu (12), marāḍ-iu ? (12), samkēl-iu, jā-iu, (15); caṭār-iu ? (26) ».

648. OIA. employed the corresponding subjunctive forms for the imperative 1st person : singular « -āni », dual « -āva », plural « -āma ». These have not survived in MIA. and NIA. The OIA. imperative 2 sg. had « -a » as well as « -hi ». This « -a » was continued through MIA. and OB. down to eMB., after which it fell off from pronunciation : OIA. « cal-a » > NIA. « cal-a » > OB. « cal-a » > eMB. « cāl-ā » > lMB., NB. « cāl-ā ». This old singular is now used as the inferior imperative, both singular and plural : তুই, তোরা চল « tui, tōrā cālā ». This « -a » affix was fairly common for the ordinary imperative, and in the general confusion of numbers, it seems to have been extended to the plural as well from the OB. period. The « -a » certainly assimilated with the root vowel, when the root ended in a vowel, before the eMB. stage : witness ŚKK. দে, নে = NB. দে, নে « dē, nē », < *dēā, *nēā », inferior forms beside the ordinary NB. দেও or দাও « dēo, dāo » and নেও, নাও « nēo, nāo » < eMB. « dēā, nēā < dēha, nēhā ».¹

The affix « -hi » of OIA. seems to have been continued down to OB. in the strengthened form « -hī », as in the Caryā « hō-hī, jā-hī » : and possibly in a form like করী « kārī » in the ŚKK., as in প্রভু হরিঅঁ। হেন নাঁই করী « prābhū hāyīā hēnā nāhī kārī » *do not do so, being the lord* (p. 236),

¹ This loss of inflexional vowels occurring immediately after the root ending in a vowel seems to have taken place in Old Bengali, and possibly earlier still. Thus, for example, Tibetan tradition gives as an Old Bengali (or Old Magahi ?) sentence of the 11th century 'bhālā hoo (= hōu ?), nāth(a) Atiśa, bhāt onā, bhāt onā (= bhāta anā < anā < MIA. *ānāpaya = Skt. ānāyaya)' *may it be well, Master Atiśa, get (them) bring rice, with which a beggar-boy accosted Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna Atiśa distributing alms and food at Vikramaśīlā.* (Sarat Chandra Dās, 'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,' Calcutta, 1893, p. 60.)

we have traces of « -hī », or of its influence (but see *infra*, under ‘Inflected Passive’). But this « -hī » is lost to NB. The « -hi (-hī) » affix for the imperative seems to have been foreign to the eastern speech, which preferred « -a ». In MB. we have one or two instances of this « -hi (-āhi) » affix for the imperative, as a relic from MIA. : *e.g.*, Kṛttivāsa (VSP., I, p. 497)—
 আপনি ধার্মিক তুমি ধর্ম বুঝি আনে « āpāni dhārmikḥ, tumi dhārmā bujhāhi ānē » *you yourself are a righteous person, you explain the dharma to another.*

The OB. forms in « -tu », like « pucch-a-tu », are cases of pure agglutination arising out of an emphatic employ of the pronoun « tu (< tvam) ». As a stereotyped form it was extended to the plural or honorific also (*e.g.*, Caryā 5, « jāi tumbē, lōa hē, hōiba pāragāmi, pucch-a-tu Cāṭila anuttara-sāmi », translated at p. 262 *supra*).

The OIA. affix for 2 sg. *ātmanē-pada* was « -sva ». This gave a vocalised « -ssu » in First MIA. (Pali), which was used even with *parasmāi-pada* roots (E. Müller ‘Pali Grammar,’ p. 107 ; W. Geiger, ‘Pali-sprache,’ in the Grundriss, § 126). From « -ssu » came the Second MIA. « -su ». Pischel, however, holds that the Second MIA. « -su » arose by analogy : the Indicative had in MIA. the singular forms « -mi, -si, -ti » > « -di, -i », plural « mō, -tha » > « -dha » > « -ha, -nti », and by the juxtaposition of the 3rd personal forms, Indicative « -ti » > « -i, -nti » beside Imperative « -tu » > « -ntu », the 1st and 2nd person singular also came to have in the Imperative « -mu, -su » beside the Indicative « -mi, -si » (cf. ‘Gramm. der Pkt.-sprachen,’ § 467).

The OB. forms in « -hu, -u » were used both for the singular and the plural, but probably they were singular at first, and it seems not unlikely that the « -hu, -u » affix originated from the « -su » form, in the pre-Bengali stage : « *cala-sva » > « cala-ssu » > « cala-su » might have given « cala-hu » in OB., with the obscure change of « -s- » to « -h- » remaining unexplained. Or a blend of *ātmanē-pada* « cala-su », plus « calāhi, calahi » (with *parasmāi-pada* « -hi » affix) may have given « calahu », and « calasu » + « cala » similarly may have resulted in « calu ».

The forms « calahu, jāhu, hōhu » etc. may equally be the original plural, with the « -ahu » affix, as in Śaurasēni Apabhraṇśa, originating as follows : OIA. Indicative 2 plural « calatha » > MIA. Imperative « calaha, calahu »,

the « -a » changing to « -u » in MIA. probably through analogy of the 3rd plural « -ntu ».

This « -u » affix was also extended to the 2nd person of the other tenses—to the past in « -il- » and the future in « -ib- » in dialectal Bengali, and to the singular 2nd person of the present, simple past, habitual past, and future in Oṛiyā.

The « -u » imperative is quite common in Apabhraṃśa, e.g., 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala,' p. 463, « ē atthirā dēkkbu sarirā gharu jāi » *see, all this is unstable,—the body, house, wife.*

The Imperative 2nd plural affix in OIA. was « -ata ». This fell together with the Indicative 2nd plural « -atha » as early as the First MIA. period, and « -atha » became in Second and Late MIA. « -adha, -aha ». OB. inherited this as « -aha », and this অহ « -āhā » continued down to eMB., and is even now used in NB. as an archaic, literary form (e.g., আপন পাঠেতে মন করহ নিবেশ « āpanṣ pāṭhē-tē mānṣ kārāhā nibēśṣ » *direct your mind to your own studies*; পশ্চাভাগ দেখহ « pāścādbhāgṣ dēkhāhā » *see back*, as in Calcutta tramway tickets a few years ago). The contraction of « -āhā » to « -ā, -ā », however, took place in the spoken language as early as eMB., and this « -aha < -ā » did not coalesce with the root when it ended in a vowel, unlike the « -ā » of the original singular. Final « -ā > -ā » also occurs as « -ō » in NB., and is as a matter of fact written ও « -ō » after vowels: জাহ, জাহ > জাও « jāhā, jāṣ > jāō » *go !*; খাহ, খাহ > খাও « khāhā, khāṣ > khāō » *cut !*; নেহ, নেহ > (নেও) নাও > নাও « nēhā, nēṣ > nēō [næo] > nāō » *take !*; হো হো « hāō » *be !*; জীহহ > জীহ, জীহ > জীও « jīhā, jīṣ, jīā > jīō » *live*, which even occurs as জীউ « jiu » through the influence of the preceding high vowel (cf. 'Maṇik Candra Rājār Gān,' জীউ জীউ রাইঅত ধর্ম দেউক বর « jiu jiu rāiātā, dhārmā dēukṣ bārṣ » *live, ye farmers, may Dharma grant this boon*: the « -u » here, however, can equally be the other imperative affix « -hu, -u »). With roots ending in consonants the affix « -āhā » becomes also « -ō, », and it is written either অ or ও: কর, চল or করো, চলো,—the pronunciation is generally [o] although the old tradition makes it অ in writing.

MIA. also changed « -aha » to « -ahu »: this has been noted before.

Early MB. « -hā » is only the « -ha » affix affected by the « -ā » of the root, as in « khā-hā, jā-hā ».

649. The OIA. affix « -tu » for 3 pers. sg. gave « -u » in OB. From eMB. times, the pleonastic ক « -kā » came to be added to this form (see *infra*, 'Pleonastic Affixes'). Oṛiyā and Bihārī do not employ this « -kā ». In MB., forms with « -kā » are almost as common as those without; in NB., the « -kḥ » is universal, and after the loss of the « -u », this consonant has become the distinctive affix for this form: *e.g.*, যাক্, থাক্, নিক্, দিক্ « jāk, khāk, nik, dik », etc. The group « -u-kḥ » modified its spelling in accordance with the epenthesis of « -i-, -u- », *e.g.*, MB. জাক্, পাক্, হক্, দেক্ = জাউক, পাউক, হউক, দেউক « jāukḥ, pāukḥ, hāukḥ, dēukḥ » etc. (see *supra*, p. 383).

The plural form of the imperative 3 pers. in OIA., « -ntu », seems to have continued down to OB. The normal development in MB. and NB. ought to have been « -ṛtu, -ūt, -ṛt », but we actually find উন « -unḥ ». The expected « -nt- > -ṛt- » has been ousted by « -n- » which is certainly the nominal plural affix extended to the verb (see *supra*, pp. 725-726).

OB. and eMB. have as a living form a passive imperative in « -iu, -iū », which is discussed below (under 'Passive in Bengali').

650. Forms for the Imperative in the other Magadhan speeches may be compared :

Assamese	Oṛiyā	Maithilī
1. kārō;	1. kārē—karū;	1. dēkhiaj, dēkhū;
2. kār, <i>honorific</i> kārā;	2. kārḥ—kārā;	2. dēkh, dēkbahū;
3. kārōk.	3. kārū—karuntu	3. dēkhaṇ, dēkhathū.

The Assamese « kārā » represents « karaha, karāhā »; and « kārōk » = « karau + -ka ». The Oṛiyā and Assamese 1st person is borrowed from the indicative. Oṛiyā 2 plural « kārā » is from « karaha ». The Maithilī « dēkhiaj » is extended from the indicative, and the other form « dēkhū » seems to have the « -ū » from « -mu, -mō », the Apabhraṃśa imperative 1 sg. and pl. forms. The plural « -ntu » is represented by « -thū », like the indicative « -nti > -thī ».

651. NB. « sādhu-bhāsā » has for the second person a future imperative, precativè, and prohibitive in ইয়ে « -i(v)ō » which is found from the earliest period. In OB. and eMB. the form was ইহ « -ihā, -ihā ». It is a relic of the old inflected or sigmatic future of OIA. : singular « calisyasi » > « *calihasi, calihisi » > Bengali চলিস « cālīṣ », plural « calisyatha » > « calihaha » > চলিহ « cālīhā » > চলিঅ, চলিয় « cālīā, cālīyā » > চলিয়ো, চলিও, চলো, চলো « cālī(y)ō, cālīyō, cālō = [c̣olo] ». NB. Standard Colloquial has this « -iyā, -iyō » affected by Umlaut. The « -igya- » > -ih- » future was current in OB. and in eMB. (along with the « -itavya » > -ib- » future) in the three persons, but only the second person has survived in NB. (see *infra*, under 'Future Tense'). In the Caryās, as instances of the « -ih- » future imperative, we have « bhōhisi, mārihasi » (Caryā 23). It is exceedingly common in the ŚKK. and other MB. works: e.g., « আসিহ āsihā, চাহিহ cāhihā, করিহ kārīhā, ছাড়িহ chāṛīhā, তোবিহ tōṣihā, দিহ dihā, ধরিহ dhārihā, নিবেদিহ nibēdihā, পুছিহ puchiḥā, রাখিহ rākhiḥā » etc. In latter MB., epenthesis is noticeable, as usual: e.g., রাখিহ, রাখিঅ « rākhi(h)ā » becomes রাইখ, রাখা « rāikhā, rākhyā = rāikhā »; so দাওাইহ « dāuḍāihā » as দাওয়া « dāuḍāihā » > dāuḍāyā », etc., etc.

The same future imperative occurs in Maithilī and other Bihārī dialects, e.g., Maithilī « dēkhihāb < dēkhihahu », Bhōjpuriyā sg. « dēkhihē » plural « dēkhihā, dēkhihau ». In the Bihārī dialects, the ordinary future in « -b- » can be similarly employed, as much as in Bengali. A similar imperative use of the sigmatic future does not seem to occur in Assamese and Oriyā.

A future imperative for the second person only can be noted, in Old Western Rājasthānī, in Western Apabhraṇṣa and in Second MIA. and in all these it occurs generally with the negative particle « mā » (L. P. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.', § 121).

652. The verbal form গা, গে « gā, gē » added to the imperative is found from the MB. period onwards to express the imperative in the immediate future, with a slight precativè sense: e.g.,

1. আমি, আমরা করিগা, করিগে « āmi, āmarā kārī-gā, kārī-gē »;
2. তুই, তোরা কর্গা, কর্গে « tui, tōrā kār-gā, kōr-gē », করিস্গা, করিস্গে « kārīṣ-gā, -gē »;

তুমি, তোমরা করগা, করগে « *tumi, tōmṛā kārā-gā, kārā-gē* » ;

3. সে, তারা করুকগা, করুকগে « *sē, tārā kārūkṣ-gā, -gē* » ;

তিনি, তাঁরা, করুনগা, -গে « *tini, tārā kārūṅṣ-gā, gē* » (also second person honorific with আপনি, আপনারা « *āpāni, āpānārā* »).

Cf. MB., *Kṛttivāsa*, ‘*Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa*,’ p. 17 : সীতারে কহিল—‘ফল করগা ভক্ষণ’ « *Sitā-rē kâhila—phālṣ kārā-gā bhākṣaṇṣ* » *said to Sitā, ‘go eat this fruit’*; ‘*Uttara-kāṇḍa*,’ p. 20², সেই শস্তের ফল তুমি খাওগা আপনি « *sēi śasyēṛṣ phālṣ tumi khāō-gā āpāni* » *you yourself go and eat the fruit of that grain*; etc. Carey in his ‘*Bengali Dialogues*’ (Calcutta, 1818) translates forms in « -gā » as a simple future in the 1st person, and as an imperative in the 2nd and 3rd; e.g., উনিও সামগ্রী আয়োজন করুনগা, আমিও করিগা « *uni-ō sāmāgrī āyōjanṣ kārūṅṣ-gā, āmi-ō kārī-gā* » *let him get things ready, and I will do the same* (p. 42). We can compare this affix of Bengali with the future suffix « -gau, -gō, -gā, -gi, -gē, -gi » of the Western Hindi and Panjābī dialects.

The Western « -gā, -gē, -gi » etc., are from the passive participle « *gata > gaa* ». For the Bengali « -gā, -gē », the source may equally be the same « *gata* », but the indeclinable participle গিয়া « *giyā* » *having gone*, certainly had something to do with it: the change of the root-vowel in the contemptuous second person ক’রগে [*korge*] can be explained only as being from কর্গিয়া [*kōr giā*]. We can compare the use of গে « *gē* » < গিয়া « *giyā* » (not গা « *gā* ») with the simple past and the future tenses in the Standard Colloquial, with the force of *though, nevertheless, however, even now, immediately*: e.g., সে ক’লে গে [*śe korle ge*] *and then he did*, তুমি ক’বে গে [*tumi korbe ge*] *and you will do*.

[E] VOICE : THE PASSIVE IN BENGALI.

[I] THE INFLECTED PASSIVE IN BENGALI.

[1] Passive Indicative.

653. Primitive Indo-European does not seem to have possessed a passive conjugation. In the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) period the passive developed out of the middle or reflexive, but it was confined to the present stem

and to the third person singular of the aorist only. The distinctive affix of this inflected passive was « -yá- » in the present stem, and the personal terminations of the middle voice were employed. Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic and Sanskrit) has preserved this passive. In Middle Indo-Aryan, the conjugational system underwent the greatest decay imaginable, but the passive was retained, being found in the present indicative and optative imperative ; and a few forms like passive aorist and future were built up in Second MIA.

The « -yá- » affix occurs as « -ya-, -iya, -iyya-, -īya- » in First MIA. and as « -ijja- » or as « -ia- » in Second and Third MIA., or is assimilated with a preceding consonant. The middle inflections of course are changed for those of the active ; and the passive is extended to a number of neuter roots, forming deponents. The NIA. languages inherited the « -ijja- > -ija- » or « -ia-, -ia- » passive from Apabhraṃśa, but it is not preserved in all of them. Early in the history of NIA., the analytical mode of expressing the passive came into being, and in most of them the old inflected passive fell into desuetude. The languages of the West have preserved it, but those of the Midland, the South and the East have either entirely lost it or have only retained it as an obsolete or archaic form. Western Panjābī, Sindhī and Rājasthānī, for instance, employ « -Ij- » or « -I-, -i- » to form the passive ; e.g., W. Panjābī « mārḍā < mārānda- » *striking*, « mārindā » *being struck* ; « cāhdā » *wanting*, « cāhidā » *being wanted* ; « paṛhē » *reads*, « paṛhīē » *is read* ; Sindhī « karījē » *is done*, « paṛhījē » *is read* ; Mārwarī « karaṇō » *doing*, « karījaṇō » *being done*. 'Modern Gujarātī has *ī* only in -īē, a 3rd sing. present passive form which is used in a reflexive sense as a substitute for the 1st plur. active [*i.e.*, « hū karū » *I do* < « aham karōmi », but « amē karīē » *we do* < « asmābhiḥ kriyatē » instead of from « vayam kurmaḥ »], and in all other cases substitutes the potential passive in *ḍ*.' (L. P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of OWR.' § 136 : R. L. Turner suggests another explanation of the Gujarātī « -īē », as being from « -imaḥ », through « -imō > -imu > -ī > -i », + « ē » of the 3 pl. [-anti > -ahiṃ >

-ē], to distinguish it from the absolutive in «-i» < earlier «-ia» [JRAS., 1916, p. 227, foot-note]).

654. The western languages are thus more conservative in the matter of preservation of this inherited form. The Midland language has curtailed the old passive, but relics do occur in it: *e.g.*, Braj-bhākhā «mārai» *strikes*, «māriyai» *is struck*. Bhandarkar and Tessitori have given instances from the Early Awadhī of Tulasī-dāsa. (R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' Bombay, 1914, p. 227; Tessitori, 'Grammatical Forms in Old Baiswari,' JRAS., 1914.) The modern Hindī respectful imperative or precative forms like «kijiyē» *please do have* in all likelihood been influenced by the passive, if they are not of passive origin (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 480, 481, 499). An expression like Hind. «kapṛā cāhiyē» *cloth to sell* is a passive one, where «cāhiyē» = *is wanted*. Compare the Bengali চাই in কি চাই «ki cāi» *what do you want?* (literally, *what is-wanted?*), তোমার আসা চাই «tōmārā āsā cāi» *you must come* (literally, *your coming is-wanted*): Bengali «cāi», Hindi «cāhiyē» are from a Middle Indo-Aryan passive from «*cāhia(d)i» = Old Indo-Aryan «*ca(g)hyātē»: compare these with কি চাও «ki cāō» *what do you want* and তুমি আসিতে চাও «tumi āsītē cāō» *you must come*, where «cāō» = চাই «cāhā», 2nd pers. (plural), present and imperative, = «cāhaha» (= Skt. «-atha» and «-ata»). The «-I-, -i-» or «-ijja-, -ija-» affix for the passive is quite common in the dialects of the 'Prākṛta-Pāṇḍala,' which represent the stage immediately before Modern Hindī: and the loss of this affix is quite a remarkable feature in Western Hindī when compared with the neighbouring Rājasthānī and Panjābī. The «-Ij-, -ij-» passive was also quite frequent in Early Marāṭhī, as Bhandarkar has noticed it (R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' pp. 226-227); but it seems to have died out in Modern Marāṭhī.

655. It would be interesting to see how far the inflected passive is preserved in Old and Middle Bengali, and in other Magadhan languages.

The language of the 'Dōhā-kōṣas' (see *supra*, p. 112) shows some cases of the «-i-» or «-ijja-, -ija-», as well as the assimilated passive:

e.g., 'Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā,' p. 89, « purāṇē vakkhānijjāi » *it is described by the Purāṇa*; p. 103, « sō ē māi kahiajē » *that has been declared by me*; *ibid.*, « sō paramēsuru kāsū kahijjāi » *for whom is that supreme lord (to be) described?*; p. 105, « visaya ramanta ṇa visaa vilippai (=vilippai) » *enjoying the world, yet the world is not attached to him*; p. 106, « dēva pi (=vi) jjai (=jai) lakṣa (=lakkha) vi disai, apyaṇu (=appaṇu) māri sa [ki] kariai » ? *if the deity is seen face to face, self becomes dead: he (=by him) what can be done?*; p. 107, « jāva ṇa disai » *until it is seen*; p. 109, « kāsū kahijjāi » *to whom is it (to be) declared?*; p. 129, « aiśō sō nibbāṇa bhañijjāi, jahi mana mānasa kiṁ pi na kijjāi » *Nirvāṇa is described to be such that there nothing is done of the mind or of the qualities of the mind*; p. 130, « jāi pavana-gamana-duārē [diḍha] tālā vi bhijjāi, jāi tasu ghōrāndhārē mana diva hō kijjāi » *if the strong lock at the door for the passage of the wind is shut* (« bhijjāi », cf. Bengali root ভেজ « bhēj » *to shut*=? Skt. « abhy-ajyatē »), *if in that, in the deep gloom, the mind is made as a lamp*: etc.

In this Western Apabhraṁśa dialect, the « -ijja- » affix is more common than the « -ia- », and it is in full force as a passive form. The Old Bengali of the Caryā-padas has a number of instances of the inflected passive, but the affix is « -i(a)- », not « -ijja- » or « -ija- »; besides there are a few of the assimilated « -yā- » forms: e.g., Caryā 1, « sśala sa[mā]hia kāhi kariai » *what is attained by all samādhi?*; 6, « hariṇā hariṇira nilaa na jāṇi » *the abode of the stag and of the doe is not known*; *ibid.*, « hariṇāra khura na disaa (=disai) » *the stag's hoof is not seen*; 26, « pāviai » *is obtained*; « bhāviai » *is thought of*; 32, « duhiē » *is milked*; 46, « cchijai » (=chidyatē) *is cut*; etc.

The analytical passive with root জা, যা « √jā < yā » *to go* following the verbal noun in « -ana » has already become established in the language of the Caryās; and the analytical « √jā » passive in NIA. seems to have been influenced by, if not actually developed out of, the older inflexional « -ij- » form.

It would seem that in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, the two forms «-ia-» and «-ijja-» occurred side by side: and «-ia-» seems to be the genuine Magadhan affix, and «-ijja-» borrowed through the influence of the Western speeches, and not native in the East. The «-ia-» was preserved in OB. and in MB., although as an obsolete form in the latter, and its real nature seems to have been lost to the speakers quite early.

The examples of the «-ia-» passive in the 47 Caryās are not so few, there numbering some twenty. In Middle Bengali literature we find similar relics of the inflected passive—a linguistic survival which seems not to have been noticed before. The affix loses prominence as the language progresses, and is ultimately merged into the 1st and 3rd personal affix; and in this way the passive verb is transformed into the active one.

There are numerous cases of the passive in «-i(a)-» in the ŚKK. : for instance—

p. 19, যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাঞ ।

উঠিআ বড়ায়ি রাধাক বুল—হেন কাম না করিঞ ॥

« jāta nānā phulā pānā karāpurā sābā pelāilā pāē :

uṭhiā rāṛāyi Rādhā-kā bulā—‘hēnā kāmā nā kariē’ »

All the various flowers, betel-leaves and camphor and all she threw away with her foot. The Old Lady got up and said to Rādhā, ‘you should not do so’ (lit. such a deed should not be done : « kariē ») ;

p. 57, আইহন বীর তিন লোকেঁ ভালে জাণি ॥

« Āihānā bīrā, tinā lōkē bhālē jāṇi »

That A. is a hero is known (jāṇi) well in the three worlds ;

p. 59, দান সাধিএ রতিপতিআশে ।

« dānā sādhiē rāti-patiāśē »

The toll is demanded (sādhiē) with the expectation of dalliance (with thee) ;

- p. 118, ভুখিল হয়িলে কাহ্নাক্রি হুই হাথে না খাইএ ।
 • bhukhilaḥ hāyilē, Kānhāñī, duī hāthē nā khāiē •
When one is hungry, O Kāṇha, one should not eat (• khāiē •, lit. it should not be eaten) with both hands ;
- p. 137, আপণা রাখিয়ে আপণে ।
 • āpaṇā rākhiyē āpaṇē • (=ātmanā raksyātē ātmanā)
Self is (to be) preserved by self ;
- p. 145, নাএর আস্তরে গেলী চন্দ্রাবলী রাহী ।
 তার পাছে আর যত গোআলিনী সহী ॥
 কথো দূরে গিয়া দেখিএ একখানি নাএ ।
 সঘর হয়িআ রাহী তার পাস যাএ ॥
 • nāērā āntārē gēlī cāndrāvalī Rāhī,
 tārā pāchē arā jātā gōālinī sahī.
 kāthō dūrē giā dēkhiē ēkā-khāñī nāē :
 sātwarā hāyī Rāhī tārā pās jāē •
*In search of a boat went Candrāvalī Rādhikā ;
 After her, all her milk-maid friends ;
 Having gone some distance, a boat is seen (dēkhiē).
 Quickly Rādhikā goes to its side ;*
- p. 184, বোলৈ চালৈ না পাইএ পরার রমণী ।
 • bōlē cālē nā pāiē pārarā ramāṇī •
Another's wife is not won (pāiē) by talk and (gallant) ways ;
- p. 185, গোপত কাজত কাহ্নাক্রি ছয় আখি বারী ।
 • gōpātā kājā-tā, Kānhāñī, chāyā ākhi bārī •
In a secret deed, O Kāṇha, six eyes are barred (bārī) ;
- p. 236, ত্রিভুবন নাথ তোকে হরি । প্রভু হয়িআ হেন নাহি করী ॥
 • tribhubānā-nāthā tōmhē Hāri, prābhū hāyī hēnā nāhī karī •
*You are Hari, the Lord of the three worlds ; being the Master,
 you should not do so (lit. it should not be done : • karī •) ;*
- p. 289, পুনমীর চান্দ তোক্ষার বদন যুসিএ জগতজনে ল ।
 • pūnamirā cāndā tōmhārā bādānā ghusiē jāgātā-jānē, lā •
*O, your face is proclaimed (ghusiē) by the people of the world
 to be the moon of the full-moon night ;*

p. 367, সোণা ভাঙ্গিলে' আছে উপাএ জুড়িএ আশুন তাপে ।

পুরুষ নেহা ভাঙ্গিলে' জুড়িএ কাহার বাপে ॥

« sōṇā bhāṅgilē āchē ūpāē, juṛiē āgunā-tāpē :

puruṣā-nēhā bhāṅgilē, juṛiē kāharā bāpē ? »

If gold is broken, there is a way—it is joined (juṛiē) by the heat of the fire ; but if a man's love is shattered, by whose father (=by what man) can it be joined ?

There are numerous other instances of a similar type in the ŚKK. The general tendency will be to explain the forms in ইএ « -iē » as being in the ই « -i » of the first person, and the এ « -ē » only as a final lengthening for reasons of metre. But পাইএ, করিএ « pāiē, kariē » etc., are true inflected passives, and it will be seen that in the instances quoted above, the passive construction gives the correct explanation of the passages rather than the active first person : পাইএ, করিএ etc., thus represent the Cāryā forms like « pāviai, kariai », =Sanskrit « prāpyātē, kriyātē ». The passive was already dying out in Old Bengali; and in Middle Bengali it would be easily confused with the active first person from similarity in form. We may recall as a parallel instance the Gujarātī use of the passive third person singular as the first person plural active, as in « amē utārīē, amē cālīē », etc., which have been explained as being really passive forms (see *supra*, p. 910). The same thing seems to have happened in Central Magadhi, in the « -iai » forms for the 1st person of the verb. The passive in its origin is connected with the reflexive, and the transition to the active is always easy. More so in the early periods of Bengali, when there was a confusion between the instrumental and the nominative, from which the language even now is not wholly free.

The transition from the decaying passive, which was less and less properly understood, to the active was quite a matter of course : from after the ŚKK. onwards, we find frequent use of « -iē » in active forms, for the 1st person generally.

The passive use of the neuter verb is also common in Old and Middle Bengali: e.g., ŚKK., p. 364, পুণ্য কইলৈ স্বৰ্গ জাইএ, নানা উপভোগ পাইএ « puṇyā kailē swarṅgā jāiē, nānā upābhoga pāiē » (=gamyatē, prāpyatē) *practising virtue, heaven is attained, and many enjoyments are obtained.*

Examples of the inflected passive are frequent in Middle Bengali literature. A few are given below :

From poems by Caṇḍīdāsa (VSP., II, pp. 968 ff.): নীল মুকুতার হার মনোহর শোভিত দেখিএ গলে « *nila mukutāra hāra mānōhāra śōbhita dēkhiē glālē* » *a charming necklet of blue pearls is seen beautifully in her neck*; অবলা পরাণে এত কি সহিএ « *ābālā pārāṇē ēta ki sahīē* » *can so much be endured in the life of a weak woman?*; স্বরের উপর রাখার বসতি, নড়িতে কাটিএ দে « *kṣurērā uparā Rādhārā bāsati, nāṛitē kāṭiē dē* » *Rādhā's abode is on (the edge of) a razor, her body is cut at the (slightest) movement*; মানুষে এমন প্রেম কোথা না শুনিএ « *mānuṣē ēmāṇa prēmā kōṭhā nā ṣuniē* » *such love in man has nowhere been heard of*; from the 'Caitanya-caritāmṛta' of Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja (VSP., II, p. 1223): সনাতন কৈল গ্রন্থ ভাগবতামৃতে । ভক্তি-ভক্ত-কৃষ্ণ-তত্ত্ব জানি যাহা হইতে ॥ হরিভক্তিবিলাস গ্রন্থ কৈল বৈষ্ণব আচার । বৈষ্ণবের কর্তব্য যাহা পাইয়ে পার ॥ « *Sanātana kaila grānthā Bhāgavatāmṛtē, bhakti-bhaktā-Kṛṣṇa-tattwa jāni jāhā haitē: Hari-bhakti-bilāsa grānthā kaila bāiṣṇabā-ācārā, bāiṣṇabērā karttabyā jāhā pāiyē parā* » *Sanātana made the book Bhāgavatāmṛta, from which are known the doctrines of bhakti and bhakta, and the nature of Kṛṣṇa; he made the book Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, on Vaiṣṇava ritual, in which the duties of a Vaiṣṇava are made to cross over, as it were (i.e. described in detail)*; from 'Bhāgavata,' by Daivaki-nandana Siṁha. (VSP., II, p. 844): যে অঙ্গে দেখিএ সেই অঙ্গে অলঙ্কার « *jē āṅgē dēkhiē sēi āṅgē ālāṅkāra* » *jewels on every limb that is viewed*; বিনি না পুছিলে কারো না জানিএ জাতি « *bini nā puchilē kārō nā jāniē jāti* » *no one's family is known without asking*.

656. Instances like the above are fairly common in Early Bengali literature, and further quotations are not necessary. Maithilī and Oriyā, too, show similar forms, and some instances may be given :

Maithilī : Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition), p. 6, « *lakhaī na pāria, jētha kanēṭha* » *cannot be distinguished, (whether) old (or) young*; p. 9, « *jata dēkhala, tata kahahi na pāria* » *all that was seen cannot be described*; p. 19, « *parhabhi na pāria ākhara-pāti* » *the rows of letters cannot be read*; p. 21, « *sē nahi dēkhala jē diya upāmā* » *that has not been seen with which a*

comparison can be made; p. 30, « saba taha sunia aisana bēwahārā » *that such is the usage is heard from all*; p. 39, « Āmadhu-ripu sama nahi dēkhia sohāwana, jē dia tanhika upāma rē » *nothing handsome like the Foe of Madhu is seen, with which his comparison can be made*; p. 44, « na jāniya kiya karu mōhana cōra » *what this charming scamp may do is not known*; p. 499, « kajjala-rūpa tua Kālī kahiaō...Gangā kahiē pānī...Bramhā-ghara Bramhānī kahiē, Hara-ghara kahiē Gaurī » *in favour like lamp-black, thou art called Kālī; she is called Gaṅgā when in watery form; in the home of Brahmā, is called Brahmānī; is called Gaurī in the home of Hara; etc.*

Oṛiyā : Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai edition): p. 5, « kāmpii (=kampyatē) tāhārā nijā dēhi » *her own body trembles*; p. 33, « dēhā-mānā diśāī, khāijua-bṛkṣā-prāyā » *his body's measure is seen, like a date-palm*; p. 11, « dāśā-diśi āndhākārā, kiebi hi nā diśi » *the ten quarters are dark, nothing is seen*.

Thus the older literatures of Maithilī and Oṛiyā also demonstrate the presence of the inflected passive in these speeches.

657. The inflected passive is also preserved in a curious idiomatic usage in Modern Bengali, in which both its form and nature are disguised. We have expressions like এ কাজ করে না « ē kājṛ kārē nā » *shouldn't do this*, রবিবার দিন মাছ খায় না « rābi-bārṛ-dinā māchṛ khāy nā » *shouldn't eat fish on Sundays*, জ্বর হ'লে নায় না « jwārṛ hōlē nāy nā » *shouldn't bathe when there is fever*, etc., etc., where the forms করে, খায়, নায় etc., are used with or without the negative particle, and are apparently 3rd person indicative present, the subject, however, being left understood; and such expressions have a general prohibitive or imperative force. The fuller form is presented in dialectal Bengali: in Birbhum, for instance, there is an imperative or optative in « -iyē », e.g., in sentences like হোথা যেয়ে না « hōthā jēyē (< jāiyē) nā » *one shouldn't go there*, ভাইকে না দিয়ে খেয়ে না « bhāi-kē nā diyē khēyē (< khāiyē) nā » *shouldn't eat without sharing with one's brother*, আগুনে হাত দিয়ে না « āgunē hātṛ diyē nā » *shouldn't put one's hand in fire*, তোর দাদা যেনে না এসে « tōrṛ dādā jēnē nā ēsē (=ēsiyē?) » *may your brother not come*, যে আমাকে এত কষ্ট দিলে তার কষ্টব্যাধি হ'য়ে, সে যেনে

হুঁটা চোখ খেয়ে « jē āmakē ētā kṣṣṭā dilē tārṣ kṣṣṭhā-byādhī hōyē, sē jēnē duṭṭi cōkhṣ khēyē » *may he get leprosy, may he eat his two eyes, that caused me so much pain* (Basanta Kumār Chatterji in the VSPdP., 1326, p. 286): in these, খেয়ে, দিয়ে are passives, and যেয়ে, এসে, হ'য়ে are equally passives of neuter verbs (such as are found in the ŚKK.) in which the archaic aspect, which cannot be confused with the indicative active present, is retained. In MB. there are instances of this construction: cf. ŚKK., p. 333, প্রভু হয়িঅঁ হেন না করী « prābhu ḥāyīā hēnā nā kārī » *shouldn't do so, being the Master*; p. 185, লোভ হয়িলে কাহাঞি আরতি না করী « lōbhā ḥāyilē Kāhāñī āratī nā kārī » *O Kānhu, shouldn't yearn (too much) although there is desire*; p. 257, কেহ তার না কহিএ মরণে « kēhā tārā nā kāhiē mārāṇē » *none should speak of his death, etc.*; etc. The MB. forms in « -i-, -ī- » indicate that this construction is properly a passive one; « কাজ করে না, « ē kājṣ kārē nā » is « ētat kāryam na kriyatē »: « kriyatē » would be « kariāi, kariē, kārī » in MIA. and OB. and MB. As in the other cases, the passive nature of the verb was forgotten, and the active form came in. The influence of a similar imperative use of the optative (active and middle) and of the passive, as in Sanskrit, is likely here.

General statements, in which the subject is not definite or important, may be in the third person, active. But it is just likely in such popular expressions like জামায়ের জন্য মারে হাঁস। শুধী-শুদ্ধ খায় মাস ॥ « jāmāyērṣ jānyā mārē hāṣṣ, ṣuṣṭhi-śuddhā khāy māsṣ » *they kill the goose for the son-in-law, and eat the meat with the whole family (= the goose is killed, the meat is eaten)*; and এক দেয় বর দেখে। আর দেয় ঘর দেখে ॥ « ēkṣ dēy [dæṣ] bārṣ dēkhē, ārṣ dēy [dæṣ] ḡhārṣ dēkhē » *they give (in marriage), first by looking at the bridegroom, again by looking at the house = (the daughter) is given (in marriage), taking into note either the bridegroom or his family*; and in similar proverbial couplets and phrases, we have the passive.

It seems we have also the passive in a rare polite imperative in some North Bengali dialects, e.g., থাকেক, রাখেক « dyākhē-kṣ, rākhē-kṣ » *please see, please keep* (= « dēkhiē, rākhiē + -kā »: see below, 'Pleonastic Affixes: Affix « kā »').

(2) BENGALI 'KARMA-KARTR-VĀCYA.'

658. The so-called middle-voice (*karma-kartr-vācya*) of Bengali, which we find in impersonal constructions, seems originally to have been this inflected *-yā-* passive: e.g. কলসী ভরে *« kālāsī bhārē »* *the jar becomes full*; কাপড় ছেঁড়ে *« kāpaṛṣṭ chēṛē »* *the cloth gets torn*; বই কাটে *« bai kāṭē »* *the book cuts > sells*; বাঁশ ভাঙ্গে *« bāśṣṭ bhāṅgē »* *the bamboo breaks*; শাঁখ বাজে *« śākhṣṭ bājē »* *the conch-shell is sounded*; etc. Here ভরে, ছেঁড়ে, কাটে, ভাঙ্গে, বাজে, etc., are to be explained as passive forms, derived from earlier, fuller **bhariai* > **ভরিএ* *« bhāriē »*, **chiṇḍiai* > **ছিণ্ডিএ* *« chiṇḍiē »*, **kaṭṭiai*, **kāṭiai* > **কাটিএ* *« kāṭiē »*, **bhañjiai* or **bhaṅgiai* > **ভাঞ্জিএ* *« *bhāṅgiē »*, **bājiai* > **বাজিএ* *« *bājiē »* etc., of OB. and eMB. A similar use of the passive is known also in Sanskrit (cf. Speyer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax,' § 169).

(3) OB. AND MB. PASSIVE IMPERATIVE.

659. In the ŚKK. there is a form in ইউ *« -iū »* which is illustrated by the following examples :

p. 140, নাঅ বান্ধিতে গিঅঁ করিউ যতনে *« nāā bāndhitē giā kārīū jātānē »* *let us make an attempt to build (lit. bind) the boat*; p. 141, আনহ সকল সখিজন মেলী করিউ যুগতি *« ānāh sākālā sākhi-jānā, mēli kārīū jugāti »* *bring all girl friends, let us hold a consultation together*; p. 141, পসার সাজিউ দধি দুধে, সেসি জীবর উপাএ *« pāsārā sājiū dādhi dudhē, sē-si jībārā upāē »* *let us arrange our milk and curds for sale, that indeed is the means of livelihood*; p. 204, নানা ফুল ফুটিলছে মাঝ বন্দাবনে। তাক পিকি মথুরাক করিউ গমনে ॥ *« nānā phulā phuṭilā-chē mājhā Bṛndābānē, tākā pindhi Māthurā-kā kārīū gāmānē »* *flowers of many kinds have blossomed in the middle of Brndāvana, wearing these, let us go to Mathurā*; p. 253, যমুনাক যাইউ রাখা লয়িঅঁ সখীগণে *« Jāmunā-kā jāiū Rādhā, layiā sākhi-gāṇē »* *let us, O Rādhā, go to Yamunā, taking (our) girl-friends*; p. 270, দধি বিকৈ জাইউ মথুরা *« dādhi bikē jāiū Māthurā »* *let us go to Mathurā to sell curds*; p. 292, সখরে রাখা লইঅঁ জাইউ ঘর *« sātwarē Rādhā lāiā jāiū gharā »* *let me take Rādhā quick to her home*; p. 310, বাশী চোরায়িতৈ করিউ যতনে *« bāśī cōrayitē kārīū jātānē »*

let us make an effort to steal the flute; p. 354, বারতা পুছিউ রাধা সব জন থানে « *bārātā puchiū Rādhā sabbā jana thānē* » *let us ask for news, O Rādhā, from everybody*; p. 347, কদমতলাক জাইউ চিত্তের হরিশে « *kāḍāmā-tālā-kā jāiū cittērā hāriṣē* » *let us go to the foot of the Kadamba tree, with joy in mind*.

This ইউ « -iū » form is certainly the passive imperative: in force it is generally optative or imperative. In an example like জানী চোরায়িত্তে, করিউ যতনে, করিউ যতনে « *kāriū jātānē* » = ১kt. « *kriyatām yatnaḥ* »; so জাইউ « *jāiū* » = « *gamyatām* », বারতা পুছিউ « *bārātā puchiū* » *let us ask for news*, lit. *let news be asked for* = « *vārttā pṛecchyatām* ». The ইউ « -iū » affix is the Second MIA. imperative passive 3rd pers. singular, affix « -iadu », as in Śauraseni (and Māgadhī) « *kadhīadu, kariadu (kaliadu), sunīadu (ṣunīadu)* » = « *kathyatām, kriyatām, śrūyatām* », « -iadu » giving the later form « -iaū » and « *-iu ».

In eMB., the spelling with long উ « *ū* » has no special point, unless the lengthening had a historical reason analogous to that for the final « -i » in the same period (see *supra*, p. 309). This 3 pers. imperative in « -iu, -iū » soon became confused with the 1 pers. indicative present in « -ō, -ō » (for which see *infra*, 'Radical-Tense'). This « -iu » passive is also found in Old Bengali (see *supra*, pp. 904, 907): e.g., Caryā 15 « *bāṭa jāiū* » *go the way* (= *vartma, vartmani gamyatām*).

[II] ANALYTICAL FORMATION OF THE PASSIVE IN BENGALI.

660. The inflected passive is a fossil in Bengali: the living method is analytical and periphrastic. The following are the ways in which the passive is formed in Bengali:

I am seen = (1) আমি দেখা যাই « *āmi dēkhā jāi* »; (2) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখা যায় « *āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhā jāy* »; (3) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখন যায় « *āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhānā jāy* »; (4) আমি দেখা পড়ি « *āmi dēkhā pāri* »; (5) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখা হয় « *āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhā hāy* »; and (6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই « *āmi dṛṣṭā hāi* ».

Of these (1), (4) and (6) are true passives (*karma-vācya*), and these agree with the passive forms of English, French and other modern

Indo-European languages. The other forms, (2), (3) and (5) are instances of the neuter construction (*bhāva-vācya*) in Bengali. All the above forms are used in Bengali, but there are slight shades of difference in their meaning.

661. (1) আমি দেখা যাই « *āmi dēkhā jāi* » *I am seen* is best explained as being composed of the passive participle (adjective) in আ « *ā* » and যা « *√jā* » *to go*, and which assumes the function of the substantive verb. But this form, though allowable, would not ordinarily be regarded as very idiomatic or natural in Bengali: the passive proper, with the object in the nominative, would hardly be considered as natural to the language, especially when the nominative is a definite person. But general statement, where only the action is definite, and is the more important thing, can be easily made with an impersonal construction in the passive: e.g., দেখা যায় « *dēkhā jāy* » *it is seen* (subject ইহা « *ihā* » *this, it* understood); যদি বলা যায় « *yādi bālā jāy* » *if it is said*; শোনা যাইতেছে or যাচ্ছে « *śōnā jāitēchē, jācchē* » *it is being heard*. In the passive construction, the mind of the speaker is loth to forget that what is the grammatical nominative is the real object, and hence the feeling of the native speaker has this preference for the neuter construction, with the nominative-object in the dative, e.g., আমাকে দেখা যায় or আমাকে দেখা হয় « *āmākē dēkhā jāy, hāy* ». The conscious use of the passive would bring in a certain amount of emphasis; and to make a statement emphatic or definite, the dative with কে « *-kē* » is preferred to the accusative or nominative without any inflexion, when we are speaking of a sentient or animate being (see *supra*, pp. 897, 898). So আমাকে (আমারে, আমায়) দেখা যায় « *āmākē (āmārē, āmāy) dēkhā jāy* » would be preferred, as the idea is definite so far as the object of sight is concerned, to আমি দেখা যাই « *āmi dēkhā jāi* » where আমি « *āmi* », although formally nominative, is in sense really the oblique or accusative. আমি দেখা যাই « *āmi dēkhā jāi* », however, would seem to be the older form, and আমাকে দেখা যায় « *āmākē dēkhā jāy* » a later one. আমি করা যাই « *āmi kārā jāi* » *I am done* would be bad Bengali, because here the first personal pronoun would preferably have the কে « *-kē* » and be put in the dative as it is very

definite, and করা যাওয়া « *kārā jāōā* » is rather vague: the construction would be regarded as clumsy. But আমি ধরা পাই « *āmi dhārā jāi* » *I am caught* would be quite allowable, as ধরা « *dhārā* » refers to a definite action.

Names of inanimate objects as a rule do not take কে « *-kē* » when they are in the objective or dative; hence ঘর দেখা যায় « *ghārāḥ dēkhā jāy* » *the house is seen* (not ঘরকে « *ghārāḥ-kē* »), where ঘর « *ghārāḥ* » can be easily parsed as being the subject of the passive sentence.

662. (2) আমাকে (or আমারে, আমায়) দেখা যায় « *āmākē (āmārē, āmay) dēkhā jāy* » *I am seen* or, with a slight potentiality implied, *I may be seen* (= *they can see me*). There is a difficulty in explaining দেখা « *dēkhā* » here. Generally it is looked upon as a verbal noun in আ « *-ā* », derived ultimately from the passive participle in « *-tā* » of Indo-Aryan, the nominal use of which is also quite common in Sanskrit. It would thus be explained as meaning *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing goes-on* (or *takes-place*). The occurrence of (3) আমাকে দেখন যায় « *āmākē dēkhāṇāḥ jāy* » *with-regard-to-me a-seeing takes-place* would lend countenance to the above explanation. But it would seem that in an expression like আমাকে দেখা যায়, দেখা is really a passive participle adjective, and the whole construction is in the impersonal, which is so characteristic of the Western and Southern Indo-Aryan languages: আমাকে দেখা-যায় would be best explained as being literally, *with-regard-to-me, it-is-seen*.

If we had evidence from Old and Middle Bengali remains on this point, we might expect a solution of the difficulty. But the passive with the past participle in আ « *-ā* » was not at all a popular form, and its occurrence is rather rare in the plain direct narration of Middle Bengali verse. Stray instances in the SKK. like তোঙ্গ জাইবৈ মার « *tōmbā jāibē mārā* » (= মারিঅ, মার্বঅ OIA. « *mārita* > *māria*, *mār-ā* » = Modern মারা « *mār-ā* », i.e., মারিঅ+আ « *māria* » + pleonastic affix « *-ā* ») *you will get killed* (p. 33), বান্ধিল জাই « *bāndhilā jāi* » *becomes tied up, is put in bonds*, (p. 71: here we have the old passive participle adjective in ইল « *-il-* », for which see *infra*, under 'Past Tense') indicate that the passive participle is the form associated with this construction. The transition was from the real passive made up of the participle and the verb (and with the

object proper in the nominative) to the impersonal neuter construction (with the nominative-object in the dative and the passive participle); and such a state of things has its parallel in the other cognate languages.

663. The origin of this জা or যা «jā» passive has undoubtedly been influenced, as Beames had suggested ('Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages,' Vol. III, 1879, pp. 73-74), by the old «-ijja-» passive of Apabhraṃśa. We have the «-ijja-» forms in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa on the one hand, and the «jā» forms in the modern languages on the other: the middle is blank, and linking these two in all likelihood there was a transitional stage, not represented in linguistic remains, when the «-ijja-» was slowly assuming a new rôle as a root—when it was merging into the «jā» root, as it were. It would seem that the neuter passives (deponents) like «marijjaī=mriyātē» *dies* first took up an analytical form: because «marijjaī» is equivalent in meaning to «marai» or «marē» (=māratī, māratē), the «-jjaī» would seem to have been regarded as a form of «jāi» from «√jā», giving rise to the analysis «mari jāi» *having-died, goes or passes away* (=MB. মরিয়া যায় «māriyā jāy»). The occurrence of the compound verb in the speech would help such an analysis. Once this analysis was established, there would not be any bar in forming other tenses and verb forms from «√jā». In Early Middle Bengali, analysed forms of the above type (the conjunctive in ই «-i» or ইয়া «iyā» + যা «jā», mostly with neuter verbs) are very common; e.g., in the ŠKK. চলি জাইহ «cālī jāihā» *depart*; পড়ি গেল দিঠী «pāri gēla dithī» *the sight was cast*; ভাঙ্গি জাএ «bhāṅgi jāē» *gets broken*; মোর মজি গেল মনে «mōrā māji gēla manē» *my mind became attached*; পড়িয়া যাইবে «pāriyā jāibē» *you will fall*; মরিয়া যাইবি «māriyā jāibi» *will die*; etc., etc. An Old Bengali instance would seem to be «avasari jāi» (<«*avasarijjaī», deponent of «ava» + «√sr» *more*) in Caryā 32. The modern passive or neuter with the জা «-jā» participle would seem to be of later origin. The potential sense which one can attach to the passive in যা «√jā», and which is never present in the passive with হ «√hā», seems to point

at the «-ijja-» origin of the former. The old potential or optative had «-ĕjja-» in Prakrit, and the confusion between the passive and the optative, already noted, might just be continued in the newly risen analytical form.

As has been noted above, the «-ijja-» form seems to have been foreign to Māgadhi Prakrit and Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa, the source of Bengali; since no «-ijja-» forms are found in the relics of the inflected passive preserved in Bengali and other Magadhan languages, only «-i-» forms. The formation of the analytical passive with «jā» may thus have been brought about in Old Bengali through contact with and influence of Western dialects having «-ijja-» > -Ij, -ij- ».

664. (3) আমাকে দেখন যায় «āmākē dēkhāṇā jāy» *I am seen, I may be seen*, lit. *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing goes-on* (or *takes-place*). This form of passive is one of the oldest constructions in Bengali. It occurs in the Caryās, and it is quite plentiful in Middle Bengali; e.g., (Caryā 2) «dharāṇa na jāi» *cannot be held*, (35) «kahaṇa na jāi» *cannot be described*, (4) «lēpana jāi»? *is entangled or smeared*; ŚKK., p. 38, ললাটি লিখিত ঝঞ্জন না জাএ «lālātā-likhitā khaṇḍāṇā nā jāē» *that which is written on the forehead cannot be averted*; p. 58, প্রাণ ধরন না জাএ «prāṇā dhārāṇā nā jāē» *life cannot be endured*, etc. Middle Bengali instances are fairly common. In Modern Standard Bengali, this construction is falling into disuse, but it is fully preserved in the East Bengal dialects. The employment of this অন «-āṇā» + যা «√jā» passive is impersonal, and it is on the lines of (2).

It would seem to have originated from an unconscious analysis of the verbal adjectives, passive, in «-aniya(ka)». The line of development was probably as follows: «karaṇiya-ka > karaṇijja(y)a» > করণি জাএ «*karaṇi jāē», করণ জাএ «kāraṇā jāē»; so «paṭhaniya-ka > paṭhaniijja(y)a», পড়নি জাএ, পড়ন (পড়ন) জাএ, «*paṭhani jāē, pāṛ(h)āṇā jāē»; etc. The intermediate form in this process of analysis, as in করণি জাএ, পড়নি জাএ, is not preserved in Bengali, but it seems to be represented in Early Baiswārī forms like «barani jāya, kahani jāi» etc., as in Tulasī-dāsa. We may note that an expression like না জায় কহনে «nā jāyā kāhāṇē» would be quite

natural in Middle Bengali, and the locative-instrumental in এ «-ē» in কহনে «kāhān-ē» might be a reminiscence of the older form in ই «-i» which could be regarded as a locative. The analysis into a noun in অন+√যা «-ana» + «√jā» took place before the Old Bengali period: and once this analysis became accepted, transposition of the noun and the verb, and the insertion of the negative particle না between the noun and the verb, which is so frequent in negative constructions of this type in Middle Bengali, would result: thus সহন না যায় «sāhānā nā jāy», না যায় সহন «nā jāy sāhānā» *it cannot be borne* (but curiously enough, না সহন যায় is not found, although সহন যায় না is commonly met with in modern speech: the reason being probably that না «nā» which qualifies the verb in this analysed form must not be separated from it by the noun).

In Middle Bengali we have a few cases where there is apparently a verbal noun in অ «-ā»: e.g., নিবার না যায় রে «nibārā nā jāy rē» *cannot be prevented* (VSP., p. 981); so বোল না যায় «bōlā nā jāy» *cannot be described*. There is no form in Modern Bengali corresponding to it: the absence of the -ন (ণ) «-nā (-ṇā)» in such cases is in all likelihood due to hapology.

665. (4) আমি দেখা পড়ি «āmi dēkhā pāri» *I am seen, I happen to be seen*, lit. *I fall seen*. This construction, apparently an old one, is essentially idiomatic, and strictly speaking it should come under the consideration of the characteristic 'Compound Verbs' of Modern Indo-Aryan. The use of the পড় «√pār» is restricted to a few verbs only, and as Beames has fully noticed it, it indicates accident as well as finality more than anything else. The দেখা «dēkhā» etc., are best explained as passive participle adjectives. The modern Dravidian employment of a root «paḍ» to form the passive has been noted by Beames and others, but it would seem that it is a matter of coincidence. The old Dravidian speech did not possess a passive form, but the employment of obviously the same root in the two groups of Indian speeches, Aryan and Dravidian, is interesting; and it is only one of numerous points of similarity which demonstrate a fundamental agreement between the speakers of the languages of the two groups in their habits of

thought. The impersonal construction with পড় $\sqrt{\text{pāṛ}}$ (e.g., আমাকে দেখা পড়ে āmāṁkē dēkhā pāṛē) is unknown.

666. (5) আমাকে দেখা হয় āmāṁkē dēkhā hāy *I am seen* (i.e., *they see me*); lit. *with-regard-to-me, a-seeing takes-place* (or *a-seeing there-ns*). Here we have a verbal noun in -ā : we never say আমি দেখা হই āmi dēkhā hāi where āmi would be the nominative. Note that মারা যায় mārā jāy or মারা পড়ে mārā pāṛē *gets struck or killed, dies*, but মারা হয় mārā hāy *the striking or killing takes-place*; দেখা গেল dēkhā gēlā *seen went, came in sight*, but দেখা হইল dēkhā hāilā *a-seeing took-place*. The root হ hā here is non-committal and merely states the fact. This construction seems to be a modern one.

667. (6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই āmi dr̥ṣṭā hāi *I am seen* is a learned form and a modern one, and it is found in high-flown speech and in the -śādhū-bhāṣā only. This construction seems to have received a new impetus from the English passive: the Sanskrit passive participle avoids any ambiguity that might result if the native passive participle in আ -ā were used. But it undoubtedly originated in Middle Bengali, as Sanskrit passive participles have been largely introduced into the language since its birth.

668. The root আছ $\sqrt{\text{āch}}$ is used with the past participle to form a sort of passive perfect, mostly in connexion with inanimate nouns or nouns that are names of lower animals, which are subjects of the predicate; e.g., এ বই আমার পড়া আছে $\text{ē bāi āmārā pāṛā āchē}$ *this book has been read by me*, where আমার āmārā governs পড়া pāṛā which predicates বই bāi the subject of আছে āchē ; মাছ ধরা আছে māchā dhārā āchā *fish have been caught* (or *fish that have been caught are*); এ কথা সকলের জানা আছে $\text{ē kāthā śakālerā jānā āchē}$ *this is known to everybody*; এ বই তো পড়া ছিল $\text{ē bāi tō pāṛā chilā}$ *this book indeed was read before, etc., etc.* This construction seems to be recent.

669. Two other idiomatic forms of the passive may be noted. চল $\sqrt{\text{chal}}$ *to go*, to express the idea of possibility or continuance, occurs with the verbal noun in আ -ā , which governs the personal object

in the dative with কে «-kē», and the inanimate object or object which is the name of a lower animal in the accusative. The construction is impersonal: e.g., খাওয়া চলে «khāōā cālē» *can be eaten*, দেখা চলল «dēkhā cālā» *the seeing went on*. খা «√khā» *eat* in the sense of *suffer* is used with the verbal noun মার «mār» *a beating*, and is conjugated actively, to denote *to be beaten*. This last idiom occurs in other Indo-Aryan languages, as well as in Dravidian.

670. The impersonal and indefinite use of the passive is a noticeable feature in Modern Bengali. When one is not sure whether to use the honorific forms in speaking to an individual, recourse is taken to the passive impersonal to avoid any chance of giving offence by using the ordinary non-honorific: e.g., কি করা হয় «ki kārā hāy» *what do you do?* literally, *what is done (by you)?* instead of the direct forms, the honorific আপনি কি করেন «āpñi ki kārēñ» or the inferior তুমি কি কর «tumi ki kārā». So কোথা থাকা হয় «kōthā thākā hāy» *where do you live?* etc. Cf. also the indefinite expressions ধরে নেওয়া যাক «dhōrē nēōā jāk» *let it be granted*; যদি বলা হয় or যায় «yadi bālā hāy, jāy» *if it is said that*; এখান দিয়ে যাওয়া যায় না «ēkhāñḍ diyē jāōā jāy nā» *one cannot go by this way* (where যাওয়া যায় «jāōā jāy» is probably from «*jāijjāi», passive with «-ijj-»: cf. এখান দিয়ে যায় না «ēkhāñḍ diyē jāy nā» *one does not, one should not go by this way*, where যায় «jāy» = «*jāiāi», passive in «-ia-»).

[III] THE PASSIVE IN «-ā-».

671. In MB. and NB. occurs a passive with a distinctive «-ā-» affix, which is illustrated below. This passive may have a potential implication.

Middle Bengali: SKK., p. 89, সেহি এহা পথে মাহাদানী বোলাএ «sēhi ēhā pāthē māhādāñi bōlāē» *he is called the chief toll-collector in this highway*; p. 186, যেহ না ছাড়াএ ঘোল «jēnhā nā chārāē ghōlā» *so that the butter-milk is not scattered*; also cf. পঞ্চানন হলো কয়, তেজীয়ান না দোষায় «Pañcānāñ Nulō kāy, tējīyāñ nā dōṣāy» *says Pañcānana, the one with defective arm: 'a man of spirit is not censured'* (Nagen-dranātha Vasu, 'Banger Jātiya Itihās,' Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa, I, i, p. 224);

Modern Bengali-instances: বেশ মানায় « *bēśṣ mānāy* » *fits nicely, looks well*; কথাটা ভাল শুনায় না « *kāthā-tā bhālā śunāy nā* » *the story does not hear nice (=it is not to be regarded as welcome)*; কথাটা চারাইয়াছে « *kāthā-tā cārāiyāchē* » *the news has been spread*; সে ভাল মানুষ কহায় বটে, কিন্তু লোক স্বেবিধার নয় « *sē bhālā-mānuṣṣ kähāy baṭe, kintu lōkṣ subidhārā nāy* » *he is spoken of as an honest man, but he is not of the good sort*; এতে কিন্তু দোষ খণ্ডায় না « *ē-tē kintu dōṣṣ khaṇḍāy nā* » *but the evil is not averted by this*; যত পরখায় তত দোষ বা'র হয় « *jātā pāṣṣkhāy tāta dōṣṣ bārāṣ hāy* » *the more it is tested the larger the tale of faults that come out*; ছল পরবার জন্ত কান বেঁধায় « *duḥṣ pāṣṣbārāṣ jānyā kāṇṣ bēdhāy* » *the ear is pierced to put on earrings*; এটা তত খারাপ দেখাবে না « *ēṭā tāta khārāpṣ dēkhābē nā* » *this will not show so bad*; etc., etc.: the sense in most instances, as above, is impersonal.

It occurs in Oriyā: 'Dhruva-caritra' of Jagannātha-dāsa (Contai edition), p. 8, « *sē bōlāi pāṭarāṇi* » *she is called the chief queen*; p. 48, « *dēbā gāṇā-mādhyaē tu bōlāu sunāsira* » *thou art called Sunāsira (=Indra) among the gods*; p. 16, « *dwādāṣṣ akṣarā māntrā-rājā ē bōlāi* » *of twelve syllables, this is called the prince of charms*.

This « *-ā-* » passive is found in other NIA. languages: in the Magadhan Maithilī and Bhōjpuriyā; in Eastern Hindī, in Western Hindī, though rather rarely in these (e.g., Kabīr, Kṣīti-Mōhan Sēn's Selections, IV, p. 63 « *sabahi piyāsa pūrana hōta hai, tana-kī tapana bujhāy* » *all thirst is fulfilled, and the burning of the body is relieved*; Guru Nānak, 'Sukhamanī,' ed. in Bengali characters by Jñānēndra Mōhan Datta, Calcutta, 1916, p. 80, « *jīwana-mukata sōu kahāwai* » *he is called 'emancipated in life,'* beside the proper passive in « *uha purukha kahiyai jīwana-mukata* »); in Rājasthānī (dialectally), and in Gujarātī, in which the « *-ā-* » passive is the common method. It occurs also in Marāṭhī, where the affix is « *-āv-* » « *-av-* », « *-vav-* », « *-avav-* » (cf. Rāmchandra Bhikājī Jōshī, 'Praudha-bōdh Marāṭhī Vyākaraṇ,' Poona, 1917, p. 215).

The « *-ā-* » passive has been explained as a Causative or Potential form, originating from the causative affix « *-ā-* », « *-āv-* » < OIA. « *-ā-pa-ya* » (Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 484; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 140).

But another and a more reasonable derivation of the «-ā-» passive has been suggested by Sir George Grierson (in a private communication). He derives potential the passive affix «-ā-» from the denominative «-āya-» of OIA. The Bihārī dialects offer a clue to the source of this «-ā-» passive. In Maithilī, Magahī as well as Bhōjpuriyā, there is clear indication that the affix for this passive was originally «-āya-», distinct from that of the causative which was, and still is in many forms, «-āwa-» (< -āpaya-). Thus, the causative base in Maithilī is «dēkhāb (< dēkhāw < *dēkkh-āva-)> to show, and the potential passive base is «dēkhā > to be seen : in the 3 pres., the causative is «dēkhābē (dēkhāwē), dēkhābathi», the passive is «dēkhāē, dēkhāthi»; so in the future, causative «dēkhāot» (= MIA. *dēkkhāvanta-), passive «dēkhāit» (= MIA. *dēkkhāyanta-); and the past participle forms are, causative «dēkhāol» (< -āwa-la), passive «dēkhāel» (< -āya-la) (Grierson, 'Introduction to the Maithilī Dialect,' Calcutta, 1909, pp. 214 ff., esp. tables on pp. 219 ff.). But even in Bihārī itself, the separate identity of the two affixes is to some extent confused, owing to interchange of «-w-» and «-y-» as intervocal glides. In the other NIA. speeches, the distinction has been entirely levelled down, both «-āya-» and «-āwa-» being reduced to «-ā-», or to «-āw-». We see that from Early MIA. times the causative affix «-āpaya-» has encroached into the domain of the denominative (see *infra*, under 'Denominatives').

The «-ā-» passive is thus an extension of the denominative «-āya-» of OIA. The NIA. intransitives in «-ā-» are similar OIA. denominatives in «-āya-», and this can be well seen from cases like দোষার, চারাইরাহে, পরবার, খণ্ডার etc. at p 928, which certainly are based on nouns. Compare W. Hindi «Hari-simarana kari bhagata pragaṭāy > a saint is made manifest (< prakāṣa) by thinking on God (Nāṇak, 'Sukhamaṇī'). NIA. thus has preserved the denominative way of forming the potential passive, despite its being obscured by the causative.

672. The Passive Construction (*karmaṇi-prayōga*) in the past and future tenses is discussed below (under 'Participial Tenses' and 'Personal Affixes').

673. For ordinary purposes, Bengali may be said to have *eight* tenses, with special affixes. These are—

(i) Simple Tenses: 1. Present; 2. Past; 3. Conditional or Habitual Past; and 4. Future.

(a) **Progressive :** 5. Present Progressive ; 6. Past Progressive ;

In addition, there are other Compound or Periphrastic tenses, like Present, Past and Future Continuous, or Habitual Past Perfect (with auxiliary « ✓ thāk ») where the original verb and the auxiliary are yet distinct and have not coalesced as in the case of the Progressive and the Perfect tenses.

These tenses historically fall under *three types*, viz., Radical, Participial, and Periphrastic.

There is only one *Radical Tense*—the Simple Present, or Present Indefinite, which is derived from the Indicative Present of OIA. *Participial Tenses* are the Simple Past, Conditional or Habitual Past, and Simple Future, which originated respectively from the passive participle (strengthened with the pleonastic «-la» affix), active present participle, and passive future participle of OIA. and MIA. The *Periphrastic* or *Compound Tenses* are made up with the help of the substantive verbs «√āch» and «√thāk» as well as «√rah» employed as auxiliaries with forms of the root.

In NB., we have only standardised forms, but in earlier Bengali, numerous forms occurred side by side.

674. The inflexions are :

Old Singular Old Plural

1. «-i » ; (-õ) : « ãmi, ãmãrã cãl-i († cãl-õ) » .
2. «-is, -s » ; « -ãhã, -ã, -õ » : « tui, tõrã cãl-is ; tumi, tõmãrã
cãl-ãhã, cãl-ã » .

3. «-ē, -y »; «-ēnṣ, -nṣ »: « sē, tārā cāl-ē; tini, tārā cāl-ēnṣ ».
(āpṣni, āpṣnārā cāl-ēnṣ=2nd person honorific).

The distinction in number in the 1st person was dropped from the earliest times in Bengali. In the 2nd and 3rd persons, this distinction was retained to some extent, in that the plural forms became honorific: in the 2nd person, the old singular became the familiar, inferior or contemptuous (both in the singular and the plural), and the old plural, for some period honorific no doubt, followed suit, although it is slightly more respectful and formal than the singular form. The 3rd person plural became the respectful or honorific, both plural and singular.

675. Typical forms occurring in the OB. of the Caryās are:

First Person :

« jivami, pivami (Carvā 4); acchahu (6); puchami, mārami, lēmi (10); dēhū, lēhū (8); bāhāma (20: = cāhāma); jāṇahū (22); acchama (29); āvēṣi (33); pēkhami (35); birahūi =? biharaī (39: Comm. = viharāṇaṁ karōmi); ācchuhū (44); siñcahū, jānami (49) ».

Second Person :

« aisasi, jāsi (10); bujhasi, pucchasi, bāsasi (15); gilēsi (39); bujhaṣi, acchasi (41) ».

Third Person :

« Lui bhaṇai (1); jāi, khāa = khāi, jāgaa = jāgaī, jāa = jāi (2); sāndhaa = sāndhaī, bhamanti Birūa (3); taraī, gaṭai = gaṭhaī (5); chāḍai, chuppai, pivaī, bōlaa = bōlai (6); bājaē, biharaē, lavaē (11); gājai, bhājai, dhāvai, ghōlai (16); bājai, bilasai, nācanti Bājila, gānti dēvi, hōi (17); bhanathi Kaukkurīpā, jō bujhaṣ = bujhaī (20); bhakhaa = bhakhaī, karaa = karaī (21); jē bhamanti tē hōnti; Saraha bhanati = bhananti (22); paīsaa = paīsai; bōlathi Sānti (26); basai, hiṇḍai, khāi, pōhāi (28); lāgē (29); jujhaa = jujhaī (33); bhuñjai (34); ujāa = ujai, bhaṇai; pamāṣ = *sāmāi (38); Saraha bhaṇanti (39); »
etc., etc.

676. Below are given specimens of forms occurring in MB. :

First Person :

« (mui, mu, mō, mōē, mōē, mōña, āmhi, āmhē, āmi, āmhārā, āmārā, āmi-sābā, āmārā-sābā etc.) চলি, চলী cālī, cālī; চলৌ, চলৌ cālō, cālō; চলহ্, চলহ চলউ, চল cālāhū, cālā(h)u, cālū; (চলিএ cālīē) ».

Cf. VSP., p. 30, কঙ kāṅ; p. 31, বলৌ bālō; 34, খাঙ khāṅ; 57, বাঙ yāṅ = jāṅ; 65, দেঙ dēṅ; 67, জানৌ jānō, থোয়ৌ thōyō; 68, দেও dēō = dēṅ; 276, বটি bāṭi; 732, রাখৌ rākho muni = rākho; 733, পড়হ্ pāṛāhū, মুঞি আঙ muni jāṅ = jāṅ; 853, থাকিয়ে thākiē, করিয়ে kariē; 855 কান্দিএ kāndīē; 864, মোরা আছৌ mōrā āchō; 974, জানিএ jāniē, বাসিএ bāsiē; 1204, মাসৌ māgō; 1211, পারৌ pārō; etc., etc.; 'Padmā-purāṇa' of Vāṇsī-dāsa: p. 4, বন্দম bāṇḍāmā (= bāṇḍāwā, bāṇḍō); p. 11, প্রণামহ্ prāṇāmāhū (বলৌ, বলৌ « bāṇḍō, bāṇḍō », and প্রণামহৌ « prāṇāmāhō » are quite common in MB.); Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara-kāṇḍa,' p. 28, বিস্তারিয়া কহ মুনি শুনিউ কখন bistāriyā kāhā muni, śuniū kāthāṇḍ (narrate in detail, O Sage, I [shall] hear the tale) »; etc.

Cf. Oṛiyā: Modern Oṛiyā, singular « dēkhō, dēkhi », plural « dēkhū »; Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai edition), p. 12, « āśīrbādā kāṛā mōtē, sādhaī jēmāntē » give me blessing, so that I (may) succeed; p. 13, « muhi jībāī » I live. Also, Maithilī « dēkhi, cālī, dēkhiaī; chī, chīahu; thīkahu; rahī, rahīahu »; Early Maithilī, as in Vidyāpati (VSPd. edition, Pada 30), « kahañō = kahañō »; Magahī, « dēkhi, dēkhū »; Bhōjpuriyā, singular « dēkhō », plural « dēkhi, dēkhyū ».

Second Person :

« (tui, tuñi, tāi, tō, tōē, tōrā etc.) চলসি, চলসি, চলসি cālāsi, cālisi, cālīs; (tumhi, tumhē, tumi, tōmhārā, tōmārā, tumi-sālā, tōmārā-sābā etc.) চলহ, চল, চলৌ, চল cālāhā, cālā, cālō, cālū ».

The « -āsi, -is(i) » and « -āhā, -ā, -ō » forms are exceedingly common in MB.; the « -u » form is rather rare.

Third Person :

« (sē, tāhā, tāhārā, tāhārā-sābā etc.) চলই, চলে, চলএ cālāi, cālē, cālāē; (tāhō, tāhārā etc.) চলন্তি, চলন্ত, চলন্ত, চলেন, চলাইন, চলাই, চলঞি cālānti, cālāntā, cālēntā, cālēnt, cālāin, cālāi, cālāni » .

Cf. VSP., p. 357, « বাঙন্তি শৃগাল yānti śrgāla=jāwānti, jānti »; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara,' p. 179, « কুকুর বলেন kukkurā bālenā, কুকুর জানেন kukkurā jānenā »; *ibid*, p. 7, গঙ্গা শিরে ধরিয়া হাসেস্ত শূলপাণি « gāṅgā śirē dhāriyā hāsēntā Śūlapāṇi » *the One with the trident in hand (Śiva) laughs, bearing Gaṅgā on his head*; p. 10, গুরুজন বসেন লাজ « guru-janā bāsēntā lājā » *the revered ones feel shame*.

The « -ānti, -āntā, -ēntā » forms are very common in the ŚKK., in Chuṭī-Khān's (Śrīkara Nandī's) 'Mahābhārata,' in Vijaya Paṇḍita's 'Mahābhārata,' and in other older works. In Vanīśi-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (Maimansing District, 17th century), a large number of « -āni, -āi » forms occur, beside « -nti » ones: the former, it should be noted, occur more frequently with the past and future bases than with the present: *e.g.* « p. 3, স্মরন্তি বিধাতা smārānti bidhātā; p. 44, নারদে কহন্তি Nārādē kāhānti; p. 260, মঙ্গল গাহন্তি māṅgalā gāhānti; pp. 262, 318, 362, 489, 496, নারীগণে দেহন্তি (দেয়ন্তি) জৌকার nārīgāṇē dēhānti (dēyānti) jōkārā *the women give shouts of triumph*; p. 417, মঙ্গল গায়ন্তি স্ন্যবতী māṅgalā gāyānti su-jubāti »; besides p. 631, karāni = karānti; p. 622, yāni = jānti; p. 643, pūjāni = pūjānti »; etc., etc.

In addition, through Sanskrit influence, a few *ts.* or *sts.* forms occur in MB. in the 3rd person: *e.g.*, বসতি « bāsāti » *dwells* for বসে « bāsē » (*vasati*); বদতি « bādāti » *speaks* for বলে « bālē » (*vadati*), etc.

The forms in the sister speeches are: Oṛiyā sg. « cālāi », pl. « cālānti »; Maithilī, original sg. « dēkhai », pl. « dēkhathi », also in Magahī, besides forms with affixed object pronouns; Bhōjpuriyā sg. « dēkhē », pl. « dēkhan », besides other forms.

677. Origin of the Forms for the Radical Tense.

The different « gaṇas » of OIA. were practically levelled to one—with the theme « -a- ». The OIA. causative « -aya- » > MIA. « -ē- » lost its force, and « -ē- » was also found in the indicative present form :

OIA. « karōti » thus figured as « karāi, karēi » in Apabhraṃśa. NIA. forms are based on these Apabhraṃśa simplified ones, both in form and use.

First Person.

From OB. and MB., we see that the following were the old affixes : « -ami (= aṃi, aI), -mi (= -ṃi -I), -I, -i ; -ama (= -aṃa), -ō, -ō ; -a-hū, -a-hu, -hō, -au, -ū, -u ». The « -iyē, -iē » form in MB., as has been explained before (p. 915, *supra*), is really a passive form.

The old sense of number had died out in Bengali from the OB. period : it has continued in Oṛiyā to the present day. The affixes « -a-hū, -a-hu, -ahō, -aū, -u » form one group : here the « -hū » seems to be the first personal pronoun « *haū » *I* (see p. 807, *supra*), agglutinated to a basic form of the root in « -a ». Cf. « -tu » for the 2nd person imperative (*supra*, p. 905). This « -hū, -ū, -u » form seems to have merged into the « -ō » form in MB. A form like *শুনিউ* « śuniū » (*supra*, p. 932) seems to be first person in « -i », « śuni » + « hū » ; or is it a blend of the passive in « -iu- » (*supra*, pp. 919-920) + « -hū », or « ō » ? The « -hū > -hu » is found in Maithili also.

The form « -ō » is the affix for the first person now obtaining in Assamese and in North Bengali. This is apparently the same as « -ama » of OB., doubtless pronounced « -aṃa ». Influence of the agglutinated « -hū » here is likely in post-OB. times. Cf. Oṛiyā first person pl. affix « -ū », which is doubtless based on « -ama ». The « -ō » occurs also in Central Magadhan.

The MB. and NB. « -I, -i » is the OIA. and MIA. « -mi » affix of the singular. The OB. « āvēśi » (Caryā 33) would go to show that it was already evolved in the OB. period ; but at that time the nasalisation in all likelihood existed ; and it seems to be generally indicated by retaining the « -m- », pronounced as « ṃ » or nasalised « y ». But in a case like « āvēśi », it could not be so indicated *metri causā*, but seems to have been merely left unnoted (* āvēśi = * āyēśi = * āwīśiṃi = * āvisimi : MB. āśiśi). The Modern Oṛiyā first person sg. form in « -ō » (< Early Oṛiyā « -āi »), given above (p. 932), *e.g.*, « dēkhē, sādhai, jibai », preserves the old nasalisation. The nasalisation is lost in Bengali and in Central Magadhan

and partially also in Oṛiyā, *e.g.*, in its «-i» form. It seems that in Māgadhī Apabhraṇśa, an OIA. form like «calāmi» had resulted in «*calāmi» as well as «*calimi», the former having given the Oṛiyā «cālāi, cālō», the latter the Bengali, Oṛiyā, and Maithilī-Magahī «-ī, -i» forms.

OIA. : «aham calāmi——vayam (Late OIA. asmē) calāmaḥ» ;

MIA. : «ahakaṁ, ahakē calāmi——mayam, amhē calāmō, *calāmē ;
hakaṁ, hakē (*hagaṁ, hagē) calāmi, calāmi——amhē
calāmō, *calāmē, *calāmō, *calāmē» ;

Māg. Ap. : «haū, *hai *calami, *calimi——amhi *calamu, *calami
*calama, *calāma (m = ॠ)» ;

NIA. OB. : «haū (mai) *calāi, *calit, *calī, calī——āmhi (āmhē) calāwa, calō» ;

MB. : «(māi, mui, āmhi, āmi, āmhārā, āmi-sābā etc.) cālī, cālī, cālō.» ;

NB. (Standard Speech) : «(āmi, āmārā) cālī» ; ‡ «(mui, āmi,
āmārā) cālō» ;

Assamese : «(māi, āmi) cālō» ;

Oṛiyā : «(mū) cālō, cālī», plural «(āmhbē, āmbhē-mānē) cālū» ;

Maithilī : «calī, calī» (for both numbers) ;

Magahī : «calī, calī, calū» (for both numbers) ;

Bhōjpurīyā : «cālō», plural «cālū, calyū» (the singular «cālō» probably influenced by Western speeches).

In the indiscriminate use of singular and plural forms, it is not unlikely that the singular «*calami, calimi» in Māgadhī Apabhraṇśa became confused with an expected, and possible Māg. Ap. plural form «*calāmi, *calami» < Magadhī Prakrit «*calāmē» < OIA. «calāmaḥ», with the change of final «-aḥ» to «-ē» and then to «-i».

678.

Second Person.

The history of the forms seems to have been as follows :

OIA. : «tvam calasi—yūyam (Late OIA. *yuṣmē, *tuṣmē) calatha» ;

MIA. : «tumaṁ, tūṁ calasi——tumhē calatha, caladha ; tūṁ calasi
——tumhē calaha» ;

Māg. Ap. : «tū, tō calasi, *calisi, *calahi ; *calasu, *calahu, *calatū
(from the Imperative)——tumhi calaha» ;

- NIA. OB. : « tū, tō, taī calasi, calisi—tumhi, tumhē calaha, * calaa » ;
 MB. : « (tō, tō, tōē, taī, tui, tōrā) cālāsi, cālisi, cālāis, cālīs—
 (tumhi, tumi, tōmhārā, tōmārā etc.) cālāhā, cālā, cālā, cālō » ;
 NB. : « (tui, torā) cālīs, † cālās (as in East Bengali), † cālū
 (as in S.W. Bengali : cf. Oṛiyā)—(tumi, tōmārā) cālā, cālō » ;
 Assamese : « tāi cālā——tumi cālā (tomālokē cālā, cālāhāk) » ;
 Oṛiyā : « tū cālū——tumbhē (-mānē) cālā » ;
 Maithilī : « tō calahi, calah——tōh, tōh-sabh calahu » ;
 Magahī : « tū, tō cal——tōhani calah(in) » ;
 Bhōjpuriyā : « tū, tō cal (calas, calasi, calis)—tōhanīkā calah » .

679.

Third Person.

- OIA. : « sa(h) calati——tē calanti » ;
 MIA. (Māgadhi) : « sē calati——tē calanti » ;
 « sē caladi, calāī——*tē calanti » ;
 Māgadhi Ap. : « sē, *sī calāī——*ti, tē calanti » ;
 NIA. OB. : « sē *calāī (calanti *honorific*)——*tē, *tēhī, *tēhi *tēha,
 calanti, *calēnti » ;
 MB. : « sē cālāī, cālāē, cālē ; tēhā, tēhārā cālānti, cālēntā,
 cālāntā, cālēnē, cālāni, cālāni, cālāi, cālāni, cālāin » ;
 NB. : « (sē, tārā) cālē—(tini, tārā) cālēnē († cālāin) » ;
 Assamese : « (si, sihātē) cālē (Early Assamese si-hātē cālāntā,
 cālēntā) » ;
 Oṛiyā : « sē cālāī—sē-mānē cālānti » ;
 Maithilī : « sē (sē-sabh) calai, calathi » (the latter honorific only) ;
 Magahī : « sē calai, calē (calas < Bhōjpuriyā)—taun calin,
 calī, calathi » ;
 Bhōjpuriyā : « sē calē, cala (calasi, calasu < Awadhī)—taun
 calan, calin » .

The plural form in Bengali is now used as an honorific. The change of OIA. «-nt» normally is to «-t-» in Bengali, not to «-n-» : « cālēnē » therefore does not represent OIA. « calanti ». The form has obtained its «-n-» (further reduced to a mere nasalisation in dialectal Bengali) ultimately from the plural «-na » of the noun (see *supra*, pp. 725-726). It seems that this

« -na » was added to the plural-honorific forms for the verb in the past and the future tenses, which as participial forms did not have any affix originally, and therefore could take up both the plural « -na » of the oblique noun and the « -anti » of the radical tense: MB. ordinary « gēl-ā, gēl-ā », honorific « gēl-ēṇṇ, gēl-ānti ». Thus « -na » and « -anti » became identical; and in the place of « calanti, calēnta », and a possible « * calēṭi, * calēṭā » (cf. ŚKK. দেতি « dēti » *they give* = « dēnti »), the form « calē-ṇṇ » came in. Doubtless the use of the present participle in « -itē » (calitē-calitē), the infinitive in « -itē », and the past habitual base « calit- », all the three with « -it- », helped the establishment of « -ēṇṇ » in the other verb forms as the plural honorific affix. Oṛiyā alone among Magadhan languages has preserved the « -nti ». In other Magadhan, in E. and W. Hindi, and in other NIA., the « -nti » has similarly given place to a mere nasalisation or to « -n »: except in Marāṭhi, where the « -nti » is altered to the normal NIA. development, « -t » (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 235).

The Maithilī and Magahī « calathi » is peculiar, showing « -thi » for OIA. « -nti »; probably it is a case of emphatic « hi »: « calanti hi > calat(i) hi > calathi ». In the Caryās, « -thi » for honorific « -nti » occurs in a couple of instances: « bhaṇathi Kukkurīpāē » (20), « bōlathi Sānti » (26). These seem to have been due to the mistake of the Nēwārī scribe of the MS., familiar as he was more with Maithilī than with Old Bengali.

The « -s- » forms for the 3rd person in Magahī and Bhōjpurīyā seem to be ultimately from Awadhī, and the « -s- » seems to be the pronoun « sē » *he*, agglutinated with the verb-base (like « hū, tu » for the 1st and 2nd persons in OB.).

[II] THE TENSES ORIGINATING FROM OIA. PARTICIPLES.

(1) THE PAST BASE.

680. The inflected past tenses of OIA.—the imperfect, aorist and perfect—were continued in MIA., but their employment grew more and more rare. In Early MIA. (as in Pali) the imperfect and aorist

coalesced, and formed practically one past form (cf. Geiger, 'Pali Grammatik,' § 158 ff.), although Pali grammarians sought to indicate a theoretical difference between them by calling the forms derived from the old imperfect and the strong or root aorist (with the 3rd person singular ending in « -a, -ā ») the « *hiyattanī* » or *yesterday past*, and the forms derived from original sigmatic aorist (with the 3rd person singular ending in « -ī, -si ») as the « *ajjatanī* » or *to-day past*. The perfect became very much restricted. In Second NIA., the perfect all but disappeared, being found only in a few stereotyped forms; and the same thing happened with the imperfect-aorist tense, which could be found with a number of roots, or had resulted, as in Ardha-Māgadhī, into a couple of affixes—a singular « -itthā, -ṣṭthā » and a plural « -imsu », originating from the OIA. *ātmanē-pada* (medial) aorist forms (Pischel, 'Gramm. der Pkt.-Sprachen,' §§ 515-517; Geiger, *op. cit.*, § 159).

This gradual decay or disuse of the old moods and forms of the old inflected past is a notable thing in the history of Indo-Aryan (cf. Jules Bloch, 'La Phrase nominale en Sanskrit,' *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, Vol. XIV). In this connexion Dravidian influence has been suggested, and indeed is probable (see *supra*, pp. 38, 174). As the old past forms fell into desuetude, their place was taken up more and more by the passive participle adjective which had the ending « -ta, -i-ta » or « -na » in OIA. In this extension of the verbal adjective to assume the function of the finite verb, going hand in hand with the decay of the latter, Dravidian influence, again, is likely. But the germs of this use we find within OIA. itself. In Vedic, the past or passive participle in « -ta » is quite frequently used as a finite verb, when the copula or the substantive verb « *as* » or « *bhū* » is omitted (cf. A.A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' § 208; B. Delbrück, 'Altindische Syntax,' Halle, 1888, §§ 215, 219). This construction, periphrastic in nature, with the substantive verb present or understood, seems to have come in first with intransitive verbs (meaning *going, sitting, standing*, etc.), or in impersonal statements. But as yet the passive participle has not invaded the domain of the transitive verb, in a passive construction with the true nominative in the instrumental,—

a construction which is perfectly normal in Second MIA., and which is continued down into NIA. : « sa yātaḥ, sa jātaḥ, sa ārūḍhaḥ » might be used instead of « sa jagāma (iyāya, agacchat, agamat, ayāt), sa ajāyata (ajani), sa aruhat (aruksat, rurōha) » etc. ; but « tēna kṛtaḥ (kṛtā, kṛtam), tēna dṛṣṭaḥ (dṛṣṭā, dṛṣṭam) » are not yet well-established in the place of « sa cakāra (akārṣīt, akarōt), sa dadarśa (apaśyat, adrākṣīt) », etc. But from Early MIA., the extension of the passive participle to transitive verbs also came in. In Pali, however, the OIA. condition obtains, and there is plentiful use of the past tense or aorist, the « -ta » forms occurring with intransitive verbs mainly : but the traditions of Pali as a literary speech go back to the oldest MIA., or latest OIA. period, and Pali syntax is not wholly based on that of the spoken vernaculars of the centuries immediately before Christ. But the language of Aśōkan and other early inscriptions sufficiently demonstrate what an important place the passive participle in « -ta » had already obtained for itself in the popular dialects, considerably restricting the inflected past tenses. Thus, to give a few examples : Aśōkan Rock Edict I (Girnar), « iyaṁ dhammalipi dēvaṇaṁ priyēna priyadasinā rāṇā lēkhāpitā » ; II (Girnar) « dvē cikicchā katā ; ōsuḍhāni...sarvatra hārāpitāni ca rōpāpitāni ca » ; V (Girnar) « ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṁ kataṁ » ; Pillar, Rummindei, « piyadasina lājina atana āgāca mahiyitē ; silā vigāḍabhicā kālāpita, silāthabhē ca usapāpitē, Lummini-gāmē ca ubalikē kaṭē » ; Nigliwa, « lājina thubē dutiyaṁ vaḍhitē » ; Khāravela Inscription, « mahārājēna...kiḍitā kumāra-kiḍikā : yōvarajaṁ pasāsitaṁ » ; Bharhut Inscription on gateway, « .. Dhanabhūtina kāritaṁ tōraṇaṁ (= tōraṇaṁ), silā-kammaṁtō ca upaṁna » ; Sanchi, Stupa I, « Vedisakēhi daṁta-kārēhi rūpa-kammaṁ kataṁ » ; Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros, « garuḍa-dhvajē ayaṁ kārītō Heliōdōrēna » ; Mathurā Āyāgapatṭa Inscription, « ...gaṇikāyē Vasu(yē)...śilāpaṭṭo pratisthāpitō » ; etc., etc.

Illustrations can be multiplied. These show that the passive participle construction, the verb being an adjective qualifying the nominative when it was intransitive and the object when transitive, became the common idiomatic way of expressing the past in MIA. By the time when the Apabhraṁśa Stage came in, the old inflected past forms, which still

lingered in Second MIA., were clean swept away, and only this participial past remained in IA. ; and the NIA. past tense was formed out of this.

The IA. speeches outside India show similarly the passive participle as the base for the preterit : Sinhalese (Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 71-7?), and the Gipsy speeches of Europe (F. Miklosich, 'Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas,' XI, p. 44). -

681. The affix « -ta, -ita » was by this time reduced to « -a, -ia », except where it was assimilated to a preceding consonant (*e.g.*, « dṛṣṭa », = Panjābī « ḍiṭṭhā », beside « *dṛkṣita- > dēkkhia- » = Hindī « dēkhyā, dēkhā », Bengali দেখিল « dēkh-il- » ; « supta » > sutta > Early Beng. সূতিল sut-il- » ; « matta » > Beng. মাতিল māt-il- » ; etc.). A pleonastic « -ka », which was reduced to « -a » in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, was sometimes added. But the need for some distinctive affix for this important form, the only one to indicate the past tense, was felt in some parts of the country. The « -la » affix of OIA., in extended forms « -i-la, -a-la », which became very popular as an adjective affix (or a merely pleonastic one) from the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably even earlier, was frequently added. In the Second and Third MIA. periods « -i-la, -a-la » apparently became « -illa (-ēlla), -alla ». In any case, in North-Eastern India the « -ll- » was specially popular from the Apabhraṃśa period (it may be earlier still) in connexion with the passive participle in « -a < -ta, -ia < -ita ». We have no specimens of this North-Eastern or Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, but from the evidence of the Magadhan languages we have to surmise all that. In the Ardha-māgadhī area, and in the Midland, the « -ila, -ala » > -illa (-ēlla), -alla » affix was rather sparingly used ; also in the North-West : the source-dialects Eastern Hindī, Western Hindī, and Western and Eastern Panjābī apparently never used it with the passive participle, whether attributive or predicative. In the South-West, its use was more common than in the Midland, but not so common as in the East : it was used, as we can infer from Gujarātī and Rājasthānī and Sindhī, when the passive participle was a plu-perfect, or an attributive form, and not a predicate in the simple past, performing the function of a verb. In the

South, it was fairly common, and shortly after the formation of the Marāṭhī language, it became more and more popular as an affix in connexion with the passive participle > past tense.

The remnants of Second MIA. (especially in the Jaina dialects as written in the South-West) have preserved for us examples of this « -illa (-ēlla) » and « -ulla, -alla » affix with nouns and adjectives, like « kaṇṭailla, chāilla, mā(y)illa, lōhilla, sōhilla, pēurilla, thalailla, niyaḍilla, kasilla, sāsilla, kalaṇkilla, gaṇṭhilla, muttāhalilla, kandalilla, lacchiilla, kivāilla, gōilla, chailla, gāmilla, bāhirilla, paḍhamilla, uvarilla, dāhiṇilla, majjhimilla, puvvilla » etc., etc.; and stray forms like Ardha-māgadhī « āṇilliya » (āṇia = ānita + illa : Pischel, 'Grammartik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 595), and « āgaḷliya (āgata-), varēlliya (varia-, vṛta-), chaḍḍiḷlayaṁ (chardita-), laddhilliyaṁ (labdha-) » (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126) etc. confirm the surmise made chiefly from the modern languages that « -illa (-ēlla), -alla » added to the passive participle in « -a, -ia < -ta, -ita » is the source of the NIA. « -l- » in this case. When the « -illa » in this way strengthened the passive participle, the latter retained fully its original adjectival nature, and « -illa » would change its ending according to the gender of the noun qualified.

682. Thus the past base in « -il- » in Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā, in « -al- » in the Bihārī speeches, and in « -il-, -al » in Marāṭhī, and similar « -l- » forms in the other NIA. speeches, originated from the OIA. « -ta, -ita » *plus* the OIA. diminutive or adjectival affix « -la- » in the extended forms « -ila, -a-la, > -illa (-ēlla), -alla ». This explanation, first suggested by Sir Charles Lyall in his article on Hindōstānī in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' 9th edition (1879 : reprinted as 'A Sketch of the Hindustani Language,' Edinburgh, 1880 : pp. 41-42) and by Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in his 'Wilson Philological Lectures' (1877, Lecture V, first published Bombay, 1914, pp. 223-224), has finally been accepted as the only possible explanation, after Sten Konow showed how this « -l- » of Marāṭhī (and other NIA. speeches) phonologically must rest on a MIA. « -ll- » (in his 'Note on the Past Tense in Marāṭhī,' JRAS., 1902, pp. 417 ff. Cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126 ; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 256).

683. Lassen and Hoernle, whose views, now disproved and abandoned, still obtain some following in India, traced this «-l-» to the «-ta, -ita» affix of OIA. direct: either along this line: «-ta, -ita» > -da, -ida > -ḍa, -iḍa > -la, -ila»; or along this: «-ta, -ita» > -da, -ida > -la, -ila» (cf. Hoernle, 'Gauḍian Grammar,' § 306). But neither of the above lines of change are known to have taken place on any large scale in IA.; and although there are cases of 'spontaneous cerebralisation' (*supra*, p. 487), and although there are a few cases where NIA. «-l-» (< earlier «-l-») corresponds to Skt. «-ḍ-» (*supra*, p. 543), a wholesale change of MIA. «-d-, -ḍ-» to «-l-» is not attested. Under influence of preceding «r, ṛ», a dental «-ta» became a «-ṭa» in 'Old Māgadhī,' and the normal change of it in Second MIA. Māgadhī would of course be «-ḍa»; in fact, Vararuci notes two cases, «kaḍa, maḍa < kaṭa, maṭa < kṛta, mṛta» and a third «gaḍa (< gata)» by analogy apparently ('Prākṛta-prakāśa,' XI, 15); and many more can be attested from MIA., from Sanskrit, and from the NIA. speeches (like «*saḍakka > saṛṅkḥ > street from «sṛta», «*dhaḍa > dhaṛḥ > torso from «dhṛta», «*bhaḍa > bhaṛḥ = surname in Bengali = servant from «bhṛta, bhaṭa»). In all these cases we find «-ṛ-» in NIA. (< -ḍ- < -ṭ- < -ṛt-)», and never «-l-». The equivalent of «kaḍa, maḍa» should be «kaṛḥ, maṛḥ» or «kaṛā, maṛā» in NIA., and not «kaila, maila» as in Early Bengali or in the Bihārī dialects. In fact, the «-ṛ-» form, मरि «mārā» < «maḍa», has continued apart in Bengali, in the sense of *dead body, corpse*, and this is quite distinct from the verb মর «māilā» = *maa-illa = mṛta + illa».¹

The adjectival accented «-lá» (Whitney, 'Skt. Grammar,' §§ 1189, 1227) became «-lla» in Second MIA. (Pischel, 'Grammatik der

¹ As has been noted before, the genuine, inherited Māgadhī forms in '-ṛ-' = '-ḍ-' < '-ṭ-' < '-ṛt-, -ṛt-' were largely ousted from or restricted in the eastern dialects, probably during the Second and Third MIA. periods, by new formations which did not show cerebralisation, but simple elision of the '-t-': see *supra*, p. 487. This was either due to the analogy of the larger number of '-ta-' participles in which there was no scope for cerebralisation and the '-t-' was duly lost in Second MIA.; or it may be that here there was strong influence from the Western speeches due to the continuous immigration of Westerners into the East—Bihar and Bengal—during the formative period of the Eastern languages.

Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 194). It is just possible that the doubling was due to the fact that it was a *ts.* (or *sts.*) affix introduced in Transitional MIA., at a time when original *tḥh.* or inherited intervocal «-l-» tended to become cerebralised to «-l̥-», and that its *ts.* character as an intervocal *dental* or *alveolar* sound was sought to be preserved by this doubling. Another explanation, quite possible, would derive the MIA. «-lla» from the OIA. «-la», strengthened by «-ya» (also an adjectival affix): «*-l-ya > -lla» (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 256). In any case, the fact remains that in Second MIA. it became «-ll-». In NIA., in those speeches where the cerebral «-l̥-» is preserved, this «-l̥-» stands on a MIA. single intervocal dental or alveolar «-l-»; and where in NIA. it is a dental «-l̥-», the MIA. source of it is double «-ll-», and not single «-l-». This has been shown for Marāṭhī (Sten Konow, JRAS., 1902, as cited above; cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' §§ 144 ff.), and for Gujarātī by Turner (JRAS., 1921, pp. 527-528, 535, 537, 538). It is also the case with Oṛiyā: e.g., Oṛiyā «kālā» *black*, «kāli» *ink* (< kālā-), «bēlā» (< vēlā), «dēuḷā» (< dēvakula), «tīlā» (< tila), *ts.* «tāilā» (< tāila), with «-l̥-», but «kāli» (kallim, kalya-), «bēla» (bēlla, bilva), «tēla» (tēlla, tāilā), etc. (see *supra*, p. 533): and for the past tense and pass. part adj., Oṛiyā has «-l-», not «-l̥-», which thus must rest on a MIA. «-ll-». The same seems also to be the case with Panjābī. So that Apabhraṁśa (Eastern, Western, Southern) «*kaa-illa-, *kaya-illa-, *kaa-alla-; *gaa-illa, *gaya-illa, *gaa-alla; *calia-illa > *calilla, *callōlla *calla-illa (= *calya- + -ita- + -la-)» etc. can alone be the sources of Early Bengali «kāla», Bihārī «kail», Oṛiyā «kālā», Marāṭhī «kēlā, gēlā», Gujarātī «karēlo» (= *karia-illa), Sindhi «kayalū, kitalū» (the last = *kitta-alla-); and Bengali «gēlā, cālilā», Oṛiya «gālā, cālilā» Bihārī «gail, calal-», beside Oṛiyā «cālilā», Gujarātī «cālēlō», etc.

684. Another view about the origin of the NIA. «-l-» is that it is an independent affix occurring in Indo-European itself, preserved in NIA., but ignored or left unnoticed in OIA. S. H. Kellogg first suggested this in his Hindi Grammar (cf. p. 340, second edition), and Beames connected this «-l-» with the «-l-» affix indicating the past tense in the Slav languages, and compared Slav (Russian) preterit

forms in «-l-» with those of the Marāṭhi as a typical Indian language with the «-l-» past ('Comp. Grammar,' III, pp. 135-136). But this connexion is not proper. We have seen that the MIA. form of the suffix was «-ll-» < OIA. «-l-» and that it is adjectival (diminutive or pleonastic) in its nature, whereas the «-l-» affix that we find in Slav is entirely different. The latter is a participle affix, forming *nomina agentis*, with an active present participle sense, and in Slav it is used to form periphrastic tenses with the substantive verb: and this «-l-» or «-lo-» affix has been found, in addition to the Slav, in Latin, Greek, Armenian and Tokharian among Indo-European speeches (A. Meillet, 'Le Slav Commun,' Paris, 1924, § 281; French trans. of Brugmann's Short Comparative Grammar, Paris, 1905, p. 351; S. Lévi and A. Meillet, 'Remarques sur les Formes grammaticales de quelques Textes en Tokharien B.: I: Formes verbales,' Extrait de Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, Vol. XVIII, Paris, 1912, p. 22).

685. The «-l-» affix is established for the past tense in Bengali and other Magadhan speeches, so that its use in the Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa can reasonably be presumed. The «-l-» affix is absent for the past tense in Eastern Hindī, Western Hindī, Panjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, Sindhī: in the source Apabhraṅśas of these, therefore, it would be reasonable to think that it was not present there, or in any case it could not have been so prominent. But the «-ll-» form did not entirely supplant the simple passive participle in «-(i)a» in the East: from Old and Middle Bengali and from Early Oṛiyā and Early Maithilī, we can see that the passive participle in «-ita» > «-ia» without the strengthening «-illa, -alla» was actually used predicatively for the past base. Examples are given below. The non-l form of the passive participle has given the Bengali passive participle in «-ā»: «calita-» > «calia-» + «-ā» > «cālā». This non-l form occurs also in Eastern Hindī as well as in Western Hindī: but in NB. it is attributive, and not predicative. All this would show that the «-ll-» and the non-l forms were used side by side in Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa, but the NIA. Magadhan speeches decided for the «-ll-» form for the past base as well as for the

adjectival participle base : in Modern Bengali, in the standard language however, the non-l form is employed as the adjective, and the «-l-» form has been restricted to the predicate.

686. The following tables recapitulate the position in the NIA. languages :

[a] Non-l Forms in NIA.

(i) OIA. « calita- » > Second MIA. « calia- ; (nominative) caliō, caliē » > Apabhraṇśa « calia- ; caliu, *calii » ;

(ii) OIA. « calita-ka- » > Second MIA. « caliaa- ; (nominative) caliaō, caliaē » > Apabhraṇśa « caliaa- ; caliaü, *caliaī ».

From MIA. passive participles of the above type are derived :—

Western Hindi (Braj-bhākhā) passive participle adjective and past base

« calyau » ;

„ (Kanauji) „ « calō » ;

„ (Hindōstāni) „ « calā » ;

Eastern Panjābi „ « calliā, caliā » ;

Western Panjābi „ « callēā » (with

personal terminations added optionally to form the verb past) ;

Sindhi pass. part. adjective and past base « haliō » (with

personal terminations added in the intransitive) ;

Gujarāṭi pass. part. adjective and past base « cālyō » ;

Rājasthāni „ „ « calyō » ;

Pahārī (Khaskurā) „ „ « cālyō » ;

Eastern Hindi „ „ « calā » (with

personal terminations added to form the past tense) ;

Early Maithilī past form « calia, cali, calu » ;

Early Oṛiyā past form « cālī » ;

Oṛiyā past participle « cālā » ;

Old Bengali past participle and past form « calia, cali, caliā, calā (caliō, caliu, calu) » ;

Middle Bengali past form « cālī (cālē ?) » ;

New Bengali passive participle « cālā (cāliyā ?) » ;

New Bengali and Assamese verbal noun « cālā » ,

[b] Forms with adjectival or pleonastic « -l- » in NIA.

OIA. « calita- » > MIA. « calia- » + « -illa-, -ġlla-, -alla- » > Ap.
« *calilla-, *calġlla-, *calialla- ».

From « -ll- » forms of the above types in Apabhraṇśa are derived :—

Sindhi passive past participle	« halyalū » ;
Gujarātī - „	« cālēl, cālēlō » ;
Marāṭhī „	« cālālā » (with
personal terminations added to form the past tense), besides	
a double « -l- » form, « cālālēlā » ;	

Marāṭhī verbal noun	« cālālē » ;
Bihārī past base, passive participle adjective, & verbal noun	« calal- » ;
Oṛiyā past base and passive participle adjective	« cālilā » ;
Bengali past base and passive participle	« cālilā- » ;
Assamese past base	« cālil- ».

687. Examples of non-l and « -l- » forms from OB. and MB. are given below.

Old Bengali : non-l forms.

In OB., as in the Caryās, the adjectival nature is still clear in many cases. The form expected in OB. would be « -ia » > « -ī » , or « -ia » + definitive « -ā » = « -iā » ; « -iā » is found, and « -ī » also ; and « -ia » , with the final « -a » retained, is also found as an archaic literary survival (cf. Bengali treatment of final MIA. vowels, *supra*, pp. 301 ff.). Besides, forms in « -iō (-ō), -iu, -u » due to Western influence also occur (see *supra*, p. 115). This « -iu, -u, -iō (-ō) » is not found in MB. and NB.

Caryā 1 : « paīṭhō » (= pavīṭṭhō, pavīṭṭhaō = praviṣṭa-, -ṣṭa-ka-) ; « āmhē sāṇē dīṭhā » (dṛṣṭa-) ; « baīṭhā » (cf. বৈঠা মানুষ « baīṭhā mānuṣ » *sitting man* in Chittagong Bengali, and বঠিয়া « baṭṭhiyā » *having sat in* 'Māṇik Candra Rājār Gān,' VSP., p. 82—which show that « baīṭh- » was a good OB. form, though now supplanted by the root « bāis ») ; Caryā 7, « bhiunnā » ; 9, « haria » ; 10, « chāḍi » ; 11, « paīṭha, kiū, bhaīa » ; 13, « kia, māri » ; 16, « paīṭha, paīṭhā, dīṭhā » ; 17, « picīu = ? cāpiu, kia, biāpiu » ; 18, « bāhia, biṭaliu, ṭāliu » ; 19, « uchaliā, caliā, ahāriu, kia » ;

20, « saṅghārā »; 26, « ahāriu, caṭāriu »; 27, « bikasaü, unhasiu, cālia, gaü, bujhia »; 28, « khāi?, pōhāi? »; 30, « phariā, uittā, bujhjhia »; 31, « ṇaṭhā, paīṭhā, bihariu, nivāriu »; 34, « bādḥā (< baddha-), ladḥā = lādḥā (< labdha-) »; 36, « pahārī, ahārī »; 44, « miliā, ūiā, paīṭhā, biṇaṭhā »; 47, « jalia (< jwalita), paṭā (= patita-) »; 49, « bāhiu, luḍiu, ṇaṭhā, paīṭhā, thākiu, laiā ».

Old Bengali : « -l- » forms.

Caryā 2, « cauri nila, cōrē nila, nida gēla »; 3, « āīla, paīṭhēla »; 4, « ubhila »; 6, « bēṭila = bēḍhila »; 7, « rundhēlā, bhaīla, āīlā, gēlā, bhaīlā = bhaīlā »; 8, « gēlī, mēlīlī, milīla »; 10, « mōē ghalīlī »; 12, « jitēla »; 13, « calīla »; 14, « buḍīlī, bhaīlā, caḍīlā »; 15, « gēlā, bhaīla »; 16, « lāgēlī »; 18, « sutēlī »; 28, « maulīla, lāgēlī, paḍīlā, chāīlī, pōhāīlī »; 30, « uḷōlī » (= udyōtitam); 31, « chāḍīla » (cf. Commentary); 32, « mukala, bhāīlā »; 33, « duhila (adj.), biāēla »; 35, « hāu acchilē (= āchilē? āchila?), māī bujhila, dila, ahārila, laiā, ahārā-kaēla »; 36, « nida gēlā, sutēlā, māī dēkhila »; 37, « ṭuṭī-gēlī, acchilēsa »; 39, « nilēsi, bhāgēla »; 41, « phulīlā »; 44, « āīlēsi, biccharila »; 47, « lāgēlī āgi, uṭhī-gēla »; 49, « bhaīlī, lēlī »; 50, « phuṭīlā, tāēla = uēla? bhāēlā?, phīṭēlī, phulīā = phulīlā, pākēlā, mātēlā, bhēlā, bhāīlā, (gaḍīlā), hakaēlā, mārila, bhaīlā, phīṭīlī ».

In OB. the affix is commonly « -il- », as in Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, and at times it occurs as « -ēl- ». Except in « mukala », « -al- », characterising Central and Western Magadhan, is not found. The affixing of personal terminations has started already in OB. (e.g., acch-il-ēsa, n-il-ēsi); but the old adjectival nature is sufficiently present, making the form take up the « -i (-ī) » affix of the feminine when the subject is feminine for the intransitive verb and when the object is feminine for the transitive.

688. Examples of the Middle Bengali verb in « -ī, -i < -ia < -ita », without the « -l- » :

SKK. : p. 75. মৌন করিয়া দুই থাকি এক পাশে « māuna kariā duhē thāki (= thākilā) ēkā pāśē » *keeping silent, the two remained on one side*; p. 217, যেহেন বাহির তেহেন ভিতর সরসে আগিলো তোরে। কপট সাগর হৃদয় তোমার

নাহি মোর গোচরে ॥ « jēhēnā bāhirā tēhēnā bhitārā, sārūpē jāpīlō tōrē : kāpātā sāgarā hṛdayā tōmhārā, nāchi (=nā āchilā) mōrā gōcārē » *as on the outside, so within : I have known you in your true form ; your heart is an ocean of deceit, this was not known to me ;* p. 325, সরাপেঁ বুয়িলেঁ মো কাহাঞি তোয় বাঁশী আন্ধে নাহি পাই « sārūpē buyilō mō Kānhāñī, tōrā bāñī āmhē nāhī pāī (= pāilā) » *I have said in sooth, O Kānha, I have not found your flute* (note: past form with নাহি « nāhi ») ; p. 343, তোকে তহ বোলোঁ চন্দ্রাবলী । যোড় হাথ করী বনমালী ॥ তাত বড় পাইল আপমান । তেঁসি তোক্ষা ছাড়ী গেল কারু ॥ « tōkē tātwā bōlō Candrābālī, jōrā hāthā kārī (=kārīlā) bānāmālī : tātā barā pāilā āpāmānā, tēsi tōmhā chārī gēlā Kānhā » *I tell you the truth, O Candrāvalī : the one garlanded with wild flowers (Kṛṣṇa) folded his hands (before you) ; through that he has felt insulted, that is why Kṛṣṇa has left you and gone away ;*

Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā Kāṇḍa' (VSPd. ed.): p. 16, দুই চক্ষু ঢাকিঞা রাণী হেঁট মাথা করি । নারদ মুনি তবে দিল টিটকারী ॥ « dui cākṣu ḍhākiñā rāñī hēṭṭ māthā kārī (=kārīlā), Nārād-muni tābē dilā ṭiṭṭkārī » *closing both her eyes, the queen (Mēnakā) hung down her head, and then the sage Nārada said words of scorn :* p. 17, হাথে ধরি কত্ৰা আনিল দেব শূল-পাণি ॥ কত্ৰা লঞা হর ছায়ামণ্ডপে বসি । চারিদিকে বেড়িল সব দেব ঋষি ॥ « hāthē dhārī kānyā ānilā dēbh Śūlapāñi ; kānyā lāñā Hārā chāyā-māṇḍapē bāsi (=bāsilā), cārī dikē bērhilā sabb dēbh ṛṣi » *holding her by the hand, the Trident-bearer led the bride (Umā) : Hara (Śiva) then sat in the pavilion with the bride, and all the gods and sages surrounded them on four sides ;* p. 14, পুষ্পকথ-রথিঞা ব্রহ্মা তাহাকে দিল দান ॥ ব্রহ্মার বরে তুষ্ট হইলা বাপেরে নমস্করি । জত বর পাইল তাহা বাপকে গোচরি ॥ দুর্লভ বর ব্রহ্মা মোকে দিল দান ॥ « puṣpākṣ-rāthē sājīñā Brāhmā tāhākē dilā dānḥ, Brāhmārā bārē tuṣṭā hāñīlā, bāpērē nāmāskārī (= -kārīlā) ; jātā barā pāilā, tāhā bāpākē gōcārī (=gōcārīlā) : 'durlābhā bārā Brāhmā mōkē dilā dānḥ' » *Brahmā prepared the (aerial) flower-chariot and gave him as a gift : he was pleased at Brahmā's boon and saluted his father, and told his father about all the boons he received : 'rare boons has Brahmā made a gift of to me' ; etc., etc ;*

Chuṭi Khān's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.): p. 144, এত বুলি অনুশাল করএ বিনয়, প্রীত হই আলিঙ্গি কুব মহাশয় « ētā buli Anuśālā kārāē bināyḥ, prītā hāi

ālingi (=ālingilā) Kṛṣṇa mahāśayā > saying all this Anuśālva does courtesy ; being glad, the great-hearted Kṛṣṇa embraced him ;

Mālādhara Vasu's 'Bhāgavata' (VSP., p. 771) : তার দন্ত উপাড়িয়া নিল দুই ভাই । সেই দন্তে, মাহুত মারি যমঘরে পাঠাই ॥ « tāra dānta upāṇiyā nilā dui bhāi, sei dāntē mahutā māri Jāma-ghārē pāṭhāi (=pāṭhāilā) » the two brothers pulled out his tusks, and with those tusks killing the elephant-driver sent (him) to the abode of Yama ;

Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (see *supra*, p. 735) : p. 108, গোসাঞি কোন দোষে শাপি « gōsāṇi kōṇṣ dōṣē śāpi » through what fault did the lord curse ? p. 109, কলসী ভরিয়া ঘৃত নাগ সবে ঢালি « kālāsī bhāriyā ghṛta nāga-sābē ḍhālī » the Nāgas poured ghee in full jars ; p. 214, পদ্মার বচনে বেহুলা মনে মনে হাসি « Pādmārā bācānē Bēhulā mānē mānē hāsi » Bēhulā laughed in her heart at Padmā's words ; etc. ;

'Caitanya-caritāmṛta,' Ādi-līlā, Chap. 13 : ত্রীকৃষ্ণ চৈতন্ত নবদ্বীপে অবতরি । অষ্ট চল্লিশ বৎসর প্রকট বিহরি ॥ চৌদশত সাত শকে জন্মের প্রমাণ । চৌদশত পঞ্চাশে হৈলা অন্তর্ধান ॥ « Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya Nābādwpē ābatāri, āṣṭa-cāllisṭ bātsārṣ prākṭṭ bihāri ; cāuddā-śāta-sātṣ śakē jānmērṣ pramāṇṣ, cāuddā-śāta-pāñcānnē hāilā āntārīhāṇ » Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya came down to Navadvīpa ; he sojourned in manifest form for 48 years ; the date of his birth, Śaka 1407 ; he disappeared in 1455 ; also cf. VSP., p. 1222, যে পথে যে গ্রাম নদী শৈল ঘাই । ইহী লীলা । বলভদ্র-ভট্টাচার্য্য-স্থানে সব লিখি নিলা ॥ « jē pāthē jē grāmṣ nādī śailā jāhī hāi līlā, Balābhadrā-bhāṭṭācāryyā-sthānē sābṣ likhi nilā » in all the ways, in all villages, rivers and hills, wherever there were any events, he wrote down all from Balabhadra Bhāṭṭācārya ; etc.

The Past use of the Present Tense in Bengali.

689. The « -i » affix in the past is thus found in MB., although it is not so common ; and this can only be expected, considering that in OB. the non-l form is hardly obsolete, although the « -l » has well-established itself. But in MB. and NB. we meet with a very common use of what is apparently the present tense in the past, in historical narrative generally : e.g., NB. গেল বছর যখন আমি কাশী যাই (= গিয়াছিলাম) « gēlā bāchārṣ jākhāṇṣ āmi Kāśī jāi (=giyāchilāmṣ) » when I went to

Benares last year ; ভারতে আৰ্য্যদের আগমন কখন হয় জানা যায় না « Bhārātē Āryyādēṛṣ ṁgāmānṣ kākhaṇṣ hāyṣ jānā-jāyṣ nā » *it is not known when the first coming of the Aryans into India happened* ; সম্রাট আকবর প্রায় ৫০ বৎসর রাজত্ব করেন « sāmṛāt Ākbārṣ prāyṣ pāñcāśṣ bātsārṣ rājātwaṣ kārēṇṣ » *Emperor Akbar reigned for nearly 50 years* ; etc., etc. In MB. (and also in NB.), this 'present' is very frequently used side by side with the ordinary « -ilā » past, and is not distinguished from the ordinary present in any way as a present used especially for the past. This usage seems however to point to a continuance in MB. and NB. of the OB. passive participle without « -l- », used for the past tense. The regular form would be « -ita > -ia > -i, -i » , which is not uncommon in MB., as in the instances given above ; but it seems that when « -ila » became established as the characteristic past base in OB. and MB., the « -i » form was not properly understood : in the 1st person it could easily be confused with the 1st person present affix, and in connexion with the 3rd person the final vowel could be changed to « -ē » as in the 3rd person present ; and in this way the old passive participle adjective could formally merge into the present tense, retaining its old past sense. This gave rise to what at first sight looks like a past use of the present. Once this construction was accepted, in Early MB., substitution for the « -i » participle by the 2nd personal affix « -ā » and by the honorific « -ēntā, -ēṇṣ » was a matter of course. The use of the present for the historical past is of course a most natural thing, being found in many languages, Sanskrit and the Prakrits and the NIA. languages included. But the presence of the « -i » past for all persons in MB. points to « -ia < -ita » ; and also the use of « -i » and the « -ēṇṣ, -ā, -ē, -i » forms along with « -ilā » in the same sentence or proposition seems to indicate that the passive participle without « -l- » had something to do with the so-called 'present' tense for the past in MB. and NB.

Examples of this promiscuous employ of « -ilā » with the non-l forms can be found in the passages quoted in § 688, and further instances are given below :

ŚKK., p. 19, এ বোল সুগিঁঝা নাগরী রাধা হাগএ সকল গাএ । যত নানা কুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাত ॥ « ē bōlā suṇiā nāgārī Rādhā hānāē sākālā »

gāē, jāta nānā phulā pānā kārapurā saba pēlailā pāē » *hearing this talk, winsome Rādhā struck all over her body; all the various flowers, betel leaves and camphor and all she scattered with her feet*; p. 240, হেন বুলী রাধা কলসী লক্ষী জাএ গজগড়ি ছান্দে পাইল রাধা কালীদহ-কুল « hēnā bulī Rādhā kālāsī lākṣī jāē gājā-gaṛi chāndē pailā Rādhā Kālīdāhā-kūlā » *saying this Rādhā took her jar and went with the gait like that of an elephant, and she reached the shore of Kālī lake*; p. 24, সকল গোআল যুবতী রহিলা যেহ কনক পুতলী ॥ এথো পাঅ কেহো চলিতে নারে বুলিতে নারে বচনে । « sākālā gōālā jubātī rāhilā jēuhā kankā-putālī: ēkhō pāk kēhō calitē nārē, bulitē nārē bacānē » *all the young girls of the cowherds stood still like images of gold, not one of them could walk even one step, nor could utter a word*; etc., etc.;

Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 29, ফলমূল আনি দিল ঠাকুর লক্ষ্মণ ॥ পিণ্ডদান করেন রাম রাজীবলোচন । « phālā-mūlā āni dilā ṭhākuraḥ Lakṣmaṇaḥ, piṇḍā-dānā karēnā Rāmaḥ rājībā-lōcānā » *worshipful L. brought fruits and roots, and lotus-eyed Rāma offered piṇḍas*; p. 17, সীতারে কহিল, ফল করগা ভক্ষণ । ফল হাতে করি কহে, ধরহ লক্ষ্মণ ॥ « Sītā-rē kāhilā, 'phālā karagā bhakṣaṇā': phālā hātē kārī kāhē, 'dhārāhā Lakṣmaṇaḥ » *he said to Sītā, 'eat (these) fruits'; taking the fruits in his hand he said, 'hold, Lakṣmaṇa'; 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 5, মঙ্গল দ্রব্য লঞা আইলা সখীগণ মেলি । কন্যার অধিবাস করে দিয়া হলাহলী ॥ অধিবাস সঙ্গে হৈল সিদ্ধ সব কাজ । হেমন্তে মেলানি করি চলে মুনিরাজ ॥ « māṅgalā dravyā laṇā āilā sākhi-gaṇā mēli, kānyārā ādhivāsā karē diyyā hulaḥulī: ādhivāsā saṅgē hailā siddhā sabaḥ kājā, Hēmantē mēlāni kārī calē muni-rājā » *the girl-friends (of Umā) came in company, bringing auspicious articles, with the hulu sound (of joy); the adhivāsa with all the ceremony was complete, and the prince of sages (Nārada) left, taking farewell from Himananta*; etc., etc.;*

('huṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata,' p. 54, প্রবীর পড়িল হেন ঘোষে সর্বজন । দূরে থাকি নীলধ্বজ শুনে ততক্ষণ ॥ হা হা পুত্র করি রাজা হৈল বাহির । « 'Prābhīrā pārilā' hēnā ghōṣē śarbā-jānā, dūre thāki Nīlā-dhwājā śunē tāta-kṣaṇā: 'hā hā putrā' kārī rājā hailā bāhirā » *'Pravīra has fallen,' so shouted every one: then from a distance Nīladhvajā heard it; the king came out with 'ah, ah, my son!'*;

Kavikāṇḍya Mukunda-rāma (Vāṅgavāsī edition) : p. 14, কোলেতে করিয়া রামা ছেলি করে পার ॥ প্রবেশ করিল ছেলি গহন কানন । « *kōlētē kārīyā rāmā chēli kārē pār* : *prābhēṣṣ kārīlā chēli gṛāhānṣ kānānṣ* » *the lady took the goats across in her lap : the goats entered the dense forest* ; p. 155, হাশু পরিহাসে দৌহে বসিলা দম্পতী । জিজ্ঞাসে ঘরের বার্তা সাধু ধনপতি ॥ লহনা কহিল, প্রভু তুমি ভাগ্যবান । « *hāsyā pārihāsē dōhē bāsīlā dāmpatī ; jījñāsē ghārēṣ bārttā sādhu Dhānāpātī : Lāhānā kāhilā, 'prābhu ! tumi bhāgyābān'* » *the two, husband and wife, sat, in laughter and in jest ; the merchant Dhanapati asked about the news of home : Lahanā said, 'my Lord ! you are fortunate indeed'* ; p. 175, তাহার পশ্চাতে আইল দাস নীলাম্বর । আদর করিয়া আইসে উজানী নগর ॥ « *tāhārṣ pāścātē āīlā Dāsā Nīlāmbārṣ, ādārṣ kārīyā āīsē Ujānī-nāgārṣ* » *behind him came Nīlāmbara Dāsa, doing (proper) respect he came to the city of Ujānī* ; p. 185, সম্মুখ দুয়ারে অগ্নি দিলেন খুল্লা ॥ দুয়ারেতে যায় অগ্নি, সাম্ভাইল ঘরে । প্রবল হইল অগ্নি জউয়ের উপরে ॥ জউগৃহে বাড়ে অগ্নি ক্রোশ পরিমাণ ॥ « *sāmmukhṣ duārē āgni dilēnṣ Khullānṣ : duārētē jāy āgni, sāmbhāīlā ghārē ; prābhāṣ hāīlā āgni jāū-ērṣ upārē, jāū-grhē bārṣhē āgni krōṣṣ-pārimāṇṣ* » *Khullanā set fire to the front door : the fire came through the door, and entered the house ; upon the lac, the fire became strong, and the fire grew a krōṣa measure within the house of lac ; etc., etc. ;*

Vanīśī-dāsa, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' (ed. Rām-nāth and Dwārakā-nāth Chakrabarti) : p. 207, আশুবাড়ি ওঝারে আনিল আনিল চন্দ্র ঘরে ॥ পরম গৌরবেতে করিল সম্ভাষণ । ধ্বস্তরি আগে আনে মড়া ছয়জন ॥ « *āṣu-bāṛī ōjhā-rē ānīlā Cāndrā ghārē, pāramṣ gaurābētē kārīlā sāmbhāṣānṣ ; Dhānwāntāri-āṅṛē ānē māṛā chāyṣ-jānṣ* » *Candra advanced and brought the snake-doctor home, greeted him with great honour and they brought the six corpses before Dhanvantari ; etc. ;*

'Caitanya-caritāmṛta,' Madhya-līlā, Chap. 9 : রাত্রিকালে রায় পুন কৈল আগমন । দুইজনে কৃষ্ণকথায় করে জাগরণ ॥ দুইজনে কৃষ্ণকথা হয় রাত্রিদিনে । পরম আনন্দে গেল পাঁচ সাত দিনে ॥ « *rātri-kālē rāyṣ punā kāīlā āgāmānṣ ; dui jānē Kṛṣṇā-kāthāyṣ kārē jāgārānṣ : dui jānē Kṛṣṇā-kāthā hāyṣ rātri-dīnē, pāramṣ ānāndē gēlā pācṣ sātṣ dīnē* » *the king came again at night time ; both of them kept awake discoursing about Kṛṣṇa ; there was*

discourse about Kṛṣṇa between them, night and day; some 5 or 7 days were thus passed in great bliss; Antya-līlā, Chap. 9: এত বলি ঘোড়া আনি রাজদ্বারে ধরি এক রাজপুত্র ঘোড়ার মূল্য ভাল জানে। তারে পাঠাইল রাজা পাত্র-মিত্র সনে ॥ সেই রাজপুত্র মূল্য করে ঘাটাইয়া। গোপীনাথের ক্রোধ হৈল মূল্য শুনিয়া ॥ « ētā bali ghōṛā āni rāja-dwārē dhāri ēkṣ rājṣ-putrā ghōṛārṣ mūlyā bhālā jānē; tāre pāṭhāilā rājā pātrā-mitrā sānē; sei rājṣ-putrā mūlyā kārē ghāṭāiyā, Gōpīnāthēṣ krōdhā hāilā mūlyā śuniyā » *saying this and bringing the horse, they kept before the king's palace-gate: a prince knew well the price of horses; the king sent to him with his courtiers and friends; that prince fixed the prices very low, and hearing that (low) price, Gōpīnātha's anger rose; etc., etc.*

Such cases of indiscriminate use of the « -ila » and the present forms are exceedingly common in MB. Where continuous action is meant, it may be admitted that the form in use can very well be that of the present, since in the syntax of Bengali, action is viewed as happening before our eyes as much as possible. But we have also cases of finite or transitory action, and there the use of a present form would be difficult to justify even from the point of view of Bengali syntax. It is to be noted that with this so-called present past, the negative form which is employed is নাই « nāi », which seems to be itself a past form (see *supra*, p. 555).

In the 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala' we have a few instances of a form in « -ē » (for the third person), analogous to the Bengali 'present' past: *e.g.*, p. 334 (Bib. Ind. ed.) « jini Kamsa viṇāsia kitti paāsia Muṭṭhi Aritṭhi viṇāsa karē; Jamalajjuṇa bhañjia paa-bhara ganjia Kālia-kula-samhāra karē, jasa bhuṇa bharē..... »; p. 576, « bappaa ukki sirē jini lijia, tējia rajja vaṇanta calē.... ». In the above cases, all the commentators are agreed (except in one or two instances) in regarding « viṇāsia, paāsia, bhañjia » etc. as well as the « -ē » forms—« karē, dharē, bharē, calē » as being passive participles in « -ia < -ita », with the instrumental form « jini = yēna » as the subject (cf. *supra*, p. 124). The final « -ē » (instead of « -ī ») is due in the 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala' to reasons of rime or rhythm in some cases, but as the work was finally redacted in the second half of the 14th century, the influence of the present tense third person in altering

the final vowel as in Bengali is also quite conceivable here. With the forms in « -ē » as above, one can compare certain other forms in « -u », genuine Western Apabhraṃśa inheritances, in the 'Prākṛta-Pāṇḍala': e.g., p. 570, « jīṇa vēa dharijjē...dantahi ṭhāu (= sthāpitā) dharā...daha-muhakappē (= kartitaḥ) ».

690. The non-l past form is found occasionally in Early Oṛiyā also, where it ends in « -i ». Thus Jagannātha-dāsa, 'Ūṣā-haraṇa' (Contai ed.): p. 6, « pāriḡhā-prābhārē bināsi, simbhā yēsāṇē pāṣu grāsi : pāriḡhā-ghātā bājra-prāyē, jibāṇā nāsilā thōkāē : kāhārā bhujā-dāṇḍā chīṇḍi, pālāi gālē bālā chāḍi : dēkhiṇā Aniruddhā-gāti, nāgā-bāṇḍbāṇē mākharāthi Aniruddhā-ku bēgē bāṇḍhi : tā dēkhi Ūṣā kāṇḍi » *he slew with a blow of his mace, as if a lion devoured a beast : the blow from the mace was as a thunderbolt, it destroyed the lives of some ; the hands and arms of some were torn away, they ran away leaving the forces : seeing Aniruddha's devoir, the great warrior quickly bound Aniruddha with snake-bonds : seeing that, Ūṣā wept* ; p. 9, « Kṛṣṇā upārū bāṇā bindhi » *the arrow pierced Kṛṣṇa* ; p. 10, « sābhāyē dāsā digā cāhi » *looked at the ten quarters in fright* ; p. 11, « jīṇāṇā pāsila nija dēhē : uṭhi sāmabhāli kālēbārā » *senses came back into his body : getting up, he took care of his person* ; *ibid*, 'Kaṇsa-janma' : p. 2, « Kṛṣṇa-bāiri-bhābā icchi » *desired the inimical attitude of Kṛṣṇa* ; p. 16, « dēbē pālāi swārgā chāri » *the gods fled, leaving heaven* ; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 15, « jētē āyudhā hāstē dhāri, sābu chēḍilē Nārābhāri » *Narahari (Kṛṣṇa) cut to pieces all the weapons that he took in hand* ; *ibid*, « Kṛṣṇā dhāilē Rukmā-sirā : tāṭ-kṣāṇē tālē tāku pāri, pāñcā prākārē kāṭi dāphi : tā dēkhi Rukmiṇī sundāri, Kṛṣṇārā hāstā bēgē dhāri » *K. seized Rukma by the head ; at once flinging him down on the ground, cut his beard in five places : seeing that, fair Rukmiṇī quickly took K.'s hand ; etc., etc.* Examples are fairly common in Early Oṛiyā.

In Early Maithilī also, we have equally the non-l form : but it seems owing to the strong influence exerted by the Western Apabhraṃśa, the remains of Early Maithilī literature that we have show the non-l form with the characteristic Western « -u » (as much as in OB.). This « -u » form so far as Maithilī is concerned was purely literary, and has no

place in Modern Maithili. Examples: Vidyāpati (VSPd. ed.), Pada 32, « sasana parasa khasu ambara rē, dēkhala dhani-dēha » *with the touch of wind the garment fell off, ho, the damsel's frame was seen*; Pada 40, « saba-jana ēka ēka cuni sañcaru, Śāma-daraśa dhani lēla » *all (her friends) moved about picking (pearls dropped from her necklace) one by one, and the damsel had her view of Śyāma (Kṛṣṇa)*; Pada 50, « ambara bighaṭu akāmika, kāmīni karē kuca jhāpu suchandā » *of a sudden the garment slipped, and the lady with her hands covered her breasts with great grace*; ibid, « sundari rahu sira lāi » *the fair one remained hanging her head*; Pada 52, « candanē caracu payōdhara » *the breasts smeared with sandal-paste*; Pada 60, « takhanē upaju rasa, bhēlihu mōñē parabasa » *sentiment (of love) was born even then, (and) I became another's thrall*; Pada 75, « jakhanē duhu-ka dīṭhi bichūrali, duhu manē dukha lāgu : duhu-ka āśā-dīpa mijhāela, madana-ākura bhāṅgu.....bāma nayanā jāñō bhēla dūtē, ō dāhina rahu lajāi » *when the two were out of (each other's) sight, sorrow afflicted the hearts of both; the lamp of hope of both went out, and the sprout of love was broken;the left eye was a messenger, but the right one remained in bashfulness*; Hara-gauri Pada 9, « pāhuna āela, Bhabāni bhāga-chāla basaiē dia āni » *the guest came and Bhavānī (Umā) brought the tiger-skin to sit upon*; etc., etc.

The non-l adjectival forms in Middle Bengali and New Bengali.

691. The non-l form gave OB. « -ī », e.g., « calī » : with the definitive « -ā », Māgadhī Ap. « calia » became « calīā », and then by loss of the « -i- », it became « calā » by Early MB. times. A similar loss of the « -i- » occurs in the Western Hindi: cf. Hindōstānī—« calā », Kanaujī « calō », beside Braj-bhākhā « calyau » (= caliau), 'Vernacular Hindōstānī' of Ambala « calīā » (cf. also Bāngarū of Karnal « kahyā » = Hindōstānī « kahā »). The « -i- » seems to be preserved in the perfect tense in Standard Bengali « caliyā-chē » and dialectal « cālī-chē [tsoɪse] < cālī-chē », where « cālīyā (cālī) » is in all likelihood the passive participle (see *infra*, under 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses').

In the ŚKK., the non-l form is rather rare, *ts.* forms in « -ita » and the « -l- » participle adjective being more common; but instances

do occur: e.g., p. 259, চলী ভৈলী চন্দ্রাবলী « calī (= calitā) bhāilī Cāndrābālī » *C. was gone*; p. 381, বাহতে কনক চুড়ী, মুকুতা রতনে জড়ী « bāhutē kānakā curī, mukutā rātānē jārī » *on her arms gold bracelets, encrusted with pearls and gems*; etc. (these two examples « calī, jārī » are feminine). Examples of the « -ā » form are plentiful in other MB. literature: to quote a few random instances, Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kaṇḍa,' p. 177, পথে স্ত্রী কুকুর « pāthē suā kukurḥ » *a dog lying on the way*; Vijaya-gupta, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 12 তিতা বস্ত্র « titā bāstrā » *wet cloth*, p. 38 টুটা « tuṭā » *broken*, p. 55 ভাঙ্গা « bhāṅgā » *broken*, এড়া রুটী « ēṛā ruṭī » *cast-away bread (= leavings of a meal)*, p. 58 তোলা জল « tōlā jalḥ » *water drawn (from well or tank)*, p. 107 পোড়া কপাল « pōṛā kāpālḥ » *burnt forehead = bad luck*, p. 69 মরা মানুষ « mārā mānuṣḥ » *dead man*, p. 132 পাকা মূল « pākā mūlā » *ripe radish*, p. 158 দন্তগুলি ছোলা « dāntā-gulī chōlā » *the teeth were well-scraped*, etc.; VSP., p. 386 লেখা « lēkhā » *written*, p. 989 আবোলা « ābōlā » *not uttered*, p. 1057 হারা « hārā » *lost*, etc.; Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata,' p. 55 বাণ কাটা গেল « bāṇḥ kāṭā gēlā » *the arrow was cut into pieces*; etc., etc.

The « -l- » form in Middle Bengali.

692. Examples need not be adduced for the verb past tense, as « -il- » is the past base of Bengali. Passive participial adjectives in « -il- » were very much in evidence in MB. In the NB. the non-l adjective in « -ā » has practically superseded the earlier, more common « -il- » adjective (except in one or two phrases like গেল বছর « gēlā bāchārḥ » *last year* in the Standard Colloquial: in the dialects it is still living, in forms like জুড়াইল দুধ « jurāilḥ dudhḥ » *cooled milk*, স্তিল মানুষ « sutilḥ mānuṣḥ » *sleeping man*, করাইল কাম « karāilḥ kāmḥ » *done work*, ভুখিল ছাইল্যা « bhukhilḥ chāilyā » *hungry child*, etc.). The « -l- » form continues in full vigour in Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects as an attributive adjective.

Examples from OB.: Caryā 6, « bēḍhila hāka » *a tumult that has been surrounded*; 8, « gēlī (= gēlā ?) jāma bahuḥājī kaisē » (printed text = বহ উই « bahu uī », but cf. Commentary translation = « vyāghuṭati ») *how can a birth that is past (gēlī = gata-) come back?* 14, « rathē-caḍilā bāha-bāṇa »

? carriage-riding scholars; 33, «dubila dudhu ki bēṇṭe sāmāya», see *supra*, p. 263.

From MB.: SKK., p. 26, ভাঁগিল নেহা «bhāgilā nēhā» *shattered love* (NB. ভাঙ্গা «bhāṅgā»); p. 45, আরতিল কাক «āratiḷ kākā» *greedy crow* (from *ts.* noun «ārati», or < «āratta = ārakta»); পাকিল বেল «pākilā belā» *ripened (ripe) bael-fruit* (= NB. পাকা «pākā»); p. 54, পাইল নিধি «pāilā nidhi» *received wealth* (= NB. পাওয়া «pāwā»); p. 99, ভুখিল বাঘ «bhukhilā bāghā» *hungry tiger* (< *tbh.* noun «bhukha»); p. 163, আউলাইল চিকুর «āulāilā cikurā» *dishevelled hair*; p. 171, ভরিল যমুনা «bhārilā Jāmunā» *full Yamunā*; p. 195, ফুটিল বান্ধুলী ফুল «phuṭilā bāndhulī-phulā» *blooming bāndhulī flower* (cf. ফুটিত পদ্ম «phuṭitā pādmā» *blooming lotus*, with *ts.* «-ita», in the same page); p. 216, রোষিল রাধা দিল খর বচন «rōṣilī Rādhā dilā khārā bācānā» *angry Rādhā gave (spoke) sharp words*; p. 207, পাকিল দ্রাক্ষা «pākilā drākṣā» *ripe grapes*; p. 246, আসুখিল হইল «āsukhilā hāilā» *became unwell* (from *ts.* noun «asukha»); p. 304, মজিল চিত না জাএ ধরণ «mājilā citā nā jāē dhārāṇā» *heart lost (in love) cannot be retained*; p. 370, দগধিলী রাধা জাএ তোর দরশনে «dagdhilī Rādhā jāē tōrā dārāśānē» *Rādhā burnt (with love) as it were, will live (only) at thy sight (sts. dagadha < dagdha)*; p. 392, বিষাইল কাণ্ড «biṣāilā kāṇḍā» *poisoned arrow* (from noun «viṣa»); *ibid.*, বজরে গঢ়িল বুক না জাএ ফুটিআ «bājārē gaṛhilā buka nā jāē phuṭiā» *heart built of thunder-bolt does not burst* (NB. = গড়া গড়া); p. 398, কাটিল ঘাতত লেবু রস «kāṭilā ghātāṭā lēmbū-rāsā» *lemon-juice in an incised wound*, etc.; from Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttara Kāṇḍa'; p. 272, ভরিল সমাজে «bhārilā sāmājē» *in full assembly*; *ibid.*, 'Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍa'; p. 21, কাটিল কদলী বেন পড়ে ডালে মূলে «kāṭilā kāḍālī jēnā pāṛē ḍālē mūlē» *like a plantain tree that has been cut down, which falls with its branches and its roots*; Kavi-kaṇkaṇa, p. 118, ভুখিল বাঘিনী «bhukhilā bāghinī» *hungry tigress*; p. 160, রাহুর ভুখিল বেলা «Rāhurā bhukhilā belā» *at Rāhu's hungry time*; Vaṇṣī-dāsa, 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 48, কুপিল নন্দী «kupilā Nāndī» *angry N.*; p. 644, হারাইল ধন «hārāilā dhānā» *lost wealth*; etc., etc.

The adjectival use of the «-i-» forms in OB. and MB., as well as in Early Maithili (see below) establishes the passive construction as having originally obtained in place of the active one in the eastern languages.

When these « -l- » participles qualify feminine nouns (either subjects, as in the case of intransitive verbs, or objects, as in the case of transitive ones), in OB., in eMB., and in Early Maithilī, they take the feminine affix « -I, -i » (see before, pp. 672 ff.): thus, in OB., « mēlilī kāchi » (Caryā 8); « ghalilī māli » (10); « buḍilī Mātangī » (14); « lāgēli tāntī » (17); « lāgēli dāli, sēji chāli, rāti pōhāli » (28); « ṭuṭi gēli kaṅkhā » (37); « lāgēli āgi » (47); « gharinī caṇḍāli lēli » (49); « phitīli ṣabarāli » (50): eMB. SKK., p. 72, কোণ পুরাণে কাহ্ন হেন শুণিলী কাহ্নিলী « kōṇa purāṇē Kānhā hēnā śuṇilī kāhñilī » *in what Purāṇa, O Kānha, has such a tale been heard* (passive construction lingering in MB., with transitive verb); p. 9, বড়ায়ি চলিলী আন পথে « bārāyi cālilī ānā pāthē » *the old dame went by another way*; p. 14, সে কি রাধিকা ভেলি সীতা সতী নারী « sē ki Rādhikā bhāli Sītā sāti nārī » *is it that R. has become a chaste wife (like) Sītā*; p. 22, রাধা সিঁধা বসিলি শয়নে « Rādhā siḍhā bāsili śāyānē » *R. having come sat down on the bed*; p. 144, মথুরা লড়িলী বড়ায়ি হাঁ আশুআনী « Māthurā lārili bārāyi hāḍ āśuānī » *the old dame moved (towards) Mathurā, being the leader*; p. 145, বুলিতে লাগিলী বড়ায়ি « bulitē lāgilī bārāyi » *the old dame began to say*; *ibid.*, গেলী রাহী « gēli Rāhī » *Rādhikā went*; p. 156, হেন শুণী মনত চড়িলী রাধা নাএ « hēnā guṇī mānā-tā cārḥilī Rādhā nāē » *thus pondering in mind, R. got into the boat*; p. 266, জিলী পদ্মার বী « jilī Pādmārā jhī » *Padmā's daughter lived (again)*; etc., etc. In Late MB., and in NB., as the « -l- » form lost its original adjective nature, and became more and more a verb, this affixation of the feminine « -I, -i » went out of use. The same thing has happened in Maithilī, though to a lesser extent.

Instances of the « -l- » adjective from Early Oṛiyā: 'Dhruba-carita,' p. 11, « āpāṇā ārijilā karmā āpāṇē bhuñjāi » *one tastes (the results of) one's deeds done by oneself*; p. 73, « Dhrubārā arjilā bibhūti » *merits earned by Dhruva*; 'Rukmiṇī-haraya,' p. 11, « oṣṭhā pācilā phalā bimba » *lips (like) ripe (i.e. red) bimba fruit*; etc., etc. It is common also in Modern Oṛiyā.

Instances from Early Maithilī: Vidyāpati, (VSPd. ed.) Pada 37, « titala basana » *wet clothes*; 9, « nahāili gōri » *bathing fair woman*;

62, « mūruchali ahañō » *am one that has fainted*; 41, « nagara bharalā » *a well-filled city*; 21, « kāmīni kōnē gaṛhali » *by whom (this) woman was created?* (fem. affix «-i »); Hara-gauri Pada 17, « Śaṅkarē Gōrī karē dhari śnalī maṇḍapa-mājhē » *Gaurī was brought to the middle of the pavilion by Śankara holding her hand*; etc., etc.

Western Hindī shows adjectives in «-l- » which are extended forms from nouns: e.g., « lajīlī (lajjā), sawādila (svāda), adōkhila (dōṣa), haṭhīlī (haṭha), raṅgīlā (raṅga), caṭakīlā (caṭak splendour), chaīla (chavi) » etc. occur in Bihārī’s ‘Sata-sai’; and similar forms like « lāḍīlī » *petted* (√laḍ: > Bengali লাড়লী « lāḍḍīlī »), « bhīgīlā » *wet*, « kaṭīlī » *cut*, « rasīlā (rasa) », « ghāyala (ghāta) », « gaila » *lane* (gata) etc. are fairly common in Braj-bhākhā and other Early Western Hindī literature. The extension of the passive participle form occurs, but that is rare.

(2) THE PAST CONDITIONAL OR HABITUAL.

693. The Past Habitual or Conditional occurs in most NIA. speeches. Of the Eastern languages, Assamese, however, does not show it. This past base is simply the old Present Participle, the Oṛiyā forms (retaining as they do the full «-nt- »: see next section) are clear on this point: OIA. «-ant-, -ayant- » > MIA. «-anta-, -enta- » > OB. «-anta-, -enta- » > MB. ऐत «-it- » (cf. Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar, §§ 298-300, §§ 506 ff.). To denote the conditional or habitual, «-it- » is inflected with the personal endings as an ordinary past form. The conditional or finite use of the present participle occurred in Second MIA. (cf. Tessitori, ‘Grammar of OWR.’ § 123). Both the conditional and habitual uses of the present participle seem to be connected with the sense of *when, while, whilst, when that* etc., which is inseparable from this form when it is not frankly attributive: and this sense of duration implying almost a condition is emphasised in the locative absolute with the present participle, a construction which is found in the language of the Rig-Veda. The conditional and independent use of the present participle could thus normally evolve out of it. Cf. e.g., the Pāli Jātaka formula, « attitē Bārāṇasīyaṁ Brahmadattē rājjaṁ kārentē », followed invariably by a past verb.

OB. as in the Caryās has the locative absolute with the present participle: e.g., Caryā 42, « muḥhā acchantē lōa na pēkhaī » *people do not see while they are ignorant*; quotation in Commentary to Caryā 48, « ghara acchantē mā jānga (= jāha? jāwa?) baṇē » *when there is a home, go not (let us not go?) to the forest*; etc. But an example of the past conditional or habitual tense does not occur in the Caryās. In Early MB., this habitual or conditional past is fully established as a tense; and judging from its occurrence also in Early Oṛiyā and in Bihārī, it may be inferred that this temporal employment goes back to Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa.

Examples from MB.: ŚKK., p. 164, ডুবিআ মরিতো যবে না থাকিত কাহে « ḍubiā mārītō jābē nā thākitā Kānhē » *I would have died by drowning if Kṛṣṇa were not (there)*; p. 256, জীয়ান্ত থাকিত যবে নান্দেৰ নন্দনে । এত খনে আবসই হৈত দরসনে « jiyāntā thākitā jābē Nāndērā nāndanē, ētā khānē ābasāi haitā dārasānē » *if the son of Nanda were living, by this time certainly we would have seen him* (lit. *his viewing would have taken place*); p. 223, জানিতো নাসিতো, যাইতো, « jānitō, nāsītō, jāitō » *I would know (if I had known), I would not come, I would go*; p. 284, দিতো « ditō » *I would give*; p. 307, চাহিত « cāhitā » *I would ask*; etc., etc.; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 103, আমি যদি থাকিতাঙ « āmi jādi thākitāṅḍ (= thākitām) » *if I had remained*; Kavi-kaṇkaṇa, p. 128, প্রতিদিন ক্ষিতিনাথ অঙ্গে ব্লাহিত হাত, চন্দনে করিয়া বিভূষিত । সুবর্ণ পিঞ্জর পর পুষিতেন নৃপবর « prāti-dinḍ kṣiti-nāthḍ āṅgē bulāitā hātḍ, cāndanē kāriyā bibhūṣitāḍ : subārṇā-piñjārā-pārḍ puṣitēṅḍ nṛpā-bārḍ » *everyday the lord of earth would rub with his hand on its body, adorning with sandal (paste); the good king would tend it in a cage of gold*; etc., etc. Examples are copious in MB.

694. Forms in the other Magadhan speeches :

Oṛiyā

1. cālānt-i—cālānt-u ;
2. cālānt-u—cālānt-ā ;
3. cālānt-ā—cālānt-ē.

Maithili

1. dēkhit-i ;
2. dēkhit-ah, dēkhit-ē ;
3. dēkhaīt, dēkhit-athi.

(The affixes are those of the verb simple past.)

(Besides a number of forms with pronominal affixes.)

Magahī

Bhōjpuriyā

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. dēkbat-I, dēkhait-I, -ī ; | 1. dēkhat-I, (fem.) dēkhat-yī ; |
| 2. dēkhait-ā, dēkhait-ai ; | 2. dēkhat-ē, -as, -is ; <i>pl.</i> -ah ; |
| 3. dēkhaī, dēkhait-athi-n. | 3. dēkhit, dēkhat—dēkha(i)t-an. |

(Besides forms with affixed pronouns.) (Besides a few other forms for the third person.)

Assamese expresses the past conditional by affixing the word « -hētē » to the inflected « -il- » past form : « kārīlō-hētē, kārīlō-hāk-hētē » etc. This « hētē » occurs in Early Assamese as « hētē » (as in « pālō-hētē » *I would receive* in 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 67), and it is undoubtedly the present participle of « √ah, ha » *to be*, in the locative absolute, « *ahantahi » > *ahētahi » hētē », a variant of the other form « hantā, hātā » (see above, p. 739).

The « -it-, -at- » Future in the Modern Magadhan Speeches.

695. In Maithilī and Magahī, there is the use of the present participle form in « -t- » for the Future. In both these forms of Central Magadhan, the « -t- » future has ousted « -b- » future (for which see *infra*) in the 3rd person : in Maithilī there are also alternative « -t- » forms for the 1st and 2nd persons. Thus—

Maithilī, 1st person : « dēkhat-iai, dēkhit-āhū (dēkhat-iai-nhī) » ;

2nd person : « dēkhat-iai (dēkhat-iai-nhī) » ;

3rd person : « dēkhat (dēkhāt-ai) », fem. « dēkhati », besides forms with the pronouns affixed — « dēkhāt-ai-nhi, dēkhātah, dēkhathu, dēkhatbūnhi, dēkhathīnhi », fem. « dēkhatihī ».

Magahī, 3rd person, only : « dēkhat (dēkhāt-ai) », besides « dēkhātbin, dēkhātān, dēkhātathī, dēkhātīn, dēkhātathin, dēkhātathīn(i) ».

Leaving apart the extended forms, with the pronominal affixes, the simplest form for the 3 person future in both Maithilī and Magahī is « dēkhat » : thus, « sē dēkhat » *he will see*. Here we have the simple participial base apparently : < « sē *dēkkhanta » = *he seeing*. But in the

past conditional it is « sē dēkhait », which seems to represent an old oblique form, a locative absolute apparently : « tasmin *dṛkṣati (base *dṛkṣant-) > *tabī dēkḥhantē, dēkḥhanti > sē dēkhati, dēkhait (by epenthesis) ».

In dialectal Bengali, of Eastern Bengal (specially in the East Vanga area), there is also a future use of the « -t- » forms : thus, in East Sylhet Bengali, we have 1 pers. দেখতাম « dēkhtām » *I shall see, also I would see, if I saw*; 2 pers. দেখতায় « dēkhtāy », দেখতে « dēkhtē »; 3 pers. দেখতো « dēkhtō », দেখতা « dēkhtā » (LSI., V, I, p. 226). From the future, an imperative use also seems to be found occasionally in East Sylhet : e.g., আপত্তি করলাম, তিল কাটত না « āpatti kār'lām, tilā kāṭatā nā » *I objected, 'don't cut the sesamum'* (LSI., V, I, p. 232). Similar use is found in Tippera, in Noakhali, and in Chittagong : e.g., দিত না « ditā nā » *he will not give*, করতাম ন « kār'tām nā » *I shall not do*. The following peculiar construction is also noticeable, with the « -t- » conditional or future, to denote purpose or desire : আমি যাইতাম চাই « āmi jāitāmṣ cāi » *I want to go* (besides যাইতে, যাইবার « jāitē, jāibārṣ » as in Standard Bengali), তুমি যাইতায় চাও « tumi jāitāy cāo » *you want to go*, হে যাইত চায় « hē jāitā cāy » *he wants to go*, honorific তাইন যাইতা চাইন « tāin jāitā cāin » (as in Eastern Sylhet : LSI., V, I, p. 227). Cf. also দিতাম পাইরতাম না « ditām pāirtām nā » *shall not be able to give*, কইরতাম দিতাম ন « kair'tām ditām nā » *shall not allow (them) to do* (as in Noakhali), আই যাইতাম লাগ্গিলাম « āmi jāitām lāggilām » *I began to go*, তুই যাইতা লাগ্গিলা « tui jāitā lāggilā » *you began to go*, হিতে যাইতে লাগ্গিল « hitē jāitē lāggil » *he began to go* (as in Chittagong : cf. Basanta Kumar Chatterji in VSPdP., 1326, p. 114, = Standard Bengali « jāitē lāgil- » for all persons). Here we have simply the present participle adjective inflected as a tense even when it is not a finite verb. Such use is found in South-East Bengali of several centuries ago : thus in the Chittagong poet Ālāol of the 17th century, we have a line like কুবোল সহিতাম নারি « kubōlṣ sahītāmṣ nāri (= nā pāri) » *I shall not be able to endure bad words* (VSP., p. 1142). The « -t- » future is also found in Mayang or Bishnupuriyā (LSI., V, I, p. 424), which seems to be an old extension of Sylhet Bengali in the Tibeto-Burman tracts of the east. With the « -r- » affix (see *infra*, 'Pleonastic Affixes'), Sylhet Bengali and

Mayang, again, have some forms with the « -t- » conditional or future to indicate the present or future (LSI., V, I, pp. 226, 423, 424).

This future use of the present participle in the Bengali dialects of the extreme east is not shared by the other forms of the language, and seems only to be a local development. But the point is not clear. It is plain that in Central Magadhan, the future use of the present participle made a start with the third person, and Magahī did not go beyond it. The future use of the third person is found in the 14th century Maithilī of Vidyāpati quite plentifully, but mainly in the third person. It cannot be surmised definitely whether this idiom originated in the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa period as a form inherited equally by Central and Eastern Magadhan.

Mārkaṇḍeya in his 'Prākṛta-sarvasva,' notes that in Nāgara (i.e., Western) Apabhraṃśa, the present participle is used for all the tenses : thus, « sarvadā śatṛ : 'hontō' = bhavan, babbhūva, bhaviṣyati vā » (XVII, 62, Vizagapatam ed., p. 119). This note is interesting : « hontō » is actually the source of the Gujarātī « hatō », Rājasthānī « thō » and Western Hindi « hataū, hutaū, hatō, thō, thā » *was* (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' §§ 113, 123), and of the Gujarātī and Western Hindi (Hindōstānī) present participle « hōtō » and « hōtā » besides ; and further, the present participle affix « -ant- » has given the Western Panjābī, and Sindhī affix « -nd- » for the future base. These are all Western languages. But how far the future use of the « śatṛ » of Sanskrit characterised Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa cannot be known.

(3) THE FUTURE TENSE.

The OIA. Sigmatic or Inflected Future in NIA.

696. The future was formed by adding « -sya- » (with or without the additional vowel « -i- ») to the root in OIA. This inflexional or sigmatic future is preserved in many forms of NIA. as « -s-, -ś-, -h- », in W. Panjābī, Rājasthānī (Jaipurī and Mārwarī), Gujarātī and W. Hindi (Brāj-bhākhā, Kanaujī, Bundelī), and partially in E. Hindi (in the 3rd person only in Awadhī and Baghelī, and in all the persons in Chattisgarhī ;

the « -b- » future also occurs in the E. Hindi dialects, but never in the 3rd person). Of the Magadhan languages, Bhōjpuriyā preserves it in the 3rd person only, and in 2nd person as future precative; Magahī, 3rd person (beside the « -t- » future), and in the 2nd person as future precative; in Maithilī and in NB., it is found in the 2nd person as a future imperative (see *supra*, p. 908); and in Assamese and Oṛiyā, it seems to have been entirely lost.

The sigmatic future at one time was present in the East, and traces of it continued down to eMB. The OIA. sibilant has survived as a sibilant in Gujarātī, in some of the Rājasthānī dialects, in Western Panjābī (the MIA. « -ss- » < OIA. « -sy- » doubtless being retained as a single « -s- » in the latter: cf. *supra*, pp. 549-550, p. 79.). Thus: Gujarātī 1. « mārīś (māras)—mārīśū (mārsu) », 2. « mārāsē (mārse)—mārasō (mārsō) », 3. « mārāsē (mārsē) » = OIA. « mārayiṣyāmi », etc.; Jaipurī 1. « mārasyū — mārasyā »; 2. « mārasi — mārasyō »; 3. « mārasi — mārasi »; Lahndā 1. « mārēsā — mārsāh, mārsāh », 2. « mārēsē — mārēsō », 3. « mārēsi — mārēsin ». In the rest, where the « -sy- » form is preserved, it occurs as « -h- »; and this change of « -s- » to « -h- » is an unexplained problem in MIA. and NIA. phonology (see *supra*, pp. 549-550, p. 783). Thus, Mārwarī 1. « mārāhū — mārāh », 2. « mārāhi — mārāhō », 3. « mārāhi — mārāhi »; Braj-bhākhā 1. mārihaū — mārihai », 2. « mārihai — mārihau », 3. « mārihai — mārihai »; Awadhī 3. « mārihai (> mārē) — mārihai », Bhōjpuriyā 3. « mārī — mārīhē, mārīhen », etc. The « -h- » is thus further lost intervocally in the Eastern languages: thus, « māriṣyati » > MIA. « mārihai, mārihi » > NIA. « mārihi, māri » (as in Bhōjpuriyā).

In Early MB. we have cases of the sigmatic future for the third person also. A number of instances occur in the SKK., and a few could be culled from 15th century Bengali: after which period it died out evidently when the intervocal « -h- » was slurred, and the form became confused with the present indicative (or the passive present, which itself was merging into the present active). No instance of the sigmatic future in the first person has been found, either in OB. or in MB.; and no

case of third person occurs in the Caryās ; only of the second person (see *supra*, p. 908).

SKK., p. 65, যবেঁ তোরে মারিহে পরাণে । তবেঁ তোক রাখিব কোণ জনে ॥
 « jābē tōrē mārīhē pārāṇē, tābē tōkā rākhibā kōṇa jānē » *when he will strike you in life, then who will protect you ?* ; p. 100, কাঁদিয়া জাণায়িবো কাঁশে । পাছে কাহাঞি মোকে না দিহে দোষে ॥ « kādīā jāṇāyibō Kāśē, pāchē Kāhāñī mōkē nā dihē dōṣē » *I shall lament and inform Kañśa, and Kṛṣṇa will not (= should not) blame one after that* ; p. 180, হাথ দিতে লিহে কলিআ « hāthā ditē lihē kalīā » *the black (stain) will smear (itself) on placing the hand* ; p. 251, কেহো যবে বেকত করিহে এহা কাজ । আন্ধার খাঁখার তবেঁ তোন্ধে পাইবোঁ লাজ ॥ « kēhō jābē bēkātā kārīhē ēhā kājā, āmhārā khākhārā tābē tōmhē pāibō lājā » *when someone will make this affair known, then (there will be) blame for me, and you will have shame* ; p. 261, নিষধ রাধাক যতনে ॥ আর বার হেন না করিহে । পুরুষের আখি নিবারিহে ॥ « niṣadhā Rādhākā jātānē : ārā bārā hēnā nā kārīhē, puruṣērā ākhi nibārīhē » *carefully forbid Rādhā, that she will not do like this again, she will avoid a man's eyes* ; p. 323, শুণিআ কি বুলিহে বলভদ্র ভাই « ṣuṇī ki bulihē Bālābhādrā bhāi » *what will brother B. say on hearing (this) ?* ; p. 324, শুণী সব দেব গণে কি বুলিহে আন্ধারে « ṣuṇī sabā dēbagāṇē ki bulihē āmhārē » *what will all the gods say to me hearing this ?* ; p. 336, যবেঁ কাহু না মিলিহে করমের ফলে । হাথে তুলিআ মো খাইবোঁ গরলে ॥ « jābē Kāhū nā milihē kārāmērā phālē, hātē tuliā mō khāibō garālē » *if, through the fruits of karma, Kṛṣṇa will not be obtained, then I shall eat poison with my own hands* ; cf. Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kaṇḍa,' p. 59, column 117, আইসুক ভুগুরাম তবে সি প্রাণ জাইহে « āisukḥ Bhṛgurāmḥ, tābē si prāṇa jāihē » *let B. come, then indeed life will depart*.

The « -itavya » > -b- » Future in NIA.

697. The characteristic suffix for the future base in Bengali as well as Assamese and Oriyā is « -ib- », = « -ab- » of Bihārī and of Eastern Hindi. About the origin of this affix, there is no difficulty: it comes from the OIA. future passive participle gerundive in « -tava- » or « -itavya », in Second MIA. « -(i)avva-, -(i)abba-, -ēbba » and other

forms (Pischel, 'Gramm. der Pkt.-sprachen,' § 570). This affix does not occur in the Rig-Veda, and it is rare in other Vedic literature: it is a new formation, and replaces the Vedic gerundive « -tua » or « -tva ». In MIA. and in Classical Skt. it became much more evident. In Early MIA. it has the force of an imperative: *e.g.* Aśōkan, Rock Edict I Girnar, « na prajuhitavyaṁ na ca samājō katavyō »; Sarnath, « iyāṁ sāsanē vimṇa-payitaviyē », etc., etc. There is here a vague mandatory sense, with an express future implication. The simple future notion evolved gradually; side by side with it, the old notion of an action which is to be done continued, and was modified into simply the notion of an act. In NIA. both the uses of this form occur: as a future passive participle (which finally became the future tense), and as a verbal noun. Thus, Gujarāṭi has verbal nouns in « -vū », « karvū = kariavvaūṁ, *karitavyakam, kartavyakam », Rājasthāṇi (Mārwarī) in « -bō », « mārābō = *māriabbaūṁ, mārityakam », and Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) « māribāṁ, māribau », (Kanaujī) « māribō »; Marāṭhī has a subjunctive base in « -āv- », *e.g.*, impersonal « myā uṭhāvē » *I should rise*, lit. *it is to be risen by me* (= *mayā ut-sthātavyam), active « mī uṭhāvā »; and the Eastern languages, Eastern Hindī, Bihārī, and Bengali-Assamese and Oṛiyā, have the verbal noun in « -ab-, -ib- » as well as « -ab-, -ib- » as the base of the future tense, with personal terminations added.

As it has been noted before, the « -(i)tavya- > -iabb- > -ib- » is not a native *ūh.* form in the East (*supra*, pp. 374, 375, 486-487). In the Eastern dialect, whether 'Old Ardha-Māgadhi' or 'Old Magadhi' of the First MIA. stage, as we can see from Aśōka inscriptions, OIA. « -vya- » became « -viya- », not « -vva- » (as for instance at Girnar). This First MIA. « -viya- » could only give « -vī, -ī, -i » in the Modern Prācya languages. The change « -(i)tavya > -(i)abba » is a later, post-Transitional MIA. feature in the eastern dialects, and « -iabba » is either a *semi-tatsuma* form introduced from Sanskrit in the Transitional period (before the softening and final dropping of the intervocal « -t- » in « -itavya » was carried out), or was an imposition from some Western dialect which normally changed « -vya- » to « -vv- » and then to « -bb- ».

The «-(i)tavya » > «-ib- » was originally a verbal adjective, and the construction with a transitive verb was in the passive, the «-ib- » form qualifying the object in that case. This old usage is still in force in OB., as in the examples from Caryā 29 below.

Cases of «-ib- » future in OB.: Caryā 5, « tumhē hōiba » (= yuṣ-mābhir bhavitavyam); 7, « kariba nivāsa » (= nivāśaḥ kartavyaḥ); 10, « tōē sāma karibē (= ? kariba; ? < kariabbaī = *kariabbaē = kartavyakaḥ) ma (= maī) sānga » (= tvayā samatū kartavyō mayā sangāḥ); 14, « jāiba punu jinaūra » (= yātavyaṁ punaḥ jina-puram); 23, « tumhē jāibē »; 28, « lōḍiba » (= Comm. « anvēṣayitavyaḥ); 29, « maī dibi piricchā » (= mayā dātavyā pṛechā: dibi = *diabba, + fem. -ī); 36, « kariba »; 39, « thākiba, khāiba maī »; 40, « kahiba » (kathayitavyaṁ); etc.

It will be noted that in the Caryās, the form is «-ib- », and not «-ab- » as in Central and Western Magadhan, showing that the language of the poems belong to the East Magadhan group. Like «-illa- : -alla- », this affix, « *-iabba, *-iēbba, *-ēbba » in Mag. Ap., ranged itself into two groups «-ibba- : -abba- », the Eastern Magadhan speeches adopting the former.

The affix for the 1st person future in many Bengali dialects (both in MB. and NB.) show «-m- », as « mā, -mu », and «-ṇ- = -ṽ- » as «-ṇā, -ṇ », instead of «-bā, -bō, -bū, -bō, -bōhō ». This is merely a phonetic change, a softening of «-b- » in connexion with the nasal to «-ṽ-, -m- », which has been discussed before (pp. 531-532). This «-m- » has been wrongly referred to the Sanskrit affix «-maḥ » for the 3 pers. plural indicative present by some Bengali writers on Bengali philology.

[G] PERSONAL AFFIXES

[I] ACTIVE (KARTARI), PASSIVE (KARMAṆI) AND IMPERSONAL

(BHĀVĒ) CONSTRUCTIONS (PRAYŌGA) IN NIA.

698. The personal affixes of the present or radical tense in NIA. are the phonetically decayed forms of those of OIA. Affixation for the participial tenses is a NIA. development. The future in Bengali and other

Magadhan languages, and in NIA. generally when it is of participial origin, followed the fortunes of the past. The formation of the past tense in typical NIA. of the first few centuries of the 2nd millennium A.C. agrees in principle with that of MIA. But subsequently, or it may be from the very beginning of the NIA. stage, there were new developments in some of the various groups of IA. The central language, W. Hindī, together with Eastern Panjābī, is most conservative, and has resisted innovations in the formation of the past, keeping true to the MIA. principle. The past tense in these speeches retains its MIA. character as the passive participle adjective qualifying the nominative when it is intransitive, and the object when it is transitive, the subject in the latter case being in the instrumental—the past of the transitive verb being thus a true passive albeit the construction of the phrase in nominal. Besides these active (intransitive) and passive (transitive) constructions for the past (« kartari » and « karmaṇi prayōgas »), the central speech has preserved (though dialectally) the old neuter or impersonal construction (bhāvē prayōga) for the intransitive verb, and has further extended this neuter construction to the transitive verb (cf. LSI., IX, pp. 50-52). Thus, OIA. « Kṛṣṇaḥ calitaḥ (calitakah) » > MIA. « Kaṇhō caliaō, Kaṇhu caliaū » > NIA. (W. Hindī, Braj-bhākhā) « Kāṇha calyau » (Active Construction); OIA. « Kṛṣṇēna pustikā paṭhitā, * Kṛṣṇa-karṇēna pustikā paṭhitikā » (= MIA. idiom with instrumental postfix « -karṇa » and feminine in « -ikā ») > MIA. « * Kaṇha-(k)añṇē(ṇa)ṁ pōṭṭhiā paḍhiā (paḍhiā), * Kaṇha-añṇēṁ, Kaṇha-añṇaḥ pōṭṭhia paḍhia » > NIA. (Braj-bhākhā) « Kāṇha-ṇāi, -nē pōṭṭhi paḍhi » (Passive Construction); OIA. « Kṛṣṇēna (* Kṛ-ṇa-karṇēna) calitam (calitakam) » > MIA. « Kaṇha-(k)añṇē(ṇa)ṁ caliaam, caliaum » > NIA. « * Kāṇha-nē calyau », not found in Standard Hindōstānī or Braj-bhākhā, but occurring in Vernacular Hindōstānī (Neuter Impersonal Construction); and on the basis of this last, a new formation with transitive verbs (Impersonal Construction with the Transitive Verb) was established in NIA., as in W. Hindī (Braj-bhākhā): e.g., « Kāṇha-nē Rāḥi-kaū dēkhyau », of which the OIA. translation, word for word, would be « Kṛṣṇēna Rādhikāyāḥ-kṛtē dṛṣṭam » for « Kṛṣṇēna Rādhikā dṛṣṭā ».

This MIA. principle of « karmaṇi, karttari » and « bhāvē » constructions, together with the NIA. extension, is substantially preserved in Rājasthānī, in Gujarātī, in Marāṭhī, in Western Panjābī, and in Sindhī, despite certain innovations. Rājasthānī in general agrees with W. Hindī, but its congener Gujarātī has confused the transitive impersonal construction with the transitive passive one, by making the past participle form qualify the object in the former construction as much as in the latter: *e.g.*, « tēṇē rāṇīnē jōi » *by-him with-reference-to-the-queen she-was-seen*, instead of « jōyū » *it-was-seen*. In this confusion some Rājasthānī dialects agree with Gujarātī.

Marāṭhī despite its affixing « -l- » to the passive participle has on the whole kept true to the MIA. standard: it has the active construction with intransitive verbs, and the passive with transitive ones, besides the impersonal with transitives. Its great innovation is adding personal affixes to the intransitive verbs (and following that, to some transitive verbs also: LSI., VII, p. 26), by which the past intransitive (also transitive in some cases) has become a regular inflected active past form, as much as in the Sanskrit perfect aorist or imperfect, or in the Bengali « -il- » past. Thus, « mī uṭhal-ō » for « mī uṭhalā » *I rose* (i.e. « aham utthita-laḥ + mē, mayā », instead of « aham utthitalaḥ = utthitaḥ », active), « myā rāṇī pāhili » (= « mayā rāṇī dṛṣṭā », passive), but « myā rāṇī-s pāhilē » (= « mayā rāṇī-viṣayē dṛṣṭam », impersonal). The extension of the active construction to the transitive verb in some cases (*e.g.*, « mī bōlalō », or « bōlilō, bōlilā » *I said*, as in the 'Jñānēśvarī,' instead of the passive « myā bōlalā, bōlali » etc. or impersonal « myā bōlalē ») shows that the old system has not been kept intact.

The Pahārī speeches on the whole agree with W. Hindī, and in some cases with Rājasthānī-Gujarātī in mixing up the impersonal and the passive. The Eastern Pahārī speech, Khaskurā, on the other hand shows a mixing up of the passive and active, by putting the subject in the instrumental, and the passive participle instead of qualifying the object is conjugated like a verb, taking affixes corresponding to the subject: *e.g.*, « mai-lē pāp garē (garyē, garyā = garya- < karia, *karita, kṛta + mē) »

I sinned, lit. *by-me sin done-by-me* or *did-I*). The MIA. principle is thus obscured here. (Cf. LSI., IX, pp. 26, 37, 147, 294, 328, 398-399, 466, 489, 572, 678, 695, 727, 783, etc., etc.)

The languages of the extreme west, W. Panjābī and Sindhī, both maintain the adjectival character of the passive participle, modifying it according to the gender and number of the object. But at the same time W. Panjābī employs pronominal affixes to emphasise the proper subject of the transitive verb (really instrumental), in addition to that of the intransitive; and Sindhī regularly adds these affixes to the intransitive (cf. LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 270-271, and Trevor Bomford, 'Language spoken in Western Panjab,' JASB., 1895, p. 317, for W. Panjābī; LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 67-68, for Sindhī). The use of pronominal suffixes in these western speeches is not confined to the passive participle only, but to other forms of verbs, and to nouns as well (LSI., VIII, Part I, pp. 42, 261), and is a special development in these, which is unknown to other cognate NIA., or to MIA. and OIA. The affixed pronoun in the passive participle or verb past base is to some extent necessitated in these speeches to ensure definiteness of the subject, as the instrumental post-position is frequently dropped (as in Panjābī, both Western and Eastern), or is non-existent (as in Sindhī, in which the oblique is employed for the instrumental). The affixation is merely formal, and does not imply any alteration in the old passive conception of the transitive past.¹

¹ The use of the pronominal affix with nouns (e.g., W. Panjābī 'ghar-am' *my house*, Sindhī 'piu-mē' *my father*), as well as dative and accusative use of the affixed pronouns (e.g., W. Panjābī 'Sahiban mut-ēi khatt' *S. has-sent-to-thee a-letter*, 'kitu-s mōṭā' *he-made-it fat*, 'bukhār hī-s' *fever is-to-him*, etc.) in these western languages, as well as in the extra-Indo-Aryan (Dardic) Kāśmīrī, resembles the Iranian enclitic pronouns which one finds, e.g., in Persian, in Paṣtō, and in Balōc (cf. Geiger's 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie': O. Salemann, 'Mittel-persisch,' p. 291; P. Horn, 'Neu-persische Schriftsprache,' p. 118; Geiger, 'Die Sprache der Afghanen,' p. 217; 'Die Sprache der Balutschen,' p. 240). The whole of the Indo-Iranian area from Persia right up to the frontiers of the old Saurasēnī (W. Hindī) area,—including the W. Panjābī (and probably also E. Panjābī in early times) and Sindhī tracts (among areas occupied by the NIA. speeches), the Dardic tracts, and those occupied by the Iranian speeches—seems to have been an area where

699. In the Magadhan languages, as well as in Eastern Hindi, on the other hand, the construction has become purely active, and the old MIA. principle has been completely ignored. The subject of a past sentence is in the nominative now at the present day, whatever might have been its nature originally. Traces of an instrumental affix may be found in the subject (*e.g.*, « -ē » in Assamese and Bengali), but the instrumental idea is now entirely absent. The personal forms, which (as in Sindhi and W. Panjābī) doubtless originally emphasised the instrumental-nominative, have in the Eastern languages lost their enclitic, emphasising character—have become personal inflexions pure and simple. Judging from indications in the earlier as well as later phases of these Eastern speeches—OB., MB., NB., Early Maithilī, etc., as well as Early Awadhī and Modern Awadhī, and from comparison with other NIA. speeches and with the habits obtaining in MIA., we can surmise that the personal affixes were not added to the past passive participle (and to the future passive participle) in Māgadhi Apabhraṇśa, and that this affixation was not indispensable in the early stage of the neo-Māgadhan speeches. Thus, Māg. Ap. in all likelihood had « *haū (? haī), tūn, sē calilla(a) » (= aham, tvam, saḥ calitaḥ) and « *amhi, tumhi, tē calilla(a), calillahi » (= vayam, yūyam, tē calitāḥ), beside « *maī, amhahī, taī, tumhahī, tē, tēhī rāa dēkkhilla(a) » (= mayā, asmābhiḥ, tvayā, yuṣmābhiḥ, tēna, tāiḥ rājā dṛṣṭaḥ), and « *maī, amhahī, taī, tumhahī, tē, tēhī raṇṇī dēkkhillī » (= mayā, asmābhiḥ, tvayā, yuṣmābhiḥ, tēna, tāiḥ rājñī dṛṣṭā). Beng. made the first « nui, āmi, tui, tumi, sē, tēhā calila » and « mui etc. rāya, rājā dēkhila (rāṇī dēkhili) » and then by affixation, « mui dēkhil-i, -ā-hō, -ō, -ū, -ām ; tui dēkhil-i, -is ;

the old Aryan enclitic pronouns were retained as living forms, and were later turned into suffixes : and these suffixes therefore were different in origin from the personal affixes of the Eastern languages (*e.g.*, OIA. 'mayā kṛtam, kṛtam mayā, kṛtam mē' > Lahndā 'kitu-m' ; Old Persian 'mana kartam' > Middle Persian [Pahlavī] 'man kart, am kart,' and 'kart-am' > New Persian 'kard-am' : [cf. Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 148] : compared with this, Early Bengali মুই কৈলুম 'mui kailum' I did is a different thing, originating in NIA. times from 'maī kailla' ; and Hindi 'main-nē kiya' is of course entirely different, showing no kind of personal or pronominal affixation).

tumi dēkhill-a, -āhā; sē dēkhill-anti, -enta, -ēn, -āin, -āñi (calil-i, calil-āhā etc.) ». (Besides, the « bhāvē prayōga » with the object in the dative with « -kē » etc. was evolved: see *supra*, pp. 897-898.) Affixation was not fully established in Bengali even in the 15th century, as we can see from MB. literature, where the base form in « -ilā » is frequently used for all persons: and in fact, in some dialects even now the base form is used for the third person (*e.g.*, Standard Bengali « sē dēkhillā », Dacca « sē dēkhlā, dēkhlō », *he saw*, base only, but Calcutta Bengali « sē dēkhl-ē » with « -ē » suffix for the third person; so Dacca « sē kāīrbā, kōrbō » *he will do* beside Standard « sē kārib-ē », Calcutta « sē kōrbē »). Similar affixation has taken place in other Magadhan, and in Eastern Hindi (*e.g.*, Awadhī: 1. « dēkhēū, dēkhiū, *pl.* dēkhī, dēkhā, dēkhan, dēkhēn »; 2. « dēkhisi, dēkhēs, *pl.* dēkhēn, dēkhā, dēkhī »; 3. « dēkhisi, dēkhai, *pl.* dēkhin-i, dēkhēn » etc.).

Pronominal affixation apparently was carried on independently in each of the various groups of dialects in the Magadhan area,—in West Magadhan (Bhōjpuriyā), in Central Magadhan, in the various Bengali and Assamese dialect groups, in Oṛiyā. But some common tendencies were shared by all or most of them. The most remarkable development has been in Central Magadhan (Maithilī and Magahī), which display a greater richness and variety in the matter of pronominal affixation than any other NIA. language—by which two or even three pronominal forms can be tagged on to the verb base. Thus we have Bengali মারিলাম, ‡ মারিনুম or ‡ মারিনি « mārīl-ām, ‡ mārīl-um, ‡ mārīl-i » *I, we beat* (past), = Oṛiyā « mārīl-i, mārīl-ū », Assamese « mārīl-ō », Bhōjpuriyā « mārāl-i », Maithilī « mārāl-ahū, mārāl-i »; but also we have Maithilī « mārāl-i-au-k » *I struck you*, or « mārāl-i-ai-nhī » *I struck him or them* (honorific object). We have here practically cases of polysynthesis, of long sentence words resulting from affixation. In this matter there may have been a strong influence of Kōl on Central Magadhan in the formative period of Maithilī and Magahī: with forms like « mār-al-i-au-k » or « mār-al-i-ai-nhī », we can compare Kōl (Munḍārī) « om-ad'-iñ-ae » *he-gave-it-to-me* and « lel-k-iñ-ako » for « *lel-ked'-iñ-ako » *they-saw-me*. The affixation in Eastern Magadhan is simpler, and approximate rather than of modern Dravidian

(e.g., Bengali. « pā-il-ām » *I read* = Tamil « paḍ-itt-ēn », root + tense affix + personal termination : see *supra*, p. 175).

700. Grierson, in two noteworthy papers to the JASB. for 1895 ('Suffixes in the Kāçmirī Language' and 'Radical and Participial Tenses in the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages') has tabulated the various affixes of NIA. and suggested their etymologies. The Eastern languages have these affixes for the verb past tense, and the future tense; the Western languages have also the pronominal adjuncts; the Southern language Marāṭhī partially employs them. All this is opposed to the Midland language, W. Hindī. In this Grierson finds a point in support of the theory of Inner and Outer Indo-Aryan groups (see *supra*, *Appendix A to Introduction*, pp. 165-166; JASB., 1895, p. 351). But the conjugational system cannot be assumed to prove much, as has been said before. The languages started in the East without the personal terminations, and in later times only they entered into the habit of affixation; whereas it seems likely that in the Western languages the enclitic has persisted from OIA. times (or might have been due to the influence of the contiguous Iranian), and were at once the cause and the effect of the absence or rare use of the instrumental post-position. Grierson derives all the affixes of the past verb in Bengali etc. (equally with those in other languages) from pronouns. But in some cases at least, they were merely extensions of the affixes of the present or radical tense. Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, again, show a development distinct from Maithilī, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā within the Magadhan family.

Except in the 3 sg., there is no distinction in Bengali-Assamese in the affixes of the intransitive and transitive verbs past tense. In Oṛiyā, the same affixes, sg. « -ā », pl. « -ē » are found for the verbs of both the kinds.

The affixes may now be discussed.

[II] AFFIXES FOR THE PAST TENSE.

701. MB. and NB. forms are given below. The affixes are added to the base in इत् « -il- » of which the « -i- » is dropped in most NB. dialects after influencing the preceding vowel.

First Person: অ < -ā >; ই < -i >; উম্, উঙ, উঁ (নুন্, নুঁ > হু), ওম্, অম্, ওঁ, ওহৌ, আহৌ, ওহো, আহো, ও < -um, -un, -ũ (-lum, -lũ > -nu), -ōm, -ām, -ōī, -ōhōī, -āhōī, -ōhō, -āhō, -ō >; আম্, আঙ, এম্ < -ām, -ān, -ēm >;

Second Person: অ < -ā >; ই < -i >; ইস্, এসি, এস < -is, -ēsi, -ēs >; উ < -u >; আ, আহা < -ā, -āhā >; এ, এঁ, এহেঁ < -ē, -ēī, -ēhī >;

Third Person: no affix, simply ending in -ইন্ < -il >; অ (ও) < -ā, (-ō) >, for both transitive and intransitive verbs; আ < -ā >; এ < -ē > for transitive verbs only, dialectally; আক্, ওক্, এক্ < -ā-k, -ō-k, -ē-k >, for both transitive and intransitive verbs; besides অস্তি, আস্তি, অস্ত, আস্ত, এস্ত, এন, আইন, আক্ৰি, আই < -ānti, -ānti, -āntā, -āntā, -ēntā, -ēnt, -āīn, -āīnī, -āī >, honorific.

Standard NB., literary and colloquial, recognises only the following:—

First Person: আম্ < -ām >, colloquially also এম্, উম্ < -ēm, -um >, and in poetry occasionally হু < -nu >;

Second Person: non-honorific, ই < -i >; ordinary, এ < -ē >; poetical আ < -ā >; honorific এন < -ēn > (with আপনি < āpāni >);

Third Person: অ < -ā >; এক্ < ēk > (rather archaic); এ < -ē > dialectally for transitive verbs; poetical আ < -ā >; besides honorific এন < -ēn >.

(1) THE AFFIXES FOR THE FIRST PERSON PAST.

702. The affix অ < -ā >. This is the simple base form, and is found in MB. and OB.: আমি চলিল < āmi cālilā > *I went*, আমি, মুই রাখিল < āmi, mui rākhilā > *I kept*; cf. OB. Caryā 35 < māi bujhila > *I understood* (see *supra*, p. 808). The source of this ইন্ < -ilā > is Māgadhī Ap. < -illaa, -illaṭṭa (< -ila-ka) >, MB. < -ilā, -ilā >, in NB. pronunciation often ইলো < -ilō, -lō >. This simple base is not found in NB., although it is common in eMB., becoming less common in lMB., and found but infrequently in post-17th century MB. As indicated above, the absence of affix means preservation of the OIA. conditions.

In OB., the < -ila > base had a feminine for < -ilī, -ilī >, according as the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive one was feminine. Early MB. carried on this feminine affixation, but it has died out from eMB. times. Examples have been given above, p. 958.

703. The affix ই «-i». This is now confined to the dialects of West Rāḍha, and to 'S.-W. Bengali,' and in any case is regarded vulgar. It was fairly common in MB. It seems originally to have been a (West) Rāḍha form. Although used for both singular and plural, the evidence of Oṛiyā shows it to have been originally singular: Oṛiyā «mū āsil-i», pl. «āmbhē āsil-ū» *I came, we came*; «mū dēkhil-i, āmbhē dēkhil-ū» *I saw, we saw*. The affix seems only to be an extension of the present (singular) «-i» to the past tense (*supra*, pp. 934, 935).

704. The affixes উম্, উঙ্, উ (লুম্, লু > হু) ওম্, অম্, ওঁ, ওহৌ, আহৌ, ওহৌ, আহৌ, ও «-um, -uṅ, -ū, (-lum, -lū > -nu), -ōm, -ām, -ō, -ōhō, -āhō, -ōhō, -ō». These form one group, and in their formation, two affixes seem to have converged: the «-ō» of the present (=OB. -aŕa < MIA. -ama < OIA. -āmaḥ: *supra*, pp. 934-935), and the old first personal pronoun nominative «*haū, hāu» as in OB. (pp. 807-808 *supra*) agglutinated to the past base (in «-ilā, -ilā»); «*haū» seems to have been added to the present base (see *supra*, p. 934), and an extension of it to the past was a matter of course. Of the fuller forms, ইলাহৌ «-ilā-hō» occurs in eMB. (as in the ŚKK.), and ইলৌহৌ «-ilō-hō» is found in the Early Assamese; and this and *ইলাহৌ «-ilā-hō» seems also to have occurred in MB. and the other forms, with loss of nasalisation, are found in MB. and Early Assamese. As can be expected, «*haū > hō» as the nominative pronoun should occur with the intransitive verb; and that is what we find from eMB. In the ŚKK., the ইলাহৌ «-(ilā-)hō» form occurs with six verbs, all intransitive: আহিলাহৌ «āchilāhō» *I was*, আইলাহৌ, আয়িলাহৌ «āilāhō, āyilāhō» *I came*, জিলাহৌ «jilāhō» *I lived*, পড়িলাহৌ «pāṛilāhō» *I fell*, বাঢ়িলাহৌ «bāṛhilāhō» *I increased*, হয়িলাহৌ, হৈলাহৌ «hāyilāhō, hāilāhō» *I was* (to which we may add a seventh intransitive form showing «-hō», although in a different tense—মরিতাহৌ «maritāhō» *I would die*): Kṛtti-vāsa similarly has তপস্তা করিল আমি নহিলাহৌ অমর «tāpāsya kārila āmi, nahilāhō āmarā» *I performed austerities, but did not become immortal* ('Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 29); নিমন্ত্রণে গেলাহৌ «nimāntraṇē gēlāhō» *I went to an invitation* (ibid, p. 15); also হইলাহৌ «hāilāhō» (pp. 26, 30, 36). MB. «jilāhō, pāṛilāhō» etc. would thus agree with Skt. «jīvitō' haṁ, patitō'ham».

The ŚKK. uses « -ḥ » (at times « -ō » by dropping the nasalisation) with both transitive and intransitive verbs. This apparent complay of the full « -hḥ » form with intransitives only was not maintained in Assamese: in the Early Assamese of the 15th and 16th centuries, we find it employed with transitive verbs also—*e.g.*, Dēvēndra Nāth Bēz-baruwā, 'Asamiyā Bhāṣā Ārū Sāhityar Burañji,' Jorhat, Saka 1833, pp. 75, 173, « kārīlōhḥ » *I did*, p. 89, « lābhilōhḥ, pāṛhilōhḥ » *I received, I studied*, p. 138, « cinilōhḥ » *I recognised*, p. 169, « bulilōhḥ » *I said*. In Early Maithili, the corresponding « hū » form seems to be restricted to the intransitive: *e.g.*, Vidyāpati has « bhēlihu » *I was*, « mōñē cukalihu » *I ceased*, « achaliḥū » *I was*, « gēlihu » *I went*, etc. (Pada 63); but in later Maithili, « -hū » is found for both the kinds of verbs. It has apparently become « -ū » in Magahi. From the 14th century, the « -hḥ » and the « -ḥ » forms had merged together, and the former occurs in the ŚKK. as a survival only (*e.g.*, for one « āchilāhḥ » there are some *six* cases of « āchilḥ »; « ālilḥ » occurs 11 times beside « ā(y)ilāhḥ » 9 times, and other intransitive verbs show only the « -ḥ » form). The Oriyā « -ū » of the plural seems to represent the « -ḥ (< -āmah) ». The OB. « acchilḥ » (see *supra*, p. 808) seems to be scribe's error for « āchila », or it might be for « āchilḥ »; in the latter case, the affixation for the past in imitation of the present could be said to have begun from OB. times.

The form « -ilāhḥ » thus converged into « -ilḥ », but « -ilāhḥ » could also give « -ilāṃ », and these would easily result in the MB. and NB. forms « -ilū, -ilūṃ, ilūm, -ilōm, -ilām, -inu » etc., since in MB. « m » final and intervocal interchanges with « ṃ », written ॐ or ॣ; and MB. forms like « -ilḥ, -ilū » could develop the off-glide « ṃ » (-ilḥṃ, -ilūṃ), which would easily resolve into « m ».

705. The affixes आम्, आङ्, एम् « -ām, -āṃ, -ēm ». It is not unlikely that « -ām » has partly evolved from « -āhḥ » as above (-ilāhḥ > -ilāṃṃ, -ilāṃṃ > ilāṃ, -il-ām). But this « -ām » should rather be affiliated to आम् « -āmi » *I (we)*, affixed to the past base, for this reason that in all the spoken dialects, where « -ām » occurs, the « -m » is retained intact, and there is no trace of a nasalised form « *-ilā » or « *-inā » such as

we might expect to be present in MB. or NB. if « * -ilāw < -ilāhō » were the only source.

By Vowel Harmony, « -ilām » gives « -ilēm », which is regarded as a refined form, and is frequently used in literature and formal discourse.

706. A plausible etymology for the « -āmi, -ām » affix would be the OIA. substantive verb « asmi »: the use of the passive participle with « asmi » in the active sense is found in MIA. and medieval Skt. (e.g., « viditō'smi, vismṛtō'smi » etc.: cf. E. J. Rapson, 'Specimens of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Dr. Stein at Niya in Chinese Turkestan: Tentative Transcriptions and Translations,' British Museum, 1903, p. 7). The Sinhalese past tense is formed on the same plan by affixing forms of « √ as », present tense, to the passive participle (Geiger, 'Litteratur u. Sprache der Sinhalesen,' § 60). The same method seems to occur in the Bengali perfect tenses (see *infra*, 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses'). But « asmi » does not occur as « āmi » either in Bengali or in other Magadhan: the equivalents of « asmi » in Bengali are « āchi » (*acchāmi) and « hāi » (*asāmi). A source like « paṭhita + asmi » is untenable for the NB. « paṛilām », not only because of the non-continuance of OIA. « asti, asi, asmi » in Bengali, but also because of the fact that personal affixation is late in the language, and is either pronominal, or is by analogical extension of affixes from the present.

Hoernle explained the « -ām » affix as being the Skt. « -āmi », present sg. affix: according to him, Bengali has preserved the original present indicative termination « -āmi », in forms like « paṛ(h)ilām » = Māgadhī « *paṛhidāmi ». But this derivation is inadmissible: MIA. « -d- » does not become « -l- » in Bengali (see *supra*, p. 433), and « -m- » intervocal of OIA. occurs in NIA. only as the nasalisation of the contiguous vowel.

(2) THE AFFIXES FOR THE SECOND PERSON, PAST.

707. The affix « -ā » is the simple base form without any personal termination, found in MB. for the 2nd person as much as for the other two persons, but is now obsolete,

The affix इ «-i» is of obscure origin. It occurs with the past in «-il-» and in the future in «-ib-». It is not found in the radical tense and with the past conditional. Bengali-Assamese alone among Magadhan speeches has it. The fact that it is contemptuous, being used with the familiar «tui (tōrā)» form of the 2nd personal pronoun, shows that it was originally a singular affix. The corresponding affix in Oṛiyā is «-u», e.g., «tu thīl-u» *thou wert*, «tu dēkhil-u» *thou didst see*. The Central Magadhan languages have confused the plural and singular; but it seems that the 2 pers. affix «-ē» in Magahī (as in «hal-ē» *thou wert* or *you were*, «dēkhal-ē» *thou didst see* or *you saw*, beside «halē, dēkhal-ē»; Maithilī does not possess the «-ē» form, but the nasalised one only) and in Bhōjpuriyā (as in «dēkhal-ē, dēkhal-as» singular, «dēkhalāh < *dēkhalahu» plural) is connected with the Bengali «-i», it being exceedingly probable that the «-ē» was formerly «-a-ī» (cf. Maithilī «dēkhalāi» beside «dēkhalē, 2 personal forms).

There is the other singular 2 personal affix «-is, -s» (see p. 979 below) with which the «-i» cannot be connected. In the absence of any other indication as to its source, it can only be referred to the 2 sg. imperative in «-hi, -a-hi» (see *supra*, p. 904), which would give «-i, -aī (-ai, -ē)» by loss of «-h». The Oṛiyā «-u» similarly can be best explained as the 2 sg. imperative in «-hu» (*supra*, p. 906). This «-hi» lost its original function as an imperative affix, and became associated, first, it would seem, with the future base, and then with the past: we should note that «-i» is the only 2 personal contemptuous or singular affix for the future, whereas «-is» may be used for the past; and «-i» is not found with the past habitual («cālib-i, dib-i», but «chil-is» beside commoner «chil-i», and «cālit-is, dit-is»; but we never find «cālib-is, dib-is»): this apparently shows that «-i» became first definitely attached to the future base, and then it was extended to the past; and the use of the future and the imperative should be taken into consideration in this connexion. There is an «-ahi» affix (< OIA. -asi) for the 2 sg. present tense in Western Apabhraṃśa, whence the imperative «-ē, -āī» affix in the Western languages, e.g., Hindōstānī «tū kar-ē» Gujarātī «tū

kar-ē », and Mārwarī « t(h)ŋ kar-āī » (< tŋ kar-ahi); but this present « -ahi » apparently did not occur in Māg. Ap., and is not represented in Bengali, which has only « -as, -is » < « -asi ».

708. The affixes ইস, এসি, এস « -is, -ēsi, -ēs » are contemptuous in sense, being used with « tui, tōrā », and were consequently originally singular. They represent the OIA. « -asi » which is preserved in the radical tense. The affix « -asi » has been partly extended to the past base, but the future did not take it up, apparently deciding for the « -hi > -i » from the imperative. The forms « -is » etc. are exceedingly rare with the past tense in NB., the employ of it with the « -il- » past being only occasional. MB. instances also are rare. In NB. it may be used with the past of « √āch » to be, as ছিলিস « chil-is » *thou wert*, both by itself as well as in the past progressive and perfect tenses, e.g., যাচ্ছিলিস « jācchilis » *thou wert going*, গিয়েছিলিস « giyēchilis » *thou hadst gone*, দিয়েছিলিস « diyēchilis » *thou hadst given*; but the « chil-i » form would be preferred. We may similarly occasionally hear নিলিস, দিলিস « nil-is, dil-is », but such forms would not be regarded as normal in the Standard Colloquial. It seems that analogy tried to attach « -is » to the past base, but has failed so far, although apparently this analogical use began early. We have thus in Kṛttivāsa (‘Uttarā-kāṇḍa,’ VSPd. ed., col. 124) ব্রহ্মবধ করিয়া তুমি লুকাইলিস ডরে « brāhmā-bādhḥ kārīyā tumi lukāilis dārē » *killling a Brahman, you hid in fear* (here we see the improper use of « tumi », instead of « tui », with an « -is » form). I have not found « -is » with the past in the ŚKK., but apparently there is one case in the Caryās, e.g., Caryā 37, « jāisanē acchilēsa taichana (= taīšana) accha » = ? *as thou wert, so be thou*; in Caryā 39, we have « baṅgē jāā nilēsi parē bhāgēla tōhāra biṇāṇā » *thy science (vijñāna) fled away after thou didst take a wife in Varāṅga*: here « nilēsi » may be either an « -ēsi » form, or it is « nilē » (conjunctive in « -ilē ») + « si » emphatic particle, as in Caryā 20—« jaubaṇa mōra bhailē si pūrā » *on my youth being mature*. The « -ēsi » would thus seem to have been attached to the past as early as OB. The vocalism in « -ēsi, -ēsa » seems to be due to a combination of the base form in « -a » + « -isi » (see p. 935): « *acchilla-isi » > « āchilais(i) » > āchilēs(a) ».

709. Grierson explained the «-i» as an instrumental pronominal enclitic: «mār-il-i» = *struck-by-thee* (karmanī prayōga), «cal-il-i» *gone-by-thee* (bhāvē prayōga); and the «-is» was explained by him (as an affix for the past habitual derived from the present participle) as being 'the direct pronominal suffix for the nominative'—«-s-» and «-i-» being respectively nominative and oblique forms of a second personal pronoun (JRAS., 1895, I, p. 371). There cannot be any question of a 2nd personal pronoun in «-s-» from the existing specimens of IA., and Grierson considered this «-s-» (as in Bengali «-is» in «mār-it-is» etc.) 'as a termination borrowed either from the first or the third person,' but at the same time the possibility of «-is» being the OIA. «-asi» is admitted by him (*op. cit.*, p. 374). The «-s-» form of the first person occurs in Lahndā and Sindhi, and in the Dardic Kāśmīrī: it is a singular form, if derived from OIA. «asmad»; but the whole question is rendered extremely problematical (*op. cit.*, p. 365 for the «-s-» for the 1st person). The use of the 3rd person «-s-» (<Prakrit «sē» *his*, which is an enclitic: Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 347) for the 2nd pers. is hardly more satisfactory as an explanation. The well-known «-asi» which has survived in the radical sense should not therefore be ignored. And as for regarding «-i» as an oblique form of the 2nd personal pronoun, and referring it to the MIA. «bhē» or «uyhē» (JASB., 1895, p. 374, p. 346), there is this great difficulty that in Bengali-Assamese, which alone preserves the «-i», the form is contemptuous and as such cannot originally have been a plural suffix, whereas the MIA. «bhē, uyhē» are definitely plural ones.

710. The affix উ «-u» is found dialectally in 'South-West Bengali' and in North Central Bengali, and is distinctly of Oṛiyā affinity: কৈলু «kailu» *thou didst do*, গ্যালু = গেলু «gyālu = gēl-u» *thou didst go*, etc. It is singular in origin, and can only be referred to the imperative in «-hu, -u» (see above, p. 906). It is found in the present also, e.g., আছু «āchu» *thou art*.

711. The affixes অা, অাহ «-ā, -āhā» were originally plural, being used with «tumi (tōmārā)», the old plural of the 2nd person, and never

with « tui ». They seem to be the same affix as the « -aha » of the radical 2nd plural (see *supra*, p. 935). The past base to which this 2nd person pl. affix was added (in Bengali-Assamese) apparently was extended by the definitive « -ā »: « calilā + -aha > * calilāha, calilāhā, * calilās, calilā » (cf. « khāhā, jāhā » for the imperatives: *supra*, pp. 903, 907). The « -ā » might, again, be simply the base in definitive « -ā », without the personal termination « -āhā ». The « -āhā » form occurs in eMB. (ŠKK.) and in Early Assamese side by side with « -āhā, -ā ». Late MB. has only « -ā »; and as a result of Vowel Harmony, through influence of the « -i » of « -il- », this « -ā » can be altered to « -ē » in NB., as in the Standard Colloquial চ'ল্লে « cōllē » < « calilā » *you went* (*supra*, pp. 400-401). Among ŠKK. forms in « -āhā » may be quoted আহিলাহা « āchilāhā » *you were*, গেলাহা « gēlāhā » *you went*, পড়িলাহা « pārilāhā » *you fell*, হয়িলাহা « hāyilāhā » *you became*; cf. imperative ওলাহা « ōlāhā » beside ওলাহ « ōlāhā » *take down, put down*. In Modern Assamese, the affix is « -ā », honorific; and Oṛiyā has retained it as « -ā (< -āhā) ». Cf. Maithili simple form for 2nd person past « dēkhalāh < dēkhalahū », and Bhōjpurīyā « dēkhalahū », where we have the « -ahu » form as in the imperative.

712. The MB. forms এ, এঁ, এহেঁ, « -ē, -ē, -ēhē » make one group. Judging from the ŠKK., the nasalised form « -ē » is the proper one for this affix, and this is only shortened from the older and fuller « -ēhē ». In the ŠKK., it is either « -ēhē », or « -ē »: and it is rarely « -ē » without the nasalisation: thus আনিলেঁ, আনিলেহেঁ « ānilē, ānilēhē » *you brought*, এড়িলেহেঁ « ēṛilēhē » *you abandoned*, কইলেঁ « kāilē » *you did*, করায়েলেঁ « kāṛāyilē » *you caused to make*, গঢ়িলে « gāṛhilē » *you built*, নিলেহেঁ « nilēhē » *you took*, সাধিলেহেঁ « sādihlēhē » *you performed*, চাহিলেঁ « cāhilē » *you looked at*, etc. No instance of « -ē, -ēhē » with intransitive verbs occurs in the ŠKK.: originally it was probably used with transitive verbs. « -ēhē » > « -ē » is thus its development in NB. (Of course, in NB. the « -ē » can also be from « -ilā » by Vowel Harmony; see preceding paragraph.) This affix is unknown to Assamese and Oṛiyā. But Maithili « -ē, -āi », Magahi « -ē, -ahī » (« dēkhalē, dēkhalāi; dēkhalē, dēkhalahī ») seem to be the same affix.

The source of this « -ēhē, -ē, -ē » is obscure. The full form being « -ēhē », connexion with the Prakrit enclitic 2nd pers. pl. « -bhē, -uyhē » as suggested by Grierson (JASB., 1895, pp. 374, 346) is not impossible, but « bhē, uyhē » are otherwise unknown. It is a politer form than the « -i, -is » ones, both in MB. and NB. Is it that here we have the instrumental of the respectful or polite form for the pronoun of address « ahā, ahaI », which is still current in Maithili? (see *supra*, pp. 850-852). The fact of « -ēhē, -ē > -ē » not being found with intransitive verbs in the ŠKK. should be recalled: « ānilehē » can therefore very well be from MIA. « *āṇilla- » + « *ahāhI, *ahēhI » = instrumental pl. of « ahā- » (= OIA. ānīta-la- + āyusmadbhiḥ).

[3] THE AFFIXES FOR THE THIRD PERSON, PAST.

713. The oldest Bengali had three forms for the passive participle as used with the pronoun third person or with the noun: « -ila (< -illa) », the simple base without any affix; « -ilaṁ, -ilaa (< -illa-a, i.e., -illa- + -ka) », with an extension by the pleonastic « -ka > -a » (*supra*, pp. 652-653); and « -ilā (< -ila + -ā) », strengthened by the definitive « -ā » (*supra*, pp. 658 ff.). The NB. equivalents of these are respectively, ইল, ইলা, (ইলা), ইলা « -ilā, -ilā (-ilō: MB. -ilā), -ilā ». All the three are found: « -ilā » is dialectal, occurring in North Bengali and North Central Bengali (with both transitive and intransitive verbs), as well as in Eastern Vanga dialects (Sylhet, Kachar, Mayang, Chittagong and Chakma, where « -ilā » seems to be preferred with intransitive verbs); « -ilā » is also restricted to the intransitive verb in Modern Assamese; « -ilā » is found in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and in the East Bengal dialects with both transitives and intransitives, and in the Standard Colloquial with intransitive verbs (see *supra*, p. 974); while « -ilā » is now archaic and poetic for NB., and is found commonly in MB. and in Early Assamese, and in Oṛiyā « -ilā » is the only form in which this affix occurs for the 3rd person singular (« -ilā » however, occurs in Eastern Vanga, in Mayang as honorific, i.e. plural).

All these three forms « -ila > -ilā; -ilaa, -ilā > -ilā; -ilā » lack a personal or pronominal termination and this colourless form was accepted for

the third person. Doubtless there were slight shades of difference between the three; «-ā» and «-ā̃» forms were possibly more emphatic. Also the base form without any affix, «-ila > -ilā̃», retained its old adjectival nature unmodified in connexion with intransitive verbs, and this distinction is largely maintained now. In the Caryās, we find both «-ila» (= «-ila» as well as «-ilaa, -ilawa») and «-ilā̃» (see *supra*, p. 947).

714. The affix «-ē»: occurs in West Bengali (including the Standard Colloquial), North Bengali and Assamese, with transitive verbs only: *e.g.*, Standard Colloquial সে চলে, সে গেল, [ʃe ʈʰollo, ʃe gælo] *he walked, he went*, North Bengali চলিল, গেল [tsolil, gel], Assamese «si cālil, si gāl», but for *he gave, he ate*, we have Standard Coll. সে দিলে, খেলে [ʃe dile, khele], North Bengali দিলে, খাইলে, খালে [dile, khaile, khale] besides দিল, খাইল [dil, khail], and Assamese «dilē, khālē». The Bihārī dialects show a similar differentiation (see *supra*, p. 93). No such differentiation between intransitive and transitive verbs is found in the East Bengal dialects, in which typical forms would be [tsolʎlo, tsolʎo; gʎlo] and [dilo, khailo], or as in Chittagongese [tsolil, gel] and [dilo, khailo].

The restriction of the «-ilē» affix to the transitive verb past tense in a continuous tract embracing Rāḍha, Varēndra and Kāma-rūpa, and excluding Vaṅga (E. and S.-W.) and Caṭṭala (S.-E. Vaṅga), is noteworthy: equally noteworthy is the occurrence of the «-ila > -ilā̃» for the intransitive in Varēndra (partially), in Kāma-rūpa, and in E. Vaṅga and Caṭṭala. The «-ē» affix occurs in the future 3rd person (-ib-ē) for all verbs, in the both «sādhū-bhāṣā» and in the Standard Colloquial, but not in East Bengal dialects, in Assamese, in Oriyā, which use the «-ā̃» (-ibā̃, -bā̃). The usage in the future does not help us here.

The explanation seems to be as follows. The intransitive past is in its origin a verbal adjective qualifying the subject: here no special verbal suffix was necessary, for the adjectival nature remained long with intransitive, right down to eMB. (see *supra*, p. 958,—the feminine adjectival «-i» continued to be used with both the kinds of roots). Hence the simple «-ila > -ilā̃», or «-ilaa > -ilā̃ > -ilā̃, -ilō», was enough for it. But the

transitive past was not like that, and its nature developed into that of a proper verb with an object. So too the future form, both transitive and intransitive, partook more of the nature of the verb. In some of the dialects of the Bengali group, an affix gradually came to be attached to these. And that affix we find in NB. as « -ē » for both transitive past, and transitive and intransitive future.

The « -ē » was never a literary favourite in MB., the simple « -ā » or « -ā » base being commonly employed for the past third person. The composite « sādhu-bhāṣā » here followed the MB. preference for « -ā » in the past tense, but not in the future. But nevertheless, the « -ē » is found in MB. works—in the ŚKK., for instance. Thus, as 3 personal forms, we find in the ŚKK., for *he did*, কৈলে, কইলে « kailē, kailē » 4 times, করিলে « karilē » once (= NB. Standard Coll. কর্লে, ক'ল্লে [korle, kolle]), while কইল, কয়িল « kâ(y)ilā » occurs 17 times and করিল « kârilā » 6 times (= NB. কর্ল, ক'ল্ [korlo, kollo]); for *he received*, পাইলে « pailē » (= NB. পেলে [pele]) occurs once, but পাইল « pailā » (= NB. পেল [pelol]) 7 times; for *he sent*, পাঠাইলে, পাঠায়িলে « pāṭhâ(y)ilē » (= NB. পাঠালে, [paṭhale]) 3 times, পাঠাইল, পাঠায়িল « pāṭhâ(y)ilā » (= NB. পাঠাল [paṭhalo]) 4 times; for *he said*, বইলে « builē » (cf. NB. ব'ল্লে [bolle]) once, বুয়িল, বুয়িল « bu(y)ilā » (cf. NB. ব'ল্ [bollo]) 28 times; for *he gave* দিলে « dilē » once, দিল « dilā » 10 times; for *he took*, নিলে « nilē » 5 times, নিল « nilā » 6 times, and আণিলে « āṇilē » *he brought* is found once. The « -ē » for the 3rd person thus goes back to the 14th century. It is not, however found in the Caryās.

This « -ē » affix I take to be the « -ē » of the radical or present tense, 3rd person, extended to the past transitive base: দেখিল « dēkhilā » *seen*, *he saw* changed to দেখিলে « dēkhil-ē », NB. দেখ্লে « dēkhl-ē », on the analogy of দেখে « dēkh-ē » *he sees*; but an intransitive form like গেল « gēlā » = *gone*, fem. গেলি « gēli », sufficiently retained its adjectival nature not to require a verbal affix. We should note that the plural affix « -ānti, -āntā, -entā » was similarly extended to the past verb, as an honorific form merely (see *supra*): « -ē » was the characteristic 3rd pers. affix, and the plural as an honorific form was less frequent. This

extension of the « -ē, -anti » etc. was accomplished possibly during the transition from OB. to eMB.: it was established by the end of the 14th century, and if the ŚKK. does not use it exclusively, it is because the literary speech tends to preserve the older tradition (in keeping to the older, unaffixed « -ā » form).

A partial agreement with Maithilī may be noted. In Maithilī, in the honorific, the transitive past base takes the affix « -thi » (< -anti) of the present honorific (= original plural), because its nature is that of a verb: « dēkhala-thi » *saw*. But the intransitive past base (with its adjectival nature) to denote the honorific takes the affix « -āh(a) » which is found with *nouns* and *adjectives* in Early Maithilī: « sūtal-āh(a) » *slept*. (This « -āha » is very common in the 'Varna-ratnākara' MS., see *supra*, pp. 102-103: it seems to be the Māg. Ap. genitive in « -āha » extended to form the plural, like « -rā » of Bengali, « -kā » of Bhōjpuriyā).

In the Standard Colloquial, some intransitive verbs are seen to employ the « -ē » affix, in apparent contradiction to the rule that it is confined to transitives only: thus নাচলে « nāclē » *he danced*, কাঁদলে « kādīlē » *he wept*, হাঁটলে « hāṭlē » *he walked*, খাটলে « khāṭlē » *he laboured* (but খাটিল « khāṭilā » *it fitted*). Cases like these can be explained as a phonetic development out of « -ilā » forms of MB. — < « nācilā, kāndilā, hāṇṭilā, khāṭilā » etc. (see *supra*, pp. 400-401): but the proper explanation is that these verbs are really transitives with cognate objects like নাচ, নাচা, নাচন « nācā, nācā, nācānā » , কাঁদা, কাঁদা, কাঁদন « kādā, kānā, kādānā » etc. understood and sometimes expressed. The « -ē » is thus never extended to intransitives in the dialects in which it is employed. On the other hand, through the influence of the « sādhu-bhāṣā » and of East Bengal dialects, the « -ā » form is now being used at times by Standard Colloquial speakers with the transitive also—e.g., পেলা, খেলা, দেখল, দিল « pēlā, khēlā, dēkhā, dilā » *he obtained, ate, saw, gave*, beside the proper « -ē » forms.

The credit of first noticing the difference between the intransitive and transitive past bases in Bengali as well as of suggesting explanations belongs to Grierson (JASB., 1895, pp. 366, 374, 350; LSI., V, I, 1903, p. 13, foot-note; cf. also 'Prabāsi' for 1829, Pauṣa, pp. 382 ff.). In

the JASB. article, a form like মারিলেক « māril-ē-(kṣ) » *he killed* Grierson sought to explain (on the analogy of Maithilī forms with affixed object and subject pronouns) as being from « * māril-ai-ka », being either < « * māril-āya-ka » = *killed-this(object)-by-him*, where « āya » was the (Western) Apabhraṃśa equivalent of Skt. « idam », and « ka » was a third personal pronoun with instrumental power having affinities in Kāśmīrī; or < « * māril-ahahī-ka » = *killed-that(object)-by-him*, where « ahahī » was the oblique of « aha », the (Western) Apabhraṃśa equivalent of Skt. « adas ». But there is nothing in MB. and OB. to warrant such derivations. We have the « -ēka » affix with intransitive verbs from the eMB. period. Grierson formulated another explanation in the LSI.: খালে « khālē » *he ate* = « khāilā » *eaten* + « -hi » *by him, by them*. But this « -hi » as an enclitic instrumental pronoun cannot be otherwise assumed from MB. and OB.

715. The « -kṣ » affix in the forms অক, ওক, এক « -ākṣ, -ōkṣ, -ēkṣ » in the past tense is pleonastic : possibly it was polite or honorific in Early Bengali. This is discussed below, under 'Pleonastic Affixes,' pp. 989 ff.

716. The honorific forms —অন্তি, আন্তি, অন্ত, আন্ত, এন্ত, « -ānti, -ānti, -āntā, -āntā, -ēntā » and এন, আইন, আঞি, আই, « -ēnṣ, -āinṣ, -āñi, -āi » have been extended from the present tense by adding to the past base in « -ilā ilā ». As has been explained before, they form two groups—the verbal « -anti » and the nominal « -āna, -ana, -ān-i, -an-i », the latter having ousted the former (see *supra*, p. 936). In the eMB. of the ŚKK., we find the verbal « -nt- » forms only: কাড়িলান্ত « kārhilāntā » *took off*, চাহিলান্ত « cāhilāntā » *looked at*, গেলান্তি « gēlānti » *went*, কহিলান্ত, কহিলেন্ত « kāhilāntā, kābilēntā » *said*, etc.; and there are no « -n(i), -ñi » forms, which came in later. Early Assamese has « -āntā » — « thāilāntā, bhāilāntā » *was (were)*, « kāilāntā » *did*, etc. Maithilī and Magahī also have « -thi (< -anti) » (*supra*, p. 937) : but in Maithilī « -thi » occurs only with transitive verbs (Maithilī « dēkhalṣ-thi », but « calal-āhṣ », whereas Magahī has both « dēkhalṣ-thi, calalṣ-thi »).

In later MB., « -nt- » and « -n- » occur side by side in the texts. « -ēntā, -āntā » are the common affixes in Chuṭi Khān's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.): and « -ēnṣ » is already well-established in Kṛttivāsa. The

nominal «-n-» form may thus be said to have successfully invaded the domain of the verb in the 15th century. In the 'Padmā-purāṇa of Vaiṣṇī-dāsa (17th century: Maimansing), «-ñī (<-āni)» is almost the rule for the past third person honorific: *e.g.*, p. 43, পুলস্ত্য কহিলোঁই «Pulastyā kḥilāi» *P. said*; p. 71, কহিলোঁই মেনকাসুন্দরী «kḥilāi Mēnakā-sundarī»; p. 98, ব্রহ্মা চলি আইলোঁই «Brāhmā cāli āilāi» *B. came away*; p. 109, ধরিলোঁই «dhārilāi» *caught*; p. 185, দিলোঁই «dilāi» *gave*; p. 194, বলিলোঁই «bāilāi» *said*; p. 196, ভাবিলোঁই «bhābilāi» *thought*. The «-āni, -āñi, -ñī» form is still current for the honorific in E. Vanga.

The nominal «-n-» figures in Bhōjpurīyā (*e.g.* «rahal-an» *was, were* = Bengali রহিলেন «rāhil-ēñ», «dekhal-an, dekhal-ani» *saw* = Bengali দেখিলেন «dēkḥil-ēñ»). In Assamese «dēkhilā-hāk» *you saw*, «dēkhilō-hāk» *we saw*, the affix «-hāk» is found with the 2nd and 1st person to form the plural, and this also is undoubtedly the nominal «-na, -nha» with pleonastic «-ka». In Maithilī and Magahī, the nominal «-nh-» is added to the verb, but commonly with a dative-accusative (and not nominative-instrumental, or simple plural) force: *e.g.*, Maithilī «dēkhathi» *he* (honorific) *sees* (< *they see*), but «dēkhathi-nhi» (honorific) *he sees* (< *they see*) *them* (i.e. *a respected person*), and «dēkhiai-nhi» *sees them* > *sees a respected person*: and so with the past tense—«dēkhalṭ-thi» beside «dēkhalṭ-nhi» (here active «-nhi» as an equivalent of «-thi»), «dēkhalṭ-k-ai» (object), «dēkhalṭ-thi-nhi» (object). In the intransitive, «-nhi» is used for the indirect object only. So Magahī «dēkhalṭ-thi», «dēkhalṭ-thi-n» (object «-n-»). Oṛiyā too adds the plural affix (found with the noun) to the past and future bases of the verb, but it is not «-n-» of the genitive, but «-ē-» < «-ahi» of the instrumental (see *supra*, p. 724): *e.g.*, sg. «dēkhilā», pl. «dēkhil-ē» *saw*; sg. «hōilā», pl. «hōil-ē» *were*.

[III] THE AFFIXES FOR THE FUTURE TENSE.

These are exactly on the lines of the past, and detailed treatment is not necessary.

717. The forms for the First Person in MB. and NB. are: अ (ॐ), ओहो, ठ, (बो, वू > यू, य, ड), आम «-ā (-ō), -ōhō, -ō (-b-ō, -b-ū > -mu, -m,

-ণ = ঞ), -ām >. The base in < -ā > —ইব < -ib-ā > —occurs in OB. and MB. (including the ŚKK.), and has been adopted as the < sādhu-bhāṣā > form, without any personal affix. In the ŚKK., < -ō > is the affix for the first person, and < -āhō, -ōhō > do not occur there; but the < -hō > forms may be attested for eMB. from Early Assamese < hāibō-hō, dibō-hō > beside < hāibō, dibō > (= New Assamese < hām, dim >) *I shall be, I shall give*. The eMB. < -ō > may have been also the result of < -aŵa, -ama >. In any case, it would seem to have extended from the past; and in the past, already in the 14th century, < -ilā-hō, -ilō-hō > had given < -il-ō >. The Early MB. < -ō > lost its nasalisation through confusion with the base in < -ā >, and the Standard Colloquial < -ō > (-bō), is commonly written ব < -bā > following the < sādhu-bhāṣā > spelling. The < -m-, -ṇ- > forms have been noted before (p. 967). The affix < -ām > is found in Maimansing, and is evidently the same form as in the past (see *supra*, pp. 976-977).

718. The affixes for the Second Person are (in addition to the base form অ < -ā > in MB. and OB.): ই < -i > contemptuous or familiar; উ < -u > contemptuous and familiar, in MB.; এ, এঁ, এহেঁ < -ē, -ē, -ēhē > polite, of which the shortened form < -ē > alone occurs in NB.; and আ, আহা < -ā, -āhā > polite and ordinary (besides এন্ < -ēn > with আপনি < āpāni > honorific, from 3rd person).

Of these, < -i > and < -u > are the same as in the past tense (pp. 978-980). < -ēhē > is found in the ŚKK., e.g., উঠিবেহেঁ < uṭhibēhē > *you will rise*, কৰিবেহেঁ < karibēhē > *you will do*, ৰুগিবেহেঁ < ruṣibēhē > *you will be angry*, etc.; also the contracted < -ē > and the denasalised < -ē > are found there; and in the same work < -ibēhē > occurs as a contracted < -ibhē > in বহিহেঁ < bahibhē > *you will carry* (p. 175). This < -ēhē, -ē, -ē > has also apparently been extended from the past. So, too, < -ā, -āhā >, also polite forms. < -ā > is found in MB.—চলিবা, কৰিবা < cālībā, karibā >; and this < -ā > might by Vowel Harmony give the Standard Colloquial চ'লবে, ক'ৰবে [çolbe, korbe]. These last two forms (-ā, -āhā) are not found in the ŚKK., but the < -āhā > can be attested from Early Assamese: e.g., < karibāhā > (as in p. 852 *supra*). The < -ā > affix is now quite common in East Bengal dialects: the Standard Colloquial prefers < -ē >.

719. The affixes for the Third Person are: অ «-ā» (< -aa, -ā) the base, in OB. and MB. (found at the present day in East Bengali and in Modern Assamese); এ «-ē», in the «sādhu-bhāṣā» and in the Standard Coll. (= same as the «-ē» of the 3rd person past: some influence of the «-ē» in the 3rd person sigmatic future of eMB.—«-hē»—described before at p. 965—is very likely here: «-ibē» is found in the ŚKK., in both transitive and intransitive verbs, and also in Early Assamese); and the honorific অস্ত, এস্ত, এন, আঞি, অঞি etc. «-āntā, -ēntā, -ēnā, -āñi, -ēñi», as in the past tense. Besides, there is the affix এক «-ēkṣ» with pleonastic «-ka», found in the ŚKK. and in Early Assamese, and also in the NB. «sādhu-bhāṣā» and in West Rāḍha dialects: this is discussed below.

[IV] THE AFFIXES FOR THE CONDITIONAL OR HABITUAL PAST.

720. They also agree with those for the other two participial tenses. There are some restrictions: for the 1st person, ই «-i» does not occur; for the 2nd person contemptuous (= old singular), ইন্ «-is» is used, and never (or rarely in some dialects) ই «-i» or উ «-u»; and for the 3rd person, similarly, এ «-ē» is not found.

[H] PLEONASTIC AFFIXES.

[I] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX «-KA».

721. The pleonastic affixes added to the tense forms are noteworthy in Bengali as in the other Magadhan languages. The most common of these affixes is «-ka».

In NB., the forms for the 1st person are free from the pleonastic affix, at least it is not added directly to the verb; but it is added to the 2nd person past and future (ordinary, with «tumi»), and to non-honorific 3rd person past and future (and in some dialects to the 3rd person past habitual), as well as 3rd person imperative, and but rarely to the 2nd person imperative: e.g., তুমি দিলেক, দিলাক, দিবেক, চ'লবেক «tumi dil-ēkṣ, dil-ākṣ, dibē-kṣ, cā'lbē-kṣ» (never, however, «tui dibi-kṣ, cā'lbī-kṣ»); সে দিলেক, চ'লবেক, দিবেক, চ'লবেক «sē dilē-kṣ, cā'llē-kṣ, dibē-kṣ, cā'lbē-kṣ»; সে দিক, চলুক «sē di-kṣ (< diu-kṣ), cālu-kṣ». Except in the case of 3rd person

imperative, the use of « *kā* » is regarded as archaic in the « *sādhū-bhāṣā* » and is to a great extent dialectal in Bengali.

Of the present-day dialects, that of West Rāḍha has a marked preference for the « *-ka* », commonly in the third person : and it is found also in North Bengali (which has a special employ with the 2nd person polite imperative = original passive? : *e.g.*, আথেক « *dyākhēkā* < *dēkhē-ka* = ? **dēkhiai + ka* », p. 130, LSI., V, I ; so রাথেক « *rākhēkā* < ? **rākhiai + ka* », p. 179, *ibid* ; also cf. p. 216, in Haijong dialect : see *supra*, p. 918), in Mayang (where it seems to occur as « *-gā* »), and in Chittagong (in the Chakma dialect, rather rarely). It is found pretty frequently in MB., from the ŚKK. downwards, generally with the third person, occasionally with the second, and very rarely with the first. Already in the ŚKK. we have forms like ধরিলেক « *dhārilēkā* » *caught*, চাহিলেক « *cāhilēkā* » *looked*, হিফিলেক « *hiphilēkā* » *cast*, নহিবেক « *nāhibēkā* » *will not be*, করিবেক « *kāribēkā* » *will do*, লৈবেক « *lāibēkā* » *will take*, etc. In the ŚKK., it is noteworthy that the « *-ka* » has also been found with the 1st person future and with the 3rd person present—this sort of use with the first and third person is not noticed ordinarily : thus ŚKK. নিবৌক « *nibō-kā* » *I shall take* (p. 287), and পোড়েক « *pōrē-kā* » *burns* (p. 110). In the NB. Standard Colloquial, however « *-ka* » may be used with negatives in all persons and tenses as a detached word, without any special force, unless it be of some sort of finality : *e.g.*, দেবো না ক' « *dēbō-nā-kā* » *I shan't give*, সে দিলে না ক', দেয় নি ক' « *sē dilē-nā-kā, dēy-ni-kā* » *he didn't give*, তুমি দিও না ক' « *tumi diō nā kā* » *you won't give*, নাইক' = নাহি-ক' « *nāi kā < nāhi-kā* » *is not, are not* ; in cases like the above, the negative phrase may be taken as one group-word to which the affix is added.

The « *-ka* » for the 3rd person imperative is already well-established in the ŚKK., although the older form without the affix is still equally common (see *supra*, pp. 903, 907).

The « *-ka* » is absent in the Caryās as a verbal affix.

722. Of the other Magadhan Languages, Bhōjpuriyā alone seems not to employ it with the past and future bases. It is fairly common in Early Oṛiyā, specially with the past in the 3rd person (sg. « *-ilā-kā* »,

pl. and sg. honorific «-ilē-kā»): but Oṛiyā never used it with the 3rd person imperative. The «-ka» affix for the verb, however, has fallen into disuse in Modern Oṛiyā. So, too, Early Assamese shows as much preference for the «-ka» as Bengali; e.g., 'Ādi-caritra,' p. 3, «bhāilēkā» beside «bhāilā» *was*; p. 7, «bōlāntōkā» *they say*, «thākāntōkā» *they are*; p. 9, «thākibēkā» *they will be*, «bulibēkā» *they will say*; p. 20, «nā-hi-k-āntā» *they are not*; p. 28, «nā-hi-k-ay» *is not*; p. 36, «thāilēkā» *was*; p. 43 «yōgāilēkā» *supplied*, etc., and elsewhere «nu-hi-k-ō» *I am not* (cf. Standard Coll. Bengali নই ক' = নহি ক' «nā(h)i-kā» *I am not*, নাই ক' «nā(h)i-kā» *he is not*). All this usage is curtailed in Modern Assamese, where we find the «-ka» only with the 3rd person imperative, as in Bengali: e.g., «kār-ō-kā» *let him do*. The unstableness of the «-ka» in Oṛiyā and Assamese is remarkable: and it is almost equally unstable in MB. and NB., being commonly attached to the imperative only.

The «-ka» features also in Central Magadhan. Its use in Magahi is rather restricted, it being found only in the 3rd person past both transitive and intransitive. The root «√ha» *to be* in Magahi also occurs as «√ha-k», for all the three persons. But in Maithili «-ka» has a greater importance. It is added to the 3rd person of the simple past tense of the transitive verb («dēkhala-k» beside poetic or earlier «dēkhala» *he saw*), where it apparently refers to the subject; but in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, it can be added pleonastically where the verb-form takes the pronominal affixes referring to the non-honorific object: e.g., 1st person: «dēkhal-i, dēkhala-hū, dēkhalā» *I saw* (simple form), «dēkhal-i-ai, dēkhal-i-a(h)u; dēkhal-ai, dēkhal-a(h)u» *saw* (with affixed «-ai, ahu» referring to the object in the 3rd and 2nd persons); and optionally, the latter group can have «-ka», as «dēkhal-i-ai-k, dēkhal-i-au-k; dēkhal-ai-k, dēkhal-au-k»; so 2nd person «dēkhal-āh» beside «dēkhal-āhā-k»; and 3rd person «dēkhala-k» *he saw* (simple), «dēkhal-k-ai, dēkhal-k-au» (with object pronoun «-ai, -au»), beside optionally «dēkhalā-k-ai-k, dēkhal-k-au-k» (in which two «-k-» affixes occur: the first «ka» refers apparently to the 3rd person subject, and the second «ka» is simply pleonastic). Early Maithili as in literature does not show these curious extensions

the form for the 3rd person was simply in « -ala »—« dēkhala », and not « *dēkhala-ka », as in Modern Maithili. This we find in the old poetry, in Vidyāpati, in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara.' The affixation of the pleonastic « -ka » etc. thus developed along independent lines in Maithili.

723. The usage in MB. and NB. and in Maithili shows that the « -ka » is not restricted to a single person: it is found with all the three. We have a very popular pleonastic « -ka » affix in Bengali with other parts of speech also: we find it with nouns (*e.g.*, plural affixes গুলক « gulā-kā » beside গুল « gulā », আদিক > দিক « -ādi-kā > -di-gā » beside আদি > দি « ādi > -di », একটুক « ēkaṭ-ṭu-kā » a little beside একটু « ēkaṭ-ṭu »; etc.), and dialectally it is found with conjunctions (*e.g.*, কিছুক for কিছু « kintu-kā » in North Bengali). This « -ka » is always handy to give a point, a supposed elegance to a form in the speech of the uneducated classes in many dialectal areas: we see that in the case of learned Sanskrit words. The pleonastic « -ka » with verb forms appears to be the same affix noted under 'Formative Affixes,' No. 36 (pp. 682-683). It came specially to be associated with the 3rd person past and future in Bengali because there was no prominent affix for these finite verb forms—nothing comparable with the « -āhā, -ō, -ām » etc. of the first person, or with « -is, -āhā, -ēhā » of the second. Sometimes it was thought to be quite a polite form too. The same apparently was the reason for the other Magadhan speeches: and if Maithili restricted it to the transitive past 3rd person (*e.g.*, « dēkhalak » beside « calal »), it was because the past intransitive still retained a great deal of the original adjectival nature.

The link vowel of the pleonastic « -ka » in the 3rd person already occurs as « -ē » (and not « -ā » or « -ā ») in the ŚKK. In the future, the 3 pers. affix was « -ē », and « -kā » was simply added to it. In the past, it was apparently the transitive verbs in « -ē » in the 3rd person that first took up the « -ka » (we should compare with the state of things in Maithili in this matter): in the few instances of « -il-ē-ka » that we find in the ŚKK., there is no case of an intransitive verb. From the transitive it was apparently extended, as « -ē-ka », to the intransitive forms from the 15th century onwards.

724. Grierson, basing his observations on the modern Maithilī use of « -ka » for the 3rd person past of the transitive verb, explained this « -ka » both as an instrumental pronoun referring to the subject (e.g., « dēkhal-k-ai » *seen + by him* [k] + *object* [ai]), and as a nominative pronoun (e.g., « dēkhal-i-au-k » = *seen + by me* [i] + *for you* [au] + *he* [k]: JASB., 1895, p. 350). But an *ensemble* view of the whole question would certainly connect other facts with what we see in Maithilī, and make the simple explanation of the « ka » as the pleonastic affix as the more likely one, rather than regarding it as a problematic 3rd personal pronoun « -ka ». Grierson found support in postulating the 3rd personal pronoun « k- » from the Assamese forms « bōpāi » *my father*, « bāpā » *your father*, and « bāp-ē-k » *his father*: but another explanation may be suggested for these forms: « -āi (bōp-āi) » may be compared with the affix of endearment found in Bengali personal names (for which see *supra*, 'Formative Affixes,' No. 9, p. 662); « -ā (bāp-ā) » for the 2nd person is an affix of respect, such as we find in the Assamese 2nd personal forms of the verb; and « -k (bāp-ē-k) » is just the pleonastic affix, perhaps originally added as a polite form, to the naked word « bāp ».

Among other NIA. speeches, the Jaipurī form of Rājasthānī has a fondness for this pleonastic « -ka » which can be compared with the Magadhan usage (LSI., IX, II, p. 35).

725. The « -ka » affix has had a very important place among the affixes of IA. Already in OIA., from post-Vedic times, this affix was employed with a variety of forces (cf. Franklin Edgerton, 'The *k*-suffixes of Indo-Iranian,' Part I, Leipzig, 1911). It seems to have been re-introduced in MIA., evidently through the influence of a large percentage of the Skt. *tsa.* and *stsa.* which showed it. The pleonastic use of it has been exhaustively noted by Pāṇini. We find that the « -ka » could be used in Skt. pleonastically, or with a sense of contempt, pity, littleness, or unfamiliarity, in connexion with all sorts of forms—inflected pronouns and inflected verbs (mainly 3rd pers. sg.), as well as indeclinables, in addition to noun bases (cf. Pāṇini, V, iii, 71-78, 85, 86): e.g., the instances given by the grammarians,

« uccaiḥ : uccakaiḥ ; śanaiḥ : śanakaiḥ ; tvayā : tvayakā ; yuvayōḥ : yuvakayōḥ ; yuṣmāsu : yuṣmakāsu ; jalpati : jalpataki ; pacati : pacataki ; pāti : pātaki ; svapiti : svapitaki ; ōhi : ōhaki » ; etc. It is not unlikely that a revived « -ka, -kka » should develop in MIA. and NIA. a similar employ as a pleonastic.

[II] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX « -ra ».

726. An affix « -ra » occurs in dialectal NB. and in MB. In NB. this is found in West Rāḍha (e.g., in the Sarākī dialect of Ranchi) in connexion with the conjunctive in « -i(y)ā » : e.g., বাইআর « jāiār » = jāiā-rā » *having gone*, খাইআর « khāiār » = khāiā-rā » *having eaten*, উঠিয়ার « uṭhiyār » = uṭhiyā-rā » *having risen* (LSI., V, I, pp. 88, 89) ; it is found also in the dialects of East Vāṅga—in Sylhet, Kachar and Mayang dialects, in Tipperab, Noakhali and Chittagong. The usage in East Vāṅga is more extensive : the « -ra » occurs not only with the conjunctive, e.g., Chittagong দিয়ারে, করিয়ারে, আইয়ারে « diyār-ē, kārīyār-ē, āiyār-ē » *on having given, on having done, on having come*, Mayang « ēilār-rā » *on having come*, but also with the present (radical) and the past conditional (< present participle) tenses, to indicate continuous or progressive action : e.g., E. Sylhet বাইয়ার, বাইআম, বাইরাম « jāiyār-rā, jāit-rām, jāi-rām » *I go, I am going* (beside বাইতেছি « jāitēchi » as in Standard Bengali) ; কর্তা « kārāt-rā » *is or are doing* ; বাইআয় « jāit-rā-y » *you are going* (beside বাইতেছ « jāitēchā ») ; হয়র « hāyār-rā » *is happening* ; and Mayang « pait-rā » *are getting*, « jā-r-gā » *he goes*, « tumi-te āho-r-ai (= āisa-r-āy) » *you are coming*, « sōre dākāite hin kōrtār-rā » *thieves and robbers are making destitute*, « āmi kākuti kōriyār » *we pray*, « bāpōk gum jā-r » *the father sleeps*, « tā huōr rākhe-r » *he tends swine*, « bōk paiyā mōring-kōrau-r-i » *I am dying of hunger*, etc., etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 419 ff.) ; Chittagong করির beside করি « kārī-rā, kārī » *I (we) do*, করর beside করস « kārār-rā, kārās » *you do*, করের beside করে « kārē-rā, kārē » *he does, they do*, খাইর, খাই « khāi-rā, khāi » *I eat*, খাওর « khāo-rā » *you eat*, খায়ের, খার « khāyēr-rā, khār-rā » *he eats*, আই উয়াসে মরির « āi uāsē mārī-rā » *I am dying through starvation*, আই তৌয়ার খেজমৎ করিয়ার « āi tōyār khēzmāt kārīyēr » *I am doing service for you*, etc. ; and Chakma « mārāṅ-ārā » *I am dying*, « gārāṅ-ārā » *I am doing*, « bhābē-rā » *he is thinking*, etc.

The MB. examples are all found in the ŚKK., and the <-ra> there occurs, not with the conjunctive, but with the finite tense forms—present, past and future, as well as imperative: thus: p. 39, আছের <āchē-rā> *is*; p. 195, শোভের <śōbhē-rā> *is beautiful*; p. 69, বাজের <bājē-rā> *sounds*; p. 152, গেলির <gēli-rā> *it went* (=gēlā-rā?); p. 2, চিত্তির <cinti-rā> *he deliberated* (non-l past in <-i>: *supra*, p. 947); p. 50, বেড়িলের <bēṛhilē-rā> *it surrounded*; pp. 50, 193, 279, দিবোর <dibō-rā> *I shall give*; p. 84, হৈবের <hāibē-rā> *it will be*; p. 334, কহিয়ারেঁ <kāhiā-r-ē> *let me narrate*; p. 11, কহিয়ার <kāhiā-r-ā> *do tell*; p. 72, খাখার <khāā-r-ā> *do eat*; pp. 16, 115, 319, 336, 394 দিয়ার <diā-rā> *do give*; p. 38, দিয়ার <diā-r-u> *let him give*. In the imperative forms, the base seems to be the non-l passive participle in <-iā>, to which <-rā> is added, and the whole is treated as a base to which the personal suffixes are attached. Cf. the Sylhet and Mayang forms, and the Chittagong idiom তুই দিয়ারে মুই দিয়া <tui diyā-r-ē mui diyā> *on your giving, I would give, or if you have given, then I have given also* (VSPdP., 1326, p. 251).

727. The fact of this <-ra> occurring in the two extreme dialect areas of Bengali—in Early West Bengali, in modern dialectal West Bengali, and in modern extreme Eastern and South-Eastern Bengali—would suggest that it was a common Bengali affix, but its development has been localised in certain tracts. It seems to occur sporadically in other dialects also in MB.: e.g., Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa' (Barisal), ধূপের ধোয়া দিয়ারে বাসিত করে কেশ <dhūpērḍ dhōā diyārē bāsitā kārē kēṣḍ> *perfumes hair with incense smoke* (VSP., p. 186).

The <-ra> affix apparently occurs in other NIA., outside Bengal and the Magadhan area. We find it in Rājasthānī (e.g., Mārwarī <hūya-r, whē-r> *having become* beside <hūy-naī, hō, hō-kar, whētō-kāṇaī>, <māra-r> *having struck* beside <mār-kar, mār-naī, mārū-naī>; Central Rājasthānī, Jaipurī etc., <whai-r, hō-r> *having become*, <māra-r> *having struck*; Mēwātī <hō-r, mār-ar>), where the affix <-ra> is added to the conjunctive participle; we find it in Pahārī, e.g., Khas-kurā <gārē-ra> *having done*, <bhayē-ra> *having been* (where the <-ra> has been explained as a conjunction meaning *and*, which is added to the oblique form of the passive

participle), beside the « -i » conjunctive « gari, bhai » *having done, having been* (LSI., IX, IV, p. 36); Sirmauri « khāy-rō » *having eaten* (where « -rō » seems to be a post-position: LSI., *ibid.*, p. 465); also « -rō » in other Pahārī dialects (LSI., *ibid.*, pp. 570, 602).

The etymology of the Bengali « -ra » is puzzling, and probably the source is not one, but many. In the NB. conjunctives, whether of West Rāḍha or of S.-E. Vanga, it can very well be post-positional in origin, from « pārṣ, pār-ē » *after*, used in an adverbial sense. We have Modern Bengali instances like W. Rāḍha যারো বাদে « jāyē bādē » *after having gone* (where « bādē » *after* is the Perso-Arabic « ba'd ») = Standard Colloquial গিরে পর « giyē pārṣ »: Cf. Haijong dialect (Maimansing) উঠিয়ামি « uṭhiyā-mi » *after getting up*, দেখিয়ামি « dēkhiyā-mi » *on seeing* where « -mi » is the locative affix (see *supra*, p. 751); we can also compare Marāṭhī « uṭhiyā-var » *on having risen*, « sōḍilyā-var » *on having left*, where « var=par ». The « -ra » in Khas-kurā, explained by Grierson as meaning *and* (< apara), can similarly be a postpositional form. In the present forms, in Bengali, the « -ra » can very well be the conjunction « āra, āara, aara < apara » *and*: « karē-rṣ » *does and=does, continues to do, is doing*. So, too, in the MB. past and future. But the addition of it to a verbal base, and then tagging on personal suffixes to it (as in the MB. imperative 1. « kāhiā-r-ō », 2. « kāhiā-r-ā », 3. « diā-r-u » and in NB. of E. Sylhet 1. « jāit-r-ām, jāi-r-ām » 2. « jāit-r-āy », 3. « jāit-r-ā », and Mayang 2. « āho-r-ai », 3. « kōrtā-r-ā ») is a unique phenomenon. I would suggest that here the « -r- » is the contracted form of « √kār », and the affix is simply the verbal auxiliary added on to the root: « kāhiārō < *kāhiā+karō » = « kathitaṁ karōmi » *I make it described, for* « kathayāmi » *I describe it*; « diāru < *diyā+karu » = « dattaṁ karōtu » *for* « dadātu »: « jāit-rām = *jāita+karō, *karām » (Bengali « √kār » + affix « -āmi ») = *going I do = I go on, I am going*; and a form like « jāi-rām » or « āhō-r-āi » shows a combination of a regular conjugation in the present + the « -r- < √kār » and personal affixes combined. The genitive affix « kara > -ārṣ » implying connexion may also have something to do with it.

[III] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX «-LI» OF MB.

728. The affix लि «-li» occurs in the ŚKK. less than half a dozen times with the future or precativ imperative : *e.g.*, करिहलि «*kārihāli*» *you will do* ; दिहलि «*dihāli*» *you will give* ; गाअ गड़ाहलि «*gāā gārāhāli*» *you will roll (your) body* ; চলিহলি «*calihāli*» *you will go*. An equivalent of this affix has not been found in any NB. dialect Bhōjpurīyā among Magadhan speeches has an «-l-» form which is added to the old present (or radical) tense to form a present definite or future (LSI., V, II, p. 52). In some of the Rājasthānī dialects, in Marāṭhī, in Khas-kurā, and in Garhwālī and Kumāūnī (Central Pahārī), the future is also expressed by an «-l-» form.

The MB. «-li», occurring as it does with an original future form to strengthen its force, seems to be equally a future-indicating suffix, as in the other NIA. speeches, and to be identical with that. Various derivations of this «-l-» suffix have been suggested (cf. Beames, 'Comp. Gramm.,' II, p. 163 ; Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Wilson Lectures,' p. 272 ; Hoernle, 'Gaudian Grammar,' §§ 501, 509 ; Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 241). The derivation suggested by Bloch for this suffix seems to be the most likely one : it is the passive participle of a Prakrit root «lē» *to take* (corresponding to the Skt. « $\sqrt{\text{lā}}$ » : cf. similar alternation between Prakrit and NIA. « $\sqrt{\text{dē}}$ » and Skt. « $\sqrt{\text{dā}}$ »), such as we find, for instance, in Hindōstānī «li-ā», in Brajbhākā «li-nau», in dialectal Bengali লিলে «li-l-ē» (= in Standard Bengali নিলে «ni lē» with merging of নী « $\sqrt{\text{nī}}$ » and লহ « $\sqrt{\text{lāh}}$ < $\sqrt{\text{labh}}$ » in it). This «*li(a) > li» would seem to be added pleonastically, and in MB. it is used in both genders. Cf. similar future use of «gā, gau (< gata)» in Western Hindi (and in Maithilī).

[IV] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX «KHAN» OR «KHUN».

729. The colloquial of Calcutta and the surrounding districts uses the word খন «-khānḍ» or খুন «-khunḍ», or অখন, অখুন «-ākhānḍ, -ākhunḍ» after vowels, pleonastically with all persons in the past and future tenses : *e.g.*, যাবো-(অ)খুন, দিলুম-খুন, হবে-(অ)খুন «jābō-(ā)khunḍ,

dilum-khunṣ, hābō-(ā)khunṣ > *I shall go, I (we) gave, it will be*. There is just a suggestion of the finality or instantaneous completion of the action : here the force of the OIA. < kṣaṇa > *instant*, its source, is preserved. Its origin has been given *supra*, p. 857, under 'Adverbs of Time in খন < khāṇṣ >.' It seems to occur also in Magahī, in forms like < kailṣkai-khan > *did*, < kabalṣkai-khan > *said*, < chōṛalṣkai-khan > *gave up*, < choraṭṣkai-khan > *caused to give up*, < ailai-khan > *came*, besides < kariai-khan > *I do, I shall do*, etc. (as in the 'Gospel of St. Mark, in Magadhi,' Calcutta, 1890 : a form which does not occur in Grierson).

In dialectal Bengali (Khulna, Jessore, etc.), this form has been reduced to < nē > (< ānē < āānē < āhānē [oxone], = ākhānē) with the future only : দেবোনে < debō-nē > *I shall give*, যাবোনে < jābā-nē > [zabane] *you will go*, etc.

[V] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX '-ṭā.'

730. The Mayang dialect apparently uses a pleonastic affix < tā > : thus, < eil-tā > *he came* < eilā-tā > *they have come*, < peilāng-tā > *I got*, < korauri-tā > *I am making* < ose-tā, āse-tā > *is*, beside < eil > *he came*, < dekhilo > *he saw*, < nā-peil-gā > *did not get*, < korauri > *I do*, < āse > *is*, etc. This < -tā > is found with nouns and pronouns also (LSI., V, I, pp. 419 ff.).

Mayang does not distinguish between cerebrals and dentals, as much Assamese, and this < -tā > can well represent a cerebral < -ṭā >. This < -ṭā > apparently is the 'Enclitic Definitive' noted at pp. 780-781, and at p. 686. Its use with verbs is not noticed elsewhere in Bengali, but it seems to be present in Oṛiyā as < -ṭi >, especially in Early Oṛiyā : e.g., < tu jibu-ṭi > *will you go ?* (cf. LSI., V, II, p. 381, Expletive Additions) : Early Oṛiyā, 'Dhruva-caritra' (Contai ed., p. 16) < pāibā-ṭi kāhi > *where will one get it ?*; 'Bhāgavata, Vāstra-haraṇa' p. 8, < nārākē pāribā-ṭi jāi > *will fall in hell*; 'Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,' p. 3, < sē dhārmē bāñcā-ṭi-ki sukhē > *live happily in that dharma* (cf. Oṛiyā < ṭikē > = Bengali একটু, টুক < ekṣ-ṭu, -ṭu-kṣ >, p. 780); 'Rāsa-līlā,' p. 8, < āmbhārā pūrilā-ṭi kāla > *my time is over*; etc.

[VI] THE PLEONASTIC AFFIX «-ÐA».

731. In the OB., the two forms «gāi-ða» *sang* and «sanāiða» *signified* occur (Caryā 2). They represent OIA. causative passive participles «gāpitam» and «saṃjñāpitam» + the pleonastic affix «-ṭa > -ða» = «-ṛa» in NIA. (= Formative Affix No. 46, pp. 689 ff., *supra*). Use of this pleonastic affix for verb-forms is known in other NIA., although this figures no longer in that connexion in Bengali (of Rājasthānī dialects, LSI., IX, II, pp. 30, 59).

[I] THE PARTICIPLES.

[I] THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

732. The present participle occurs in Bengali in two forms: in the base-form in অস্ব «-āntā», and in the locative in ইতে «-itē». It represents the OIA. active present participle in «-ant-» (the «śatṛ» of the Indian grammarians). These have been discussed under 'Formative Affixes,' Nos. 3 and 28. Other instances of the «-āntā» form may be given: পড়ন্ত «pār-āntā» *falling*, নিবন্ত «nib-āntā» *dying out* (as a flame), উঠন্ত «uṭh-āntā» *rising*, জ্বলন্ত «jwāl-āntā» *burning*, সাজন্ত «sāj-āntā» *fitting*, ফুটন্ত «phuṭ-āntā» *blossoming, boiling (bubbling)*, অকুরন্ত «ā-phur-āntā» *unending*, etc. The affix «-āntā» is an archaic survival (doubtless a literary one) for Bengali, with the «-n-» fully retained: it ought to have been *অৎ «-āt-»: we actually find «-āt-» in some rare instances in MB.: e.g., VSP., p., 658, জীবন্ত «jīyātā» *living*. The participle as an attribute of the subject of a sentence, e.g., as in Hindōstānī (cf. Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' p. 332), is not found in Bengali. The Assamese equivalent is «-ōt-»: «kār-ōt-ā» *doer*, «cāl-ōt-ā» *walker*, «di-ōt-ā» *giver*, etc. Oṛiyā has a form in «-u, -ū» as in «kāru, kārū» (which is different in origin from the «-āntā» participle,) as the present participle absolute (see *supra*, p. 678). In Maithilī, the affix occurs as «-ait», fem. «-ait-i», in Magahī as «-ait, -at, -it» (feminine with «-ī» added); and in Bhōjpurīyā the same forms as those of Magahī occur.

The absolute or attributive use of the «-āntā» participle is found only with one root in the Caryās: thus in 18, we have «jīvantē maalē

(=maile) nāhi bisēṣō » *there is no difference between the living and the dead*, where it is instrumental ; also in 49, « jivantē mailē nāhi bisēṣa » ; and in 23, « jivantē bhelā bihaṇi maēla » *died without having been a living one*, where it is apparently nominative. The form is also restricted in use in eMB., but a few instances are found : thus ŚKK., p. 256, জীবন্ত « jiyantā » *living*, p. 276, মারন্তা « mārāntā » *one who strikes*.

733. The present participle in ইতে « -itē » represents the proper Bengali transformation of the MIA. « -anta » to « -ita »—the native line of development in the language, represented in the Past Conditional or Habitual also. It is an inflected form—a locative absolute, and it indicates the condition under which an act is done. In dialectal Bengali, the uninflected form occurs either in forming the progressive tense (e.g., কর্তাছে [kortase] < করিত্ + আছে « kārīt + āchē » in Maimansing Bengali), or to indicate either the simple participle, or when repeated a condition (e.g., আসিৎ আসিৎ « āsit āsit » *while coming* in Manbhum, Khārīā-ṭhār dialect: LSI., V, I, pp. 93, 94). A locative of the present participle in « -it- » with the common postpositional affix for the locative case, viz., ত « -tā », seems to feature in the progressive tense in dialectal North Bengali: see *infra*, under 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses.' By repeating the « -itē » form, continuity of the conditional or concurrent event is indicated: thus, আমি যাইতে সে আসিল « āmi jāitē sē āsilā » *on my going* (lit. *I going*), *he came* ; আমি যাইতে যাইতে সে আসিল « āmi jāitē jāitē sē āsilā » *while I was going*, *he came* ; আমি খাইতে খাইতে বলিব « āmi khāitē khāitē bālibā » *I shall narrate while eating* ; তার এমন ভাই থাকতে সে কষ্ট পায় « tāṛṣ emāṇṣ bhāi thāktē sē kaṣṭa pāy » *with such a brother living*, *he suffers* ; সে নাচিতে নাচিতে আসে « sē nācitē nācitē āsē » *he comes dancing* ; গান গাইতে গাইতে সূতা কাটে « gāṇṣ gāitē gāitē sutā kāṭē » *spins while singing*, etc. The « -itē » form practically is in adverbial relation to the finite verb. This adverbial employ with an oblique form of the present participle is found in other NIA. speeches: e.g., Early Assamese « -āntē » (fairly common) ; Oriyā « āntē », e.g., (« kārāntē » *whilst doing*, also *on doing*, *about to do*: cf. « cālāntē mēdinī kāmṣāi » *the earth trembles while he walks*, as in Jagannāthadāsa) ; Maithilī « -itabī », (e.g., « dekhitabī » *on seeing*) ; Hindōstānī

« -tē » (see Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 333, 335), e.g., « sārī rāt talaphtē kaṭī » *the whole night passed in restlessness* (lit. *I being agitated*), « ḍartē ḍartē maī pās giyā » *I approached (it) in great fear (fearing much)*, « ham gātē gātē sītī haī » *we (fem.) keep singing while we stitch*: in all the above, the oblique form is a locative; but in Old Western Rājasthānī, the source of Gujarātī and Mārwarī, where also this adverbial participle occurs, and in Marāṭhī similarly, the oblique form seems to be an absolute plural genitive (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 124: but Jules Bloch and V.K. Rājawāḍē suggest the MIA. absolutive in « -tvā-nam, -ttānam » as in Pali and Ardha-māgadhī as the source of the Marāṭhī as well as Gujarātī « -tā »: 'Langue Marathe,' p. 260).

In the Caryās, the locative or adverbial participle occurs in a number of instances: e.g., « (15) jāntē, jāntē *while going*; (16) buḍantē *while sinking*; (20) biārantē *while discussing*, (23) paīsantē *while entering*; (30) suṇantē *on hearing*; (31) cāhantē cāhantē *while seeing*; (39) amiā ācchāntē bisa gilēsi *while there is nectar thou swallowest poison*; (42) mūḍhā acchāntē lōa na pēkhaī *while he remains a fool a man does not see*; dudha majhē laḍa ṇacchāntē dēkhaī =? dūḍha mājhē laḍa ācchāntē na dēkhaī *he does not see the butter (fat) while it is the midst of the milk*; (44) āṇa cāhantē āṇa biṇāṭhā *while asking for the one, the other is destroyed*; (50) jāgantē *while keeping awake*; cf. also (6) « taraṅgantē = ? turaṅgantē » *going quickly*; and « ghara acchāntē mā jāṅṅra baṇē », *supra*, p. 960.

MB. instances: ŚKK., p. 11, পাছে পাছে জাইতে পথ হারাইল আন্ধি « pāchē pāchē jāitē pāthā hārāilā āmhi » *I lost the way while going after (her)*; p. 15, বাহত বলয়া শোভে পাএত হুপূর। চলিতে চলিতে তোর রুণুণু বাজে ॥ « bāhu-tā bālāyā sōbhē, pāē-tā nupūrā: cālītē cālītē tōrā ruṇu-jhuṇu bājē » *armlets grace (your) arms, on (your) feet anklets: while walking, these your (trinkets) tinkle*; p. 27, তাক সোঁঅরিতে মোর মনে বাড়ে তাপ « tākā sōñritē mōrā mānē bārē tāpā » *sadness grows in my mind while I remember it all*; p. 355, যেবা কিছু দুখ দিলে। পার হৈতে নাএ « jēbā kichu dukhā dilē pārā haitē nāē » *all the trouble I gave (thee) while crossing in the boat*;

ibid, না শুনিলাম তোমার বোল লজ্জা জাইতে পাগী « nā śunilā tōrā bōlā lāṣṣ jātē pāgi » *I did not listen to thy words while fetching water* ; p. 376, চাহিতে চাহিতে পাইল আচম্বিত « cāhitē cāhitē pāilā ācāmbitā » *while seeking (looking for), found of a sudden* ; etc., etc. ; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 24, কান্দিতে কান্দিতে যান ভরত শত্রুঘন « kānditē kānditē jānāṣṣ Bhārātā Śātrughānāṣṣ » *Bharata and Śatrughna go weeping* ; VSP., p. 709, নকুলক দেখন্তে সকল যায় মরি « Nākulā-kā dēkhāntē śakālā jāyāṣṣ māri » *all go dead while seeing N.* ; ibid, p. 182, দুই চক্ষু থাকিতে « dui cākṣu thākitē » *while the two eyes exist* ; etc., etc.

This adverbial or locative absolute present participle goes back to OIA., and occurs throughout the history of IA. : cf. Rig-Veda, I, 184, « ucchāntīyām uśāsi » *at Dawn as it shines forth > when Dawn shines forth* (Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' § 205) ; see also *supra*, p. 959.

From MB. times, the adverbial present participle in « -itē » has been confused with the infinitive in « -itē », for which see *infra*, under 'Verbal Nouns and Infinitives.'

[II] THE PAST (PASSIVE) PARTICIPLE.

734. The Bengali Passive Participle comes from the OIA. « -(i)ta », fortified either by « -ā » or by « -il-, -il-ā ». We have thus two types, the « -ā » type, and the « -l- » type, of which the latter is obsolete in the Standard Colloquial. They have been fully discussed under the 'Past Tense,' *supra*, pp. 940-959. In NB., the perfect tenses are made with a verb form in ইয়া « -iyā » + the auxiliary substantive verb « āch » (and « thāk ») : করিয়াছি « kārīyā-chi » *I have done*, করিয়াছিলাম « kārīyā-chilām » *I had done*, করিয়া থাকিব « kārīyā thākibā » *I shall have done*. In Early Bengali, this « -iyā » occurs as ই « -i », and also as ইআ, ইয়া, ইয়া « -iā, -iyā, -iñā » etc.,—and the nasalised forms are still in use in West Bengali dialects.

This « -iyā » form is commonly explained as the conjunctive form = *having done*, but in the periphrastic combination of the tense, it is likely that it is the passive participle rather than the conjunctive indeclinable (see *infra*, under 'Compound or Periphrastic Tenses').

That the « -iyā, -i » form represents the Passive Participle also (in addition to the conjunctive) is seen from its adjectival or adverbial employ which has occasionally a present participial force : thus, *যাৰে লক্ষ্মীৰ মূৰ্ত্তি, দুই পাশে দুই হাতী শুঁড় উৰু কৰিয়া দাঁড়াইয়া* « mājhē Lakṣmīrṣ mūrṭti, dui pāsē dui haṭi śūrṣ ūcu kārīyā dāṛāiyā » *in the middle the figure of Lakṣmī, on two sides two elephants standing with trunks raised high* ; *শিব নাচি নাচি যায়* « Śibā nāci nāci jāy » *Śiva goes dancing* ; Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 20, *কান্দিয়া কান্দিয়া রাণী আইল বাহির* « kāndiyā kāndiyā rāṇi āilā bāhirṣ » *the queen came out weeping* : cf. *কান্দিতে কান্দিতে বান ভরত শক্ৰঘন* at p. 1002. The transition in significance from the passive participle adjective to the active present participle can easily happen through intransitive verbs.

Causative and Denominative verbs form their passive participle in *আন, আনো* « -ānā, -ānō », which is discussed below under those verbs.

[J] THE CONJUNCTIVES.

735. There are two Indeclinable Conjunctives, or Gerunds, in Bengali, one ending in *ইয়া* « -iyā » (> Standard Coll. *এ* « -ē » with mutation of preceding vowel), the other in *ইলে* « -ilē » (> Standard Coll. *লে* « -lē », with accompanying mutation through influence of the « -i- »). Both mean *having done*, or *having finished* : but « -iyā » indicates merely a succession of actions or events done by or with reference to the same subject, while « -ilē » implies a condition or precedence in a succession of acts performed by the same subject or by different subjects : e.g., *আমি আসিয়া দেখিলাম* « āmi āsiyā dēkhillām » *having come, I saw* = *I came and saw* ; *সে আসিলে (এলে) পরে আমি দেখিলাম* « sē āsilē (ēlē) pāre āmi dēkhillām » *I saw after he came* ; *আমি সময় মত ফিরিলে যেতে পারি* « āmi sāmāyṣ-mātā phirlē jētē pāri » = *I may go if I return in time* ; *খেয়ে নাও, খেলে পর হাঁটতে পারবে* « khēyē nāḍ, khēlē pāreṣ hāṭtē pārbē » *eat (your fill), you will be able to walk if you eat (enough)* ; *আমি গেলে তুমি যেও* « āmi gēlē tumi jēḍ » *you will go if I go (after I have gone)* ; *দিলে দেয়* « dilē dēy » *gives when one gives him*, *পেলে দেয়* « pelē dēy » *gives if he gets beside* *পেয়ে (পাইয়া) দেয়* « pēyē = pāiyā dēy » *gives after he gets, etc., etc.* There are other points of difference in the idiomatic use of these two forms (cf. Milne, 'Bengali Grammar,' pp. 180-189), but

the outstanding fact is that « -ilē » is conditional with reference to the same subject or different subjects, and « -iyā » is sequential with the same subject.

[I] THE CONJUNCTIVE OR ABSOLUTIVE IN ইলে « -ilē ».

736. The conjunctive in ইলে « -ilē » is based on the passive participle in « -il- », and it is occasionally an adjective and occasionally a noun, like the « -(i)ta- » participle in Sanskrit and also like its cognate « -al- » form in Bihārī. It is adjectival in character when it occurs absolutely with a noun or pronoun : e.g., রামে মারলেও ম'রবে, রাবণে মারলেও ম'রবে « Rāmē mārle-ō mōrbē, Rābāṇē mārle-ō mōrbē » *he (Kālanēmi) will die, whether Rāma kills him or Rāvaṇa*; আমি তাকে দিলে তবে সে বাঁচে « āmi tākē dilē tābē sē bācē » *he would live only if I give him*; and it is a verbal noun where it occurs with the genitive, e.g., আমার না দিলে কিছু আসে যায় না, কিন্তু তোমার দেওয়া চাই « āmārṇā nā dilē kichu āsē jāy nā, kintu tomārṇā dēwā cāi » *it doesn't matter (lit. nothing comes or goes) through my not giving, but you should give (lit. your giving is wanted)*; or where it forms an absolute clause word : e.g., দিলে হয় « dilē hāy » *it would be well to give, it won't be bad to give, lit. if there were a giving, it may be (good)*; cf. Standard Colloquial (dialectal) আমার আদেখলায় = * আদেখিলাএ « āmārṇā ādēkhlāy < * ā-dēkhl-ā-ē » *me not seeing, during my not seeing*.

« -il-ē » is a locative form, and as a locative it has an absolute or conditional force. It can be compounded with other verbs in « -itē » and in « -iyā », to express, in the former case, a subjunctive or purposive gerund (e.g., করিতে গেলে « kārītē gēlē » *if one is to do, when one is to do*, খাইতে দিলে « khāitē dilē » *when one gives to eat, if one is given to eat*), and, in the latter case, to denote a past conditional (e.g., খাইয়া গেলে « khāiyā gēlē », *after one has eaten or after one has started to eat on, or, after one has finished eating*, দেখিয়া নিলে « dēkhiyā nilē » *after one has finished seeing*, etc.). Unlike the conjunctive in « -iyā », it cannot be repeated to indicate repetition or continuity : e.g., করিয়া করিয়া, ক'রে ক'রে « kārīyā-kārīyā, kōrē-kōrē » *having done again and again*, but not « kārīlē-kārīlē », the reason apparently being that as a past base « -ilē » is already perfective and final, and continuous or imperfect action cannot be well expressed by it. This

doubling of the « -iyā » or « -i » conjunctive is found OB., and also its equivalent form in MIA. and OIA. (e.g., saṁsmṛtya saṁsmṛtya, pītvā pītvā, etc.)

Instances of the conjunctive in « -ilē » from OB. and MB. : (Caryā 2) « rāti bhailē » *when it is night* ; (5) « sāṅkama-ta caḍilē » *after getting upon the bridge* ; (20) « -jaubaṇa mōra bhailē si pūrā » ? *as soon as my youth was mature* ; ŚKK., p. 84, নান্দ গোপ শুনিলে হৈবের কোণ গতি « Nāda-gōpā ṣuṇilē hāibērā kōṇā gātī » *what will be the fate (then), when the cowherd Nanda hears?* ; p. 98, তপত দুধ নালে ন পীয়ে, জুড়াইলে সোআদ তার « tāpātā dudhā nālē nā piē, juṛāilē sōādā tāra » *hot milk is not drunk through a straw, its taste (comes) when it is cooled* ; p. 107, বল কইলে জানারিবা রাজাএ « bālā kailē jāṇāyibā rājāē » *shall make the king know if you use force* ; p. 297, যে বুধি করিলে রহে আক্ষার জীবন « jē budhi kārile rahē āmhārā jibāna » *by doing such contrivance by which my life can endure* ; p. 299, হেন কাম করিলে নাসিবা তোর পাশে « hēnā kāmā kārile nāsibā tōra pāśē » *shan't come near you if you do such a thing* ; etc. etc.

The conjunctive use of the locative form of the « -il- » base is found in other Eastern Magadhan : e.g., Oṛiyā « dēkhilē » *if one had seen, when one has seen* ; Assamese « hāl-ē, hāl-āt » (= Bengali « hāilē, * hāilē-tē »). In Maithili, Magahī and Bhōjpuriyā, the ablative of the verbal noun in « -al- » is used : e.g., Maithili « carī nahī bhētālā-sā » *through not getting fodder*, « ghumalā-sā ki lābh ahī » *what profit is there from wandering about* (Grierson, 'Maithili, Grammar,' p. 48 : the adjectival « -al- » is rather restricted in Maithili, see Grierson, pp. 113-114, and hence the locative absolute use of it is not found in Maithili, corresponding to Bengali সে এলে « sē ēlē » *on his coming*, etc.) ; Bhōjpuriyā « paṛhalē, paṛhalē-sē » (Hoernle, 'Gaudian Grammar,' § 488). With the locative use of the « -il- » participle in Bengali we may compare the Hindōstānī oblique use of the past participle to denote a condition or sequence (see Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 337-338 : e.g., kyū itnī rāt gayē tum āyē » *why have you come at this late hour of the night*, lit. *when so much of the night is gone* : = কেন এত রাত গেলে তুমি এলে « kēnā ētā rātā gēlē tumi ēlē »), « pahar din carhē, maī utrā » *when the sun had risen to one watch, I came down* = বেলা এক পহর হ'লে « bēlā

ekṣ pāhāṣ hōlē >). Compare also Marāṭhī « cālalyā-s », dative of the perfect participle in « -l- », = *having walked*.

The use of the passive participle locative, absolutely, with a noun or pronoun in the locative, to indicate the conjunctive, is found in OIA. and MIA.: e.g., « dṛṣṭē sūryē, punar api bhavān vāhavēd adhva-sēsam » (Mēgha-dūta) : « alē, lāa-sālaē haggē ; gōṇā malē (=maḍē), aṇṇē kiṇiśśam ; pavahaṇē bhaggē, avalaṇ ghaṭṭiśśam ; tuma n malē (=maḍē), avalē pavahaṇa-vāhakē huviśśadi » *I say, I am the king's brother-in-law ; if the oxen are killed, I shall buy others ; if the carriage is broken, I shall have another built ; if you die, then there will be another carriage-driver (Mṛcchakaṭīka) ; etc., etc.*

[II] THE CONJUNCTIVE IN ই « -i », ইয়া « -iyā », ইয়ী « -iyā ».

737. In the « sādhu-bhāṣā », the gerund or conjunctive is formed by adding « -iyā » to the root : চলিয়া « cāl-iyā » *having gone*, রাখিয়া « rākhi-iyā » *having kept* : in the Standard Colloquial, this « -iyā » is contracted to « -ē », and there is mutation of the preceding vowel : ঢলে [ḍole, রেখে [rekhe]. In MB., especially in West Bengal texts, « -iyā » also occurs in a nasalised form, side by side with the non-nasalised one, and this is written ইয়ী, ইয়ী, ঞী, ইয়ী « -iyā̃, -iñā, -ñā, -iñā » etc. This nasalised form was a living one in some forms of West Bengali, and at the present day it occurs as (ই)য়ে, ইয়ী « -(i)yē, -iyyā̃ » [iṣ] in the West Rājha dialects. In addition to this « -iyā, -iyā̃ », MB. (and the NB. language of poetry) has another form—in « -i » ; e.g., চলি, রাখি « cāl-i, rākhi-i ». The Caryās show all the three, as « -iā, -iā̃, -i (-i) » : thus, « -i, -i » : « (1) pāṇḍi *having spread* ; (2) duhi *having milked*, cauri *having stolen*, thira kari *making steady* ; (4) cāpi *having pressed*, cumbi *having kissed* (6) chāḍi *giving up* ; (7) dēkhi *having seen*, gaī *having gone* ; (9) paīsi *having entered* ; (15) chāḍi ; (16) suni *having heard* ; (21) uṭhi *having got up* ; (22) raci raci *building again and again* ; (26) dhuni dhuni *carding (cotton) again again* », etc., etc. ; « -iā » : « (1) ḍiṭa (=ḍiḍha) *karia making firm*, pucchia *questioning* ; (5) phā(ḍ)ḍia *splitting* ; (10) bhañjia *breaking* ; (15) bujia *having closed* ; (39) nāśia *destroying* », etc. ; « -iā̃ » : « (2) dēkhaīā = ? dēkhiā *having seen*, bāhiā

walking (< bearing) ; (11) *māriā having killed* ; (12) *tōḍiā destroying*, *kariā having done* ; (35) *bhapiā having spoken* ; (50) *laiā having taken* ; and « -iā » : « (26) *laiā having taken*, (50) *diā having given* (= instrumental postposition) » ; etc.

In South-East Bengali (Chittagong and Chakma dialects) there is an affix (ন « -nē » (-iā-nē), or নে « nāi » (-i-nāi) which figures in connexion with the « -iyā-i » conjunctives : e.g., আইয়ানে « āiyā-nē » *having come, on coming* (Chittagong : LSI., V, I, p. 313), and « jēi-nāi » *having gone*, « ēi-nāi » *having come* (= āisi-nāi), « jāgi-nāi » *having kept awake*, « hāi-nāi » *having become*, « di-nāi » *having given*, « dēi-nāi » *having seen* (= dēkhi-nāi), « bēi-nāi » *having sat down* (< bahi-nāi, basi-nāi), etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 324 ff.). This « -n- » affix seems to be connected with the « -ā, -nā, -yā » of OB., MB. and dialectal NB. (W. Bengali). We can compare the Early Oṛiyā conjunctive affix « -iñā », found plentifully in literature (e.g., Jagannātha-dāsa's 'Bhāgavata, Kaṇṣa-janma' : « emāntē śuṇi Śukā yāti, hāṣiṇa rājā-ku kāhānti » *hearing this, the sage Śuka after having smiled, says to the king* : ibid., 'Rāsa-līlā,' « pāśiṇā gālē ēhi bātē, dēkhiṇā cāhānti ucātē » *entering, they went by this way ; seeing, they look sadly* ; 'Rukmiṇi-haraṇa,' « kānyāku kārāiṇā snānā » *after having bathed the bride* ; « bhājiṇā sārbe kālē cūrā » *breaking, they pulverised everything*, etc., etc., occurring side by side with the other Oṛiyā conjunctive affix « -i », the one which in actual use now. But apparently this « -iñā » form is obsolete now.

In the other Magadhan speeches, the « -i » affix is the only one which obtains, and in the Bihārī dialects this « -i » conjunctive is strengthened by the conjunctive of « √ kar » — « kar-i » (also in Oṛiyā, where it often becomes « kiri », e.g., « dēkhi-kiri » *having seen*), « kar », or by a dative postposition « kai, kā, kē ». The « -i » conjunctive features in other NIA. : the « -i » is sometimes dropped (as in Awadhī and Hindōstānī), but generally it is reinforced by « kari, kar » or by some post-position.

So far as Bengali is concerned, we have thus these forms : « -i ; -i-ā ; -i-ā » ; and connected with the last is S.-E. Bengali « -i-nē, -iā-nē ; -i-nāi, -iā-nāi », and Oṛiyā « -iñā ».

In the Māl Pāṣāṛiā dialect of Western Bengali (Santal Parganas), the word হেনক « hēnākṣ » is added to the conjunctive, which sometimes retains the nasalisation characterising this West Rāḍha speech : e.g., গুটিয়াই হেনক « guṭiyāi hēnākṣ » *having collected*, উঠি-হেনক « uṭhi-hēnākṣ » *having risen*, গয়ে-হেনক « gāyē-hēnākṣ » *having gone*, আসি-হেনক « āsi-hēnākṣ » *having come*, etc. (LSI., V, I, pp. 99, 100). This word « hēnākṣ » occurs also with the noun : e.g., চালচলন-হেনক « cālṣ-cālāṇṣ-hēnākṣ » *following (bad) ways, through bad ways*. This « hēnākṣ » is obscure, but it may be a verbal noun from « √hā—hāāṇṣ » (= Standard Bengali হাওন « hāōṇṣ ») put in the dative and used postpositionally (cf. the change of « √kār » to « √kēr » in the same dialect). In any case, the conjunctive with « hēnākṣ » stands apart in Bengali dialects.

738. The conjunctive has always had a most important place in the history of IA., and in giving this place to this form in IA., Dravidian influences seem to have something to do. In the Vedic speech, the conjunctive is formed by « -tvī, -tvā, -tvāya », which are old cases of a verbal noun stem in « -tu » (this « -tu » also figures, in the accusative and dative « -tum » and « -tavē », as infinitive affixes in OIA.), and by « -yā, -yā (t-yā, -t-ya) » (Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' §§ 989 ff.). The « -tvī, -tvā, -tvāya » group occurs with the root not compounded with a preposition, adverb or substantive, and the « -(t)yā, -(t)ya » group occurs with the root when it is so compounded : but this rule was not adhered to in many early Skt. works (Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' § 990, 2), and was entirely ignored in MIA., no discrimination along that line being made in their use. In addition to these affixes, it can be assumed, from the statements of grammarians (e.g., Pāṇini, VII, i, 48) and from the forms actually in use in Early MIA. (Pali, Aśōkan Prakrits), that other ones—« -tvī-nam » and « -tvā-nam », and probably also « tū-nam »—were also in use in OIA., although they have not been found in Vedic and Skt. literature. In Early MIA., the affixes employed are : (Pali) « -tvā, -tvāna, -tūna, -ya » (the last often assimilated with preceding consonants), « -iya » (with a developed « -i- », from the preceding one), and « -yā-na, -iyā-na » (a comparatively rare form, with « -na » added to « -ya », or « -yā », by analogy of « -tvā :

-tvā-na > : cf. W. Geiger, 'Pali Grammatik,' §§ 208 ff.), as well as «-tuṃ» of the infinitive (in a few rare cases: E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 128); and (Asōkan) «-tpā<-tvā», «-ti=-tti<-tvī», «-tunaṃ», «-ya, -tya» (assimilated), besides «-tu» (= «tuṃ» of the OIA. infinitive, transferred to the conjunctive: cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asoka Inscriptions, Text and Glossary,' Calcutta, 1924, I, p. xxxvii). In Second MIA. the forms employed or noted are: «-tvā > -ttā, -tā (after nasals)»; «-tvā > * -tu(v)ā > -dua»; «-tvānam > -ttāṇaṃ»; «-tvānam > * -tuvāṇaṃ > -tuāṇaṃ»; «-tūṇa(m) > -dūṇa > -ūṇa(m)»; «-tvī > -ppi, -pi, -vi»; «-tvīnam > -ppiṇu, -piṇu, -viṇu»; «-tya > -cca»; «-ya > -ia» (also assimilated forms); and also «-(i)yāṇa(m)», like the Pali «-(i)yāna»; and through a blend of «-tvā» and «-tyā, -tya», there is «-ccā», and through contamination with «-tvāṇa(m) > -ttāṇa(m)» and «-yā > -yāṇaṃ», there arose also the further extended form «-ccāṇa, -ccāṇaṃ»; besides, there is «-āē» (< OIA. -āva), as well as «-ya > -ia > -i» as in Apabhraṃśa (Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen,' §§ 581-594). And in addition to all these, a form «-dāṇi» is given by Vararuci (X, 16) for Māgadhī (this «-dāṇi» is probably for «-ttāna», with «-d-» on the analogy of «-dūṇa < -tūna»).

Of all these forms found in Second MIA. through the whole of the Indo-Aryan tract, the employ of particular ones in different parts of the country can roughly be noted. The «-tvī(naṃ) > -ppi(ṇu), -vi(ṇu)» form occurred in the Gujarāṭī-Rājasthānī area (cf. H. Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' p. 42; 'Sanatkumāra-carita,' p. 18; Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 131, 1). The «-tūna > -dūṇa > -ūna» affix was current in Mahārāṣṭrī (but the Modern Marāṭhī «-ūn» for the conjunctive, with the dental «-n-», does not represent the Mahārāṣṭrī «-ūṇa», but is another form, «-ō-n-i, -au-n-i» in Early Marāṭhī, of nominal origin, in which «-n-i» is a post-position: cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 261-262). The affix which seems to have been commonly employed in the North-East, in the Midland, and in the North-West, and also in the South-West, in the Late MIA. period, was «-ya > -ia, -i», and probably also «-ī». The MB., Oṛiyā, Assamese, Bihārī, as well as Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī «-i» is

obviously derived from it : also the OB. strengthened form < -I > ; and < -ia > occurs also as an archaic literary form in OB. It also seems very probable that the extended form of < -ya >, namely, < -iyāna, -(i)yāṇa(m) > (as in Pali and Ardha-māgadhī, the latter an eastern speech : Pischel, § 592) was current in the form of Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa prevailing in Bengal : and this < -(i)yāṇa(m) > can easily give the dialectal Bengali *ইয়াঁ* < -iyā >, *ইয়াঁ* < -iñā > : cf. MIA. < tāṇa(m) > > *তাঁ* < tā >, < tēṇa(m) > > *তৈ* < tē > (*supra*, p. 373). In S.-E. Bengali, the nasal could well be preserved (cf. East Bengali *তান্* < tāṇ > honorific genitive < < tāṇa[m] = tēṣān >); and this < -iyāṇa(m) > form (of which < *-iṇa, -ina > is evidently a contraction), looking like a verbal noun, was put in the locative in Chittagong Bengali and in Chakma (< -iṇ-ē, -in-ai >). Cf. the use of < -mi > in Haijong : *দেখিয়াঁমি* < dēkhiyā-mi > *having seen*, etc. (*supra*, pp. 751, 775). We cannot postulate any postpositional form < -inai > for the S.-E. Bengali (like the suffix in Gujarātī < kari-nē > *having done*, < thai-nē > *having been*): such a post-position (< -nai < kaṇṇahi- < kaṇa- > : Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 131, § 71) is unknown to Bengali. The Oṛiyā < -i-ṇa > is simply by analogical addition of the < -ṇa > to the < -i > form : MIA. < *calia, caliyāṇa(m) > probably gave rise to a similar juxtaposition in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa < cali, caliṇa(m) >. The Bengali strong form, and the most characteristic one, *viz.*, < -iā, -iyā > is apparently the < -i > form fortified either with the definitive < -ā > or with the < -ā > from < -iyāṇa(m) > > -iā >.

739. Tessitori derived the Gujarātī conjunctive in < -I > (as in < cālī-nē > *having walked*, < mārī-nē > *having struck*) from the passive participle in < -ia > (nom. < -iu >, locative < -ii >, whence < -I >), rather than from the Apabhraṃśa absolutive in < -i > ('Grammar of OWR.,' § 131). This is quite likely, and the use of the postpositional affixes is indeed a strong support. It is even probable that in the North Indian languages, where the conjunctive has been fortified by a postposition (like < kē > in Hindōstānī), the passive participle form had exerted some influence. But < OIA. *cal-ya > calia > cali, cali > NIA. cali, cal > is a perfectly normal development. And even the OB. form in < -I >, < cāpi > *having pressed*, etc., can represent a MIA. < -ia > : it can be well surmised

that in some dialects of Apabhraṃśa, Second MIA. « -ia » became « -i » in the NIA. (cf. *supra*, 'Phonology,' pp. 302-303, 307), side by side with « -i » by simple dropping off the « -a » in this most commonly used affix.

740. The lavish use of the conjunctive is a noteworthy characteristic of Bengali, as of other NIA. speeches. Tibeto-Burman (Boḍo) influence has been suggested in this connexion (J. D. Anderson, 'The Origin of Bengali,' JRAS., 1911, p. 524). Dravidian influence is equally likely, or perhaps likely to a greater extent, from MIA. times (see *supra*, p. 175). For NIA., this is a characteristic inherited from MIA. There is nothing unnatural in a Bengali sentence like ভোরে উঠে, বান সেয়ে চারটি খেয়ে নিয়ে, জিনিবগুলো সঙ্গে বেঁধে নিয়ে গাড়ীতে চড়িয়ে দিয়ে, পথে তার বাড়ী হ'য়ে তাকে তুলে নিয়ে, সময় থাকতে ষ্টেশনে পৌঁছে টিকিট ক'রে আটটার গাড়ী ধ'রে চ'লে যেও « bhōrē uṭhē, snāṇḡ sērē cār-ṭi khēyē-niyē, jiniṣḡ-gulō sāṅḡḡ bēdhē-niyē gāri-tē cāriyē-diyē, pathē tāṛḡ bāri hā'yē tā'rē tulē niyē, sāmāyḡ thāktē ṣṭēśānē pāuchē, ṭikitḡ kā'rē āṭ-ṭā-rḡ gāri dhā'rē cā'lē jēō » (with 15 conjunctives and only one finite verb) = *get up early, finish your bath, have some breakfast (of rice, etc.), bind up the articles and take them with you, put them down on the top of the cab, go to his house on the way and pick him up, arrive at the station in time, buy your ticket and catch the 8 o'clock train and leave*: and such « -iyā > -ē » sentences have their prototype in MIA. —in Pali and in Classical Sanskrit : e.g., Pali, « cōrā kujjhitvā,...tiṇhēna asinā brāhmaṇaṃ dvidhā chinditvā, maggē chaḍḍetvā, veggēna auubandhitvā, tēhi cōrēhi saddhim yujjhitvā, tē sabbē pi mārētvā, dhanam ādāya puna dvē kōṭṭhāsā hutvā, aññamaññam yujjhitvā, aḍḍhatiyāni purisa-satāni ghātētvā, ētēna upāyēna yāva dvē janā avasiṭṭhā ahēsum tāva aññamaññam ghātayimṣu » (Vedabbha Jātaka); and Sanskrit, « atha sa brāhmaṇas tam paśuṃ rākṣasam matvā bhayād bhūmāu nikṣipyā dāvaṃ nirbhartsya gṛham uddiśya prasthitah », or « sa duṣṭāśayō bakah kramēna tām pr-ṭham ārōpya jalāśayasya nātīdūrē śilām samāśādyā tasyām ākṣipyā svēcchayā bhakṣayitvā bhūyō' pi jalāśayam samāśādyā jalacarāṇām mithyā-vārttā-sandēśāḥ manāmsi rañjayann (= rañjayitvā) āhāra-vṛttim akarōt » (Pañca-tantra).

741. The conjunctive in «-iyā» is frequently used as an adverbial gerundive: it is either repeated, or is used singly: in the latter case, generally it is of similar meaning with the finite verb modified by it, and the two form a compound verb: e.g., কান্দিয়া কান্দিয়া রাণী আইল বাহিরে «kāndiyā kāndiyā rāṇī āilā bahirē» *the queen came out weeping* (Kṛttivāsa, 'Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa,' p. 20); কষিয়া বাধা «kaṣiyā bādha» *to bind tight*; টানিয়া ধরা «ṭāniyā dhārā» *to hold tight*; চুটিয়ে বলা «cuṭiyē bālā» *to speak fully, not to mince matters* (colloquial); চাপিয়া বসা «cāpiyā bāsā» *to sit heavy*; হাঁটিয়া > হেঁটে চলা «hāṭiyā > hēṭē cālā» *walk quick!*; চ'লে এসো «cā'lē esō» *come quick!* (see *infra*, under 'Compound Verbs.')

742. Occasionally in MB. we find «-ā» for the «-i» of the conjunctive: e.g., ŚKK., p. 348, পরিধান কর নেত বাসে «pāridhānā karā nētā bāsē» *having put on a fine garment*; p. 361, কেহে সর জাইতে মোকে বোল «kēnhē sarā jāitē mōkē bōlā» *why do you ask me to move away?*; VSP., p. 860, চরণ পাখাল আশুন মহাশয় «cārāṇḍ pākhalā āsunā mahāśayā» *please go wash your feet, sir* (lit. *come after having washed*). Cases like these do not demonstrate the presence of a form in «-ā» in MB., either a verbal noun, or due to the loss of «-i», for the conjunctive: these are simply due to scribe's mistakes for করি, সরি, পাখালি, etc. In 'aryā 27: «adha-rāti bhara kamala bikasiu» *through half the night the lotus blossomed*, where «bhara» may be for «bhari», as in other NIA. speeches, or it may be regarded as the second part of an adverbial compound «adha-rāti-bhara» (see *supra*, p. 702).

[K] VERBAL NOUNS, AND THE INFINITIVE IN ইতে «-ite»

743. The following are the forms for the Verbal Noun in Bengali:

- (1) the অন «-ānā» noun, with extensions of the affix as অনা, না «-ānā, -nā» and অনী, উনী, নী «-ānī, -unī, -nī»;
- (2) the অ «-ā, -ā» nouns, with an extension ঐ, ই «-ī, -i»;
- (3) the ই «-i» nouns;
- (4) the nouns in আ «-ā» from the simple passive participle;
- (5) the nouns in ইল «-il-» from the «-il-» passive participle;
- (6) the nouns in ইব «-ib-» from the future passive participle.

744. (1) This group of affixes has been discussed before ('Formative Affixes, No. 5, 5a, 5b,' pp. 656-658, *supra*). It is one of the most widely used forms from OB. times. Instances from the Caryās: « (?) dharāṇa; (22) maraṇa; (36) cēṇa, bēṇa (< cētana, vēdana); (46) phuḍḍana = phuḍaṇa (sphuṭana) »; MB. examples are copious. The extended «-ā» form is also found in the Caryās: *e.g.*, (21) « jḍḍa tuṭṭa (= tuṭṭāi, tuṭṭai = truṭyati) avaṭṭā-gavaṭṭā (= āgamaṇa-gamana) »; cf. also (7) « avaṇṭā-gavaṇṭe Kāṇhu bimana bhāṭṭā (= bhāṭṭā) » *K. has become sad at this coming and going* (= saṁsāra): this « avanā-gavaṇṭā », or « *āvanā-gavaṇṭā » of OB. has given the NB. আনাগোনা « ānā-gōṇā ».

In Hindōstānī the «-nā» affix (= «-nau» in Braj-bhākhā, «-nō» in other W. Hindī dialects), same as the Bengali অনা «-anā», is used as the infinitive: also its equivalent «-ṇā» in Panjābī.

745. (2) This is a verbal noun in অ «-ā» which is quiescent, but which is traceable only in roots ending in a consonant (see *supra*, pp. 895-896). Thus, NB. বোল «bōlā» *speech*, eMB. (ŚKK.) «bōl-ā», OB. (Caryā 4) «bōl-ā», MIA. «bōll-ā» (cf. Suffix No. 1, p. 652). There was a feminine (diminutive) extension of this by «-i» < «-ī < -ia» < «-ikā» (see *supra*, Suffix No. 24, pp. 672 ff.): thus, NB. and MB. বুলি «bul-i, bul-i» *speech*, OB. (Caryā 41) «bōl-i», MIA. «*bōllīā < bōllīā»; so ফেরি, ফিরি as in ফিরি বরা «phēri, phiri kārā» *to hawk goods*, মুড়ি as in মুড়ি দিল «muṛi dilā» *covered (oneself) up* (< gave a covering up), etc.

This verbal noun affix (-ā, -ā), and the next one (-i), have become much confused in Bengali (in the Standard Colloquial), owing to the formative affix being dropped in each case: but it is still possible to distinguish the latter by the presence of the epenthetic «-i» in the dialectal forms of words which originally had it.

746. (3) The verbal nouns in ি «-i» form a much larger class, but the affix is now no more a living one (see *supra*, Suffix No. 25, p. 674). The verbal noun in «-i» is known to Maithilī, *e.g.*, «dēkhī, dēkh» (Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' p. 109); and it seems that it is used to form the compound tenses like «dēkhai-chī» *I am seeing, I see*

(« dēkhai » = oblique of « dēkhī »), « dēkhai-achī, dēkhaichī, dēkhaich » *he sees*, etc. It seems to occur in the other Bihārī speeches—« dēkh = * dēkhi », oblique « dēkhē ».

747. The Infinitive in Bengali appears to be the Verbal Noun (3) put in the locative. The Infinitive proper in Bengali has the characteristic affix ইতে « -itē » (in the Standard Colloquial reduced to তে « -tē » with mutation of preceding vowel): e.g., করিতে, চলিতে, খাইতে « kār-itē, cāl-itē, khā-itē » *to do, to go, to walk*. This « -itē » of course is entirely different from the present participle affix « -itē » (*ante*, p. 999). The « -itē » of Bengali is best explained as the old verbal noun in « -i », plus the locative affix « -tē », dialectally « -t » as in Chittagong. The formation seems to a new one in Bengali. Thus, আমাকে যাইতে হইবে « āmākē jāitē hāibē » *I shall have to go, I must go* (lit. *with-reference-to-me in-the-act-of-going* i.e. *to-go it-will-be*); সে চলিতে পারে « sē cālītē pāre » *he can walk* (= *he in-the-act-of-walking is-able*); করিতে লাগিল « kārītē lāgilā » *began to give*, দিতে চাহিল « ditē cāhilā » *wanted to give* (but দিতে দিতে চাহিল « ditē ditē cāhilā » *wanted [or gazed] while giving*); যাইতে দাও « jāitē dāo » *let go*. The « -itē » form is used with roots like চাহ « cāh » *to want, to look at*, হ « hā » *to be*, দে « dē » *to give, to allow*, পার « pāre » *to be able*, যা « jā » *to go*, to denote Acquisitives, Permissives, Desideratives and Gerundives (see below, under 'Compound Verbs'). In other NIA. speeches, a verbal noun is also used: e.g., « mōtē jibāku hēbā » *I shall have to go*, besides « jāī hēbā », where « jāī » is certainly a verbal noun in the locative; Bhōjpuriyā « bahē lāgal », Maithilī « bahē, bahai laglāh » *began* (plural or honorific) *to blow*; Assamese « bābā-lāi dhārē » *blows*; Early Awadhī « lagē parōsuna nipuna suārā » *clever cooks began to serve* (Tulasī-dāsa, 'Rāma-carita-mānasa'); W. Hindī « bolnē lagā » *began to say*, « jānē dō » *let go*, « khānē hōgā » *will have to eat*, etc., etc. Cf. the use of the « -ibā- » noun in OB. and MB. (below, pp. 1017-1018). For the use of a verbal noun form in a similar construction in OWR., see Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.', §§ 132, 134.

There is in Ardha-māgadhī an infinitive in « -(i)ttāē » (cf. Pischel, § 578): « pucchittaē » *to ask*, « sumarittaē » *to remember*, « tarittaē »

to cross, etc. This could easily give the Bengali ইতে <-itē>, through a Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa form <*-ittāi> (this form <-ittāē>, attested from Ardha-māgadhī, could very well have occurred in Māgadhī Prakrit also) But it is not likely that this has been preserved in Bengali. The <-itē> form does not occur in any other Magadhan language. The Standard Bengali <-i-tē> has a dialectal form <-i-tḥ>, where the <-tḥ> is obviously the locative <-tḥ>, and this <-i-tḥ> cannot represent the MIA. <-ittāē>—the loss of two final syllables would be an insurmountable difficulty. The evidence in favour of a later, nominal origin of <-i-tē> as a locative form is exceedingly strong, not only from Bengali itself (with its use of the <-iba> noun), but also from other cognate speeches.

The OIA. infinitive affixes were <-tum, -i-tum> and <-(i)tavē>, respectively the accusative and dative forms of the verbal noun in <-(i)tu>. They are preserved in Pali as <-(i)tuṃ, -(i)tavē>, and in Asokan as <-(i)tuṃ> which passed on to the conjunctive in some dialects (cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asokan Text and Glossary,' I, p. xxxvii), but it remained in Second MIA. as an Infinitive as <-(i)ḍuṃ, -(i)uṃ> (Pischel, § 573 ff.). This affix is not preserved in NIA. and neither is <-(i)tavē>, which seems to have fallen into disuse in Second MIA. itself (unless <-ittāē> is its form in Second MIA., as Pischel thinks with E. Müller, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 578).

The <-itē> Infinitive is liable to be confused with the <-itē> Present Participle, and it is at times difficult to decide which form it really is: e.g., তাহাকে যাইতে দেখিলাম <tāhākē jāitē dekhilām> *I saw him going*, where <jāitē> may be equally the Present Participle = (*while going*, or the Verbal Noun locative = *in the act of going*. (See *infra*, under 'Periphrastic Tenses.') In Chittagong Bengali, this verbal noun has become so much confused with the participle that by contamination it takes personal affixes: e.g., আমি যাইতাম লাগ্গিলাম <āi jāitām lāggilām> *I began to go*, তুমি যাইত লাগ্গিল <tūi jāitā lāggilā> *you began to go*, হিতে যাইত লাগ্গিল <hitē jāitḥ lāggilḥ> *he began to go*, (Basanta Kumār Chatterji, VSPdP., 1326, p. 114); Noakhali dialect,

খাবাইতা লাইগ্জ *« khābāita laig-ja [laigzə] » to feed you have begun = Standard Bengali খাওয়াইতে লাগিয়াছে « khāwā-itē lāgiyāchē » (LSI., V, I, p. 309). The « itē » also figures in Chittagong as ইতু « -itu » e.g., য ইতু লাইল [zaitu lail] *began to go* (=Standard « jāitē lāgilā »), where the « -u » seems to be for « -ō » < « -ā », by confusion with the present participle base in « -it-ā ».*

748. (4) The passive participle in « -ta, -ita » can be used as a noun of action in Skt. and in Pkt.: e.g., « na bahunā śrutēna; tasya gatāgatam kō'pī na jānāti; nṛtyād asya sthitam manōharam; mahā-svanāir dundubhi-nāditāis ca; madhuraṁ hasitam, madhuraṁ aśitam, madhuraṁ calitam madhuraṁ ramitam; madhuraṁ tassa bhāsitam; ekassa caritam seyyō; katan ca sukataṁ seyyō; sucaritaṁ carē; avakidē viśumalēdi (= apakṣtam vismarati) »; etc. The passive participle in « -(i)ta » > « -(i)a » obtained the definitive « -ā » in OB., and from that resulted the Bengali verbal noun as well as passive participle in « -ā » (see *supra*, 'Formative Affixes, No. 7,' p. 660; also non l passive participle form, *supra*, p. 944). The « -ā » form occurs in Assamese: e.g., « jowā » [zowa] *going*, « śowā » [xowa] *sleeping*, « kārā » *doing*, etc. It is found in Oriyā: e.g., « dēkhā » *sight, seeing*, « jāñā » *knowing*, etc. It does not occur in the Bihārī dialects and in Eastern Hindī. But in the Hindōstānī passive participle formation (e.g., in expressions like « kiya-karnā, jāyā-karnā, dēkhā-cāhnā », compound verbs) the form is really a verbal noun.

In MB., the « -ā » verbal noun is not so prominent, nouns in « -ibā » and « -ānā » being more popular: but its occurrence is not rare. Thus, VSP., p. 68, বান্ধা নিছে « bāndhā nichē » *taken in pledge*; p. 83, চিনা পুছা « cinā puchā » *recognising and enquiring*; p. 123, দিয়া নাড়া দেই তাড়া « diyā nārā dēi tārā » *gives a shake, and then drives away*; elsewhere MB. and NB. লেখা জোখা « lēkhā-jōkhā » *writing and computing*, নাচা « nācā » *dancing*, কেনাবেচা « kēnā-bēcā » *buying and selling*, রান্না বাড়ি « rāñnā-bārā » *cooking and serving*, etc., etc.

The Bengali « -ā » form has been derived by some from the verbal noun in ইবা « -ibā »: « cālībā » > *cālīwā > *cālīwā > cālā; khāībā > *khāīwā > khāwā » (cf. 'Prabāsi' for Aṣṣḍha, 1324, p. 264). But this line of

derivation is inadmissible: the MIA. « -bb- » results in « -b- » in Bengali, whereas a form like « khāwā » can be written and pronounced « khāā », and the « w » there is euphonic only (see *supra*, pp. 338-342, 533). To derive « khāā » from « khāībā » would be to postulate the entire loss of a MIA. double consonant group in a NIA. language—a phonological development not found in the Bengali Standard Dialect: and the « -ā » form is a Standard Dialect form. It would indeed be difficult for the same form to occur as « -ibā » and as « -ā » side by side in the same dialect and at the same time.

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after speaking, দেখিবারাত্র < dēkhibā-mātrā > on seeing, etc.) and the genitive ইবার < -ibā-rā > (e.g., দিবার < dibā-rā > for giving; ইবা < -ibā > itself may represent an old genitive form: see *supra*, p. 152). Thus, OB. (Caryā 8) < bāhaba-kē (= bāhiba-kē) pāraa (= pārai) > is able to row, = MB. বাহিবারে পারে < bāhibārē pārē >; eMB. (SKK.), p. 3, মানুষ নিয়োজিল মারিবার তাকে < mānuṣa niyōjila māribā-kā tāē > employed a man to kill him; p. 200, ফুল তুলিবার তরে < phulā tulibā-kā tāre > with a view to pluck flowers; p. 395, হাঠিবার < hāṭhibā-kā > to walk, etc.; 'Caitanya Bhāgavata,' p. 11, মথুরা দেখিবারে < Māthurā dēkhibā kārī > for to see Mathurā; Vāṇsī-dāsa's 'Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 108, আছে আছিবার মত নদীয়া নগর < āchē āchibārā mātā Nādiyā-nāgarā > there is the city of Nadiyā (if at all a town were) to exist; p. 165, লাগে বলিবার < lāgē bālibārā > begins to say; p. 473, আছুক ছুইব আরে < āchu-kā chuibā āre > ah, let alone merely touching; p. 592, দেখাইব করি < dēkhāibā kārī > with a view to show; p. 608, দিবা করি < dibā kārī > with a view to give; VSP., p. 609, ভূমিতে টালিব করি < bhūmitē ṭālibā kārī > with a view to throw on the ground; p. 620, মারিবার মোক < māribārā mōkā > to kill me; etc., etc. The < -ib- > form is much used in North Bengal. The present progressive tense is formed in Assamese with the verbal noun in < -iba >: e.g., < kārībā-lāi dhārē > is doing. In Assamese, the < -iba > noun is fully declined: e.g., < kārībā, kārībā-r, kārībā-lāi, kārībā-t >; so in Oṛiyā: < kārībā, kārībā-ku, kārībā-rā, kārībā-ru >, etc.; also in the Bihārī dialects, e.g., Maithilī < karab, karābā-k, karāb-ē, karābā-sā, karābā-mē >. The use of the < -(i)tavya > form as a verbal noun is found in other NIA., like E. Hindi, e.g., < calab, karab >; W. Hindi, e.g., Brajbhākhā < calibāu, karibāu >, oblique < calibē, karibē >; Rājasthānī (Mārwarī), e.g., < mārabō, calābō >; Gujarātī, e.g., < mārīvū, cālīvū >; and Marāṭhī, e.g., < uṭhāvayā-, mārāvayā- >, etc. In most of these (e.g., E. Hindi, Brajbhākhā, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī) this form is used as an infinitive.

751. Relative Participle Adjectives are formed in Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects with the past and future passive participles used adjectivally: e.g., Oṛiyā < mu-dēbā dhānā > money that is to be given by me, < mu-kālā kāmā > work that was done by me = Bihārī < hamār kail kām >. The < -ib-, -il- > forms are not used in Bengali as adjectives for this purpose.

The past participle in « -ā » is so used, to denote the past relative idea : e.g., আমার পরা কাপড় « āmārṣ pāṛā kāpārṣ » *cloth (dhōṭī) worn by me*, তার করা কাজ « tāṛṣ kāṛā kājṣ » *work done by him* : the employ of the « -il- » form is unknown. The « -ib- » verbal noun is used in the genitive, beside the verbal nouns in « -ā » and in « -ānṣ », to indicate the present or future relative participial idea : e.g., আমার পরিবার (পরার, পরনের) কাপড় « āmārṣ pāribā-rṣ (pāṛā-rṣ, pāṛān-ērṣ) kāpārṣ » *'dhōṭī' worn by me, to be worn by me*; ভিক্ষা দেবার চাঁল « bhikṣā dēbārṣ cā'ṣ » *rice set apart for giving as alms*; জল খাবার বটি « jāṣ khābārṣ ghāṭi » *(water) vessel to drink water from*; etc., etc. We have this genitive use of the verbal noun, rather than mere adjectival juxtaposition, from Early Bengali times.

Verbal Nouns of Reciprocity are treated below, under 'Reduplicated Verbs.'

[L] THE COMPOUND OR PERIPHRASTIC TENSES :

PROGRESSIVE AND PERFECT.

752. The following are the types of these tenses which are found in New Bengali :

(1) চলিতেছে, চলিতেছিল (চলিতে থাকিবে) « cālītēchē, cālītēchilā (cālītē thākibē) » *is walking, was walking (will be walking)*; করিতেছে, করিতেছিল (করিতে থাকিবে) « kārītēchē, kārītēchilā (kārītē thākibē) » *is doing, was doing (will be doing)*. This is the typical Progressive Form of Standard Literary Bengali. It is made up of the verbal form in « -itē » plus the substantive verb « āch » conjugated and employed as an auxiliary (« āch » for the past, « thāk » for the future). The « ā- » of « āch » is absorbed by the preceding « -ē » of « -itē », but in dialectal Bengali of East Bengal the full forms চলিতে আছে, চলিতে আছিল, করিতে আছে, করিতে আছিল « cālītē, kārītē + āchē, āchilā » etc. still occur.

This progressive form is the recognised one in the « sādhu-bhāṣā », and is found in the Vanga dialects: some typical forms may be given [tso(I)ltese, tso(I)ltesilo, ko(I)rtese, ko(I)rtesilo; tso(I)lte ase, tso(I)lte asilo, ko(I)rte ase, ko(I)rte asilo], also [tsoltase, tsoltasilo; kortase, kortasilo]. But it is not current in the spoken dialects of Rāḍha (including

the Standard Colloquial of Calcutta and the Bhāgirathī basin), of Varēndra, and of Kāmarūpa.

(2) A type, which occurs in MB. as a verbal form in ই <-i> *plus* the substantive verb <āch> (contracted to <-ch->), in the present generally, and rarely in the past. The future with this <-i> form is unknown. Thus, MB. চলিছে, চলিছ <cāli-chē, cāli-chā>, করিছে, করিছ <kāri-chē, kāri-chā>, চলিছিল <cāli-chila>, করিছিল <kāri-chila>. This form is used in MB. in a vaguely continuative or progressive sense, and also in a perfect sense. With static verbs, it can easily indicate the progressive idea. In NB., the <-i> of <cāli>, which underwent epenthesis, is now dropped. It occurs in Assamese (where the <-i-> is retained), generally as a progressive in the present, and always as pluperfect in the past, but the perfect sense for the present form is also found.

This ill-defined tense form of MB. has given the West Bengali (including the Standard Colloquial) present and past *progressive* forms, like চলছে, চলছিল, করছে > করছে, করছিল > করছিল [ʧolɔʧ(h)e, ʧolɔʧhilo; korɔʧ(h)e, korɔʧ(h)e, korɔʧhilo, korɔʧhilo]; in North Central Bengali and North Bengali, it retains its vague employ, being used both for the present progressive and the present perfect in the present form, and for the simple past or past perfect in the past form, exactly as in Assamese. In the East Bengal dialects, it is used regularly for the *perfect* only, e.g., [tsolse, tsolsilo; korse, korsilo; tsolse, tsolsilo, korse, kōrsilo] = *has walked, had walked; has done, had done*,—the progressive sense being indicated by the <-itē> form in the East Bengali dialects.

The <-i> form occurs also in Oṛiyā, but here it is definitely perfect, and in the past and future Oṛiyā employs its characteristic root <√tha>: thus <kāri-āchāi, kāri-chāi> *has done*, <kāri-thilā> *had done*, <kāri-thibā> *he will have done*.

(3) A Perfect form made with the passive participle adjective in ইল <-il-> *plus* the substantive verb <āch> (contracted as usual). This is comparatively a rare form, and occurs in West and Central Rāḍha dialects (e.g., হ'লছে <hōlṣ-chē> *has become*, ম'লছে <mōlṣ-chē> *has died*, গেলছে, গেলছিল <gēlṣ-chē, gēl-chilā> *has gone, had gone*, in Murshidabad, Birbhum

etc. ; cf. LSI., V, I, p. 72); and also in North Bengali (*e.g.*, আইন্ ঢে « āin-cē = āil-chē » *has come* : LSI., V, I, p. 174); and it seems to be confined to intransitive verbs and to denominatives and causatives of denominative origin.

(4) A Perfect form in ইয়া « -iyā » *plus* the substantive verb (« āch » in the present and past, and « thāk » in future) : in the MB., « -iyā », or « -iā », occurs also in the nasalised form « -iñā, -iyā̃, -iā̃ » : thus, MB., and NB. « sādhu-bhāṣā » চলিয়াছে, চলিয়াছিল (চলিয়া থাকিবে) « cāliyāchē, cāliyāchilā (cāliyā thākibē) » *has walked, had walked (will have walked)*; করিয়াছে, করিয়াছিল (করিয়া থাকিবে) « kāriyāchē, kāriyāchilā (kāriyā thākibē) » *has done, had done (will have done)*; MB. (generally in West Bengal), besides the simple « -iyā » form in a variety of spellings, we find also চলিয়াছে, চলিয়াছে, করিয়াছে, করিয়াছে « cālīñāchē, cāliyāchē, kārīñāchē, kārīyāchē » etc. This perfect is found in NB., specially in the Rāḍha dialects, with « -iyā » contracted to « -ē, -iyē » and « -iñā, -iyā̃ » to « -ē̃, -iyē̃ » [-ē̃, -iē̃] : *e.g.*, Standard Colloquial চলেছে, করেছিল [c̣olec̣(h)e, korec̣hilo], in other Rāḍha dialects, চলছে, করেছিল [c̣olec̣he, korec̣hilo], etc. It occurs also in the Vangā dialects, but never with the nasalised form : and it seems there it is less common for the perfect than the « -i » form (No. 3 above). The « -iyā, -iyā̃ » form seems properly not to belong to the dialects of the North, and its presence there is due to literary and other influences. In some cases, this form indicates a static or continuous process also : see *infra*, § 757.

753. The progressive (whether in the « -itē » form or in the « -i » form), as can be plainly seen from MB. literature, is comparatively a late time-idea in the Bengali verb. The progressive does not seem to have been fully established in the language before the 17th century ; and although both the « -itē » and « -i » forms occur in literature of the 15th, their occurrence is but extremely rare and hesitating, in authentic texts, and the « -i » form is found both for the progressive and the perfect. In Early MB., the simple present is used for the progressive. The beginnings of the development of the compound progressive in « -itē » and of the compound indefinite tense in « -i », however, can be taken back to the 14th century : for

already in the ŚKK. we have instances of both : thus, *e.g.*, কালিনীর তীরে বহে মন্দ পবনে। ভোম্বাক চিত্তিতে আছে নান্দের নন্দনে ॥ « Kālinīrā tīrē bahē māṇḍa pabānē : tōmbhākā cintitē āchē Nāṇḍērā nāṇḍānē » *the gentle breeze is blowing (lit. blows) by the bank of the Kālinī (= Yamunā) : the son of Nanda is thinking of you* (p. 202 : here in « cint- » we have not a native Bengali root, but a *ts.* one, as described *supra*, p. 879), and ধিরেঁ ধিরেঁ কাহ্নাঞিঁ মো আইলোঁ। নিকটে। নিহুঞিঁ চাঁহোঁ পাণি লইছে মোকটে ॥ « dhirē dhirē Kāṇhāñi mō āilē nikaṭē, nihūñi cāhō pāṇi lāichē mōkātē » *gently, O Kṛṣṇa, I have come closer : I bend down and look, the water has come up (or is coming up ?) to the brim* (p. 153). The form লইছে « lāi-chē » would show that it was an old one, some time having elapsed for the fuller « lāi+āchē » to be so contracted. The « -itē » form for the progressive is thus certainly found in West Bengali of the ŚKK., but it is most curious that it would not be used in the West Bengal dialects of present day as a proper native dialectal form.

The origin of these different periphrastic methods may be now discussed.

754. (1) The « -itē », MB. « -itē », is doubtless the present participle : চলিতেছে = চলিতে আছে « cālītēchē < cālītē+āchē » *he is walking < he is while in the act of walking*. The « -it-ē » is apparently the locative : or is it merely the nominative—MIA. « calanta-ka- », nom. Māgadhī « calantakē > calantaū > calantāi > calantē > cālītē » ? (see *supra*, p. 741). The non-locative form, presumably the nominative, occurs in dialects as « cālīt-āchē = cālīt-āchē » etc. But « -itē » is more likely the locative. In Early Assamese, there was a similar construction with the locative, but the periphrasis here did not develop into a compound tense by combining the participle of the verb substantive, as it has in Eastern Bengali and in Standard Bengali : thus Śaṅkara-deva (15th century) and other Early Assamese writers frequently employ constructions like « sūryā-sāmā sabbē jwālāntē āchāhā » *you are all shining like the sun*, « āchē prākāśāntē » *are manifesting*, « upāsāntē āchē » *are worshipping*, etc. As in Assamese, so in W. Bengali this participle progressive did not catch on in the spoken dialect, although the « sadhu-bhāṣā » took it up. It does not seem to occur in Kṛttivāsa (VSPd. edition), nor even in Kavi-kanṇa, both West Bengal writers (of the 15th and 16th centuries). But

in East Bengal writers, *e.g.*, Mādhavācārya, author of 'Caṇḍī-kāvya' (16th century : cf. VSP., p. 335, হোতেছে « hōtēchē » *is happening*), Chuṭī Khān (Noakhali : 'Māhābhārata,' VSPd. ed., p. 59 : তবে সেই রক্ষীগণ দেখিতে আছে « tābē sēi rakṣi-gaṇḍ dēkhitē āchēntā » *then the guards remain watching*), Vaṇśī-dāsa ('Padmā-purāṇa,' p. 380, দেখিতেছি « dēkitēchi » *I am seeing*, p. 580, করিতেছে « kārītēchē ») etc., the « -itē » is well-established from the 16th century. And from the early 17th, it is found in the West Bengal writers also, like Kāśī-rāma Dāsa (*e.g.*, VSP., p. 676, হইতেছে « hāitēchē », p. 685, দিতেছে « ditēchē »). The prose documents, whether in East or in West Bengal, had to employ a definite form for the progressive, and it seems « -itē » became accepted in epistolary and documentary Bengali in the 17th century, and from that it was adopted into the « sādhu-bhāṣā » of the 18th and 19th centuries ; but West Bengal spoken dialects did not use it. The progressive « -i » form of the spoken dialects of West Bengal has now been adopted for the progressive, as a matter course, in the new literary dialect of Bengali based on the Calcutta Colloquial.

The construction, present participle (< « -ant- » of OIA.) *plus* verb substantive, occurs in other NIA (excepting Oriyā and Assamese) : in the Magadhan speeches (*e.g.* Maithilī « dēkhait-chī, dēkhait-chalahū », Magahī « dekhait-, dekhit-, dekhat+hi, halu » ; Bhōjpuriyā « dēkhāt bānt > dekhatānt », etc.) ; in E. Hindī (*e.g.*, Awadhī « dēkhat ahū, dēkhat raheū ») ; in W. Hindī (*e.g.*, « dēkhtā hai, dēkhtā thā ») ; in Panjābī (*e.g.*, « jāndā hai, jāndā si »), in Rājasthānī and in Gujarātī (*e.g.*, Gujarātī « māratō hatō », Mārwarī « mārātō hō » *was beating*) ; in Marāṭhī (*e.g.*, « uṭhat āhē, uṭhat hōtā » *is, was rising*) ; in Pahārī (*e.g.*, Khas-kurā « garda-cha, garda thīyo » *is doing, was doing*), etc., etc.

755. (2) The « -i » form is rather rare in eMB., but it becomes noticeable from the 15th and 16th centuries : *e.g.*, KKC. (Vanga-vāsi edition), p. 112, পীত তড়িত বর্ণে, হেম মুকুলিকা কর্ণে, কেশ মেঘে পড়িছে বিজুলি « pitā tārītā bārṇē hēmā-mukulikā kārṇē kēṣḥ-mēghē pārichē bijuli » *yellow, like lightning in colour, a little flower of gold has fallen (= is disposed) like lightning in the clouds of her hair* ; p. 122, কেমনে ধরিছ হিয়া « kēmātē dhārichā hiyā » *how are you holding your heart (= how can you remain*

unconcerned) ? ; Vaṇṣī-dāsa, p. 3, শোভিছে « śōbhichē » *is appearing beautiful* ; p. 34, ভাবিছেন « bhābichēṇḍ » *is thinking*, etc. Cf. also Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata' (VSPd. ed.), p. 10, এহেন বলিছে পূর্বে ধর্ম মহীপাল « ēhēṇḍ bulichē pūrbbē dhārmma-māhipālḍ » *so has said formerly the righteous king (Yudhisthira)* ; p. 21, যত পুণ্য করি আহম কায় বাক্য মনে « jātḍ puṇyḍ kārī āchāmḍ kāyḍ-bākya-mānē » *all the merits I have earned in body, word and mind* ; p. 22, রাজার সাক্ষাৎ বসিছন্ত মুনীগণ । পাত্র মিত্র চারি পাশে করিছে শোভন ॥ « rājārḍ sāksāt bāsichāntḍ muni-gāṇḍ, pātrḍ-mitrḍ cārī pāsē kārīchē śōbhāṇḍ » *in front of the king are sitting (were seated) the sages, and courtiers and friends are adorning in the four sides* ; etc. It is of comparatively frequent occurrence in Late MB., but the meaning is not often fixed for either of the two tenses. In Early Assamese of the 15th century, this « -i » form is already well established.

The source of this form in this construction is not clear. It would appear at first sight to be merely the conjunctive in « -i ». The perfect in « -iyā, -iyḍ » would similarly appear also to have the conjunctive in it. But the conjunctive would not accord well with the progressive sense, which we see is connected with this construction, side by side with the perfect one, in both MB. and NB. and in Early and New Assamese. The « -i » form, to indicate the perfect, might be, in the case of the intransitive verb, the non-l passive participle in « -ita > -ia > -ī, -i » : « calia > calī > calī + āchē » *gone + is = is gone, has gone (= calitō' sti)*. The Maithili Progressive tense in « -ai » + « √ch », e.g., « calai-chī » *I am walking*, « karai-ch » *he is doing*, seems to indicate a possible source for the « -i » form of Bengali. Grierson explains this « -ai » progressive of Maithili as being a contracted form of the « -ait » present participle ('Maithili Grammar,' p. 173 : « dēkhai chī < dēkhait chī »). But, as suggested in the present work, p. 1022 *supra*, the « -ai » may well be a verbal noun locative : for it would be strange indeed for the full « -ait » and a contracted « -ai » to be in living use side by side in the same dialect and at the same time. So also compare the Magahī forms like « dēkha, dēkhā + hī » *I see*, beside progressive « dēkhait (dēkhat, dēkhīt) + hī » *I am seeing*. The Rājasthānī dialects and Gujarātī, as well as some forms of Western Hindi, have a periphrastic

present in which the present forms of the verb properly conjugated are used with the verb substantive in the corresponding person and number: e.g., Marwārī «caḷḷi-hī» *I go*, «caḷḷi-hā» *we go*, «caḷai-hai» *he goes*, «caḷai-hai» *they go*; Jaipurī = «caḷḷi-chī, caḷḷi-chā; caḷai-chai, caḷai-chā»; Gujarātī «cālū-chū, cālīe-chīe; cālē-chē»; Brajbbākhā «calaū-haū, calai-hai; calai-hai, calai-hai», etc. The Bihārī compound tenses are not of the type found in the Western languages: here the form of the principal verb is unchanged—it is «-ai, -a, -ē» in all cases. Can the «-i» in Bengali-Assamese be a locative form of an OB. verbal noun in «-ia» = the OIA. passive participle in «-(i)ta»? OIA. «calita» > «calia», in Late MIA. (Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa); locative OIA. «calitē» > «calīe» > *calii»; this would become «*calī, cali» in OB., and then used with the root «āch» : «cali-āchē, cali-chē» therefore would mean *in-the-act-of-walking is = is walking*; so «dēkhi-chē» *in-the-act-of-seeing is = is seeing*. The «-i» form in Bengali can thus include both the locative (to develop into the progressive) and the nominative (in the case of the intransitive verb, to indicate the perfect—later this sense occurring with the transitive verb also by extension) of the «-ita» > «-ia» passive participle—in the former case it being the verbal noun, in the latter the participle. The Oṛiyā «-i» form, indicating as it does the perfect tense only, naturally is to be taken as the Oṛiyā variant of (4), for which see below (p. 1027).

With the idea that the composite «sādhu-bhāṣā» is the source of the dialects, the W. Bengali চ'লছে, চ'লছিল, ক'রছে। ক'ছে, ক'রছিল। (ক'ছিল) etc., are commonly regarded as contracted forms of the «sādhu-bhāṣā» চলিতেছে, চলিতেছিল, করিতেছে, করিতেছিল, etc. But that such is not the case is seen from the occurrence in MB. and in the NB. language of poetry of forms like চলিছে, করিছে in the progressive. The «sādhu-bhāṣā» চলিতেছে করিতেছে, etc. can only give চ'লতেছে, ক'রতেছে [ḷolteḷhe, korteḷhe], etc. in the Standard Colloquial, but such forms are not proper to the dialect, and when they occur at all, they are artificial, being due to an attempt to find colloquial equivalents of a literary form which is only too familiar: the forms চলিতে, করিতে «calitē, karitē» (as participles and verbal nouns in «-itē») occur as চ'লতে, ক'রতে [ḷolte, korte (kotte)]. The doubling of the

affricate in the case of roots which end in a vowel, like খাচ্ছে, যাচ্ছে, পাচ্ছে, দিচ্ছে, ওচ্ছে « khācchē, jācchē, pācchē, dicchē, śucchē » [khacɕ(h)e, ʃhacɕ(h)e, pacɕ(h)e, dicɕ(h)e, ſucɕ(h)e] is *eating, is going, is receiving, is giving, is lying*, with past tense in ছিল «-cchilā», would at first sight suggest that it is a case of assimilation of the «-t-» of «-itē», and would thus connect these with the «-itē» form («ditācchē > *dit-chē > dicchē»). But other West B. and North B. dialects do not show the doubling, even when in West B. these forms indicate the progressive. MB. দিছে «di(i)chē», যাইছে «jāichē» should occur in West Bengali as দিছে «dichē», বেছে «jēchē» (see *supra*, pp. 386-387), and so they do, for example, in Murshidabad and Birbhum (as present progressive: the corresponding past progressive forms are দিয়েছে «diyēcchē < diyā-chē, গেলছে «gēl-chē»). But in the Standard Colloquial, MB. «jāichē» became «*jāy-chē», and it is this «-y-» which assimilated with the following «-ch-»: «jācchē»; so in «*di(i)chē» it assimilated (it is possible by first becoming a glottal stop) to the «-ch-», as «*diy-chē [diʔɕhe] > dicchē»; so সুইচē > *সুয়-চē > śucchē», etc.

The Oṛiyā speech forms its progressive tenses with the help of a verbal form in «-u», + the substantive verb: e.g., «kāru-chi, kāru-chū; kāru-chu, kāru-chā; kāru-chi, kāru-chānti». (For this «-u» affix, see *supra*, p. 678.) It is not unlikely that a similar form in «-u» was used in Rāḍha dialects contiguous to Oṛiyā, and that in Late MB. this form with the «-u» (not understood, and becoming quiescent in the middle of the word) merged into the «-i» form, or restricted the «-i» form to the progressive in West Bengali. But from extant documents, we cannot postulate with any amount of certainty a Rāḍha form «*cālu-chē, *kāru-chē» beside «cāli-chē, kāri-chē».

756. (3) The perfect with the participle in «-la» is very much restricted in Bengali, and is only local for West Bengal, and probably also for North Bengal. In eMB. it may have been more prominent,

The construction, restricted as it seems to be to a few intransitive verbs, and to denominatives and causatives, is perfectly plain: W. Bengali আনছে «āi-chē» *has come*, হ'লছে «hōl-che» *has happened*, ম'লছে «mōl-chē»

has died (< MB. « mālā-chē » = « mṛtō'sti »). From the intransitive, the « -l- » affix first spread to the denominative and then to the causative. It agrees with the Bihārī perfect of the intransitive verb; but is different from that of the transitive (and by analogy, often of the intransitive) verbs (in the present and past perfect tenses) in Bihārī, where we have either the juxtaposition of two tenses (the past in « -l- » and the substantive verb present or past) each properly conjugated, or the instrument of the « -al- » participle used with the substantive verb (cf. LSI., V, II, pp. 28-29, 38-39, 52-53).

757. (4) The perfect in « -iyā, -iñā » is by far the most common of the compound tenses in eMB. It is found in a number of instances in the ŚKK.; and in Kṛttivāsa (VSPd. ed., Ayōdhyā, Uttara) it is well-established, and may be said to be fairly common in subsequent MB. literature. In Early Assamese, the « -iyā » form occurs with the substantive verb, but only as a separate word, and the « -iyā » and the substantive do not express the perfect idea. This « -iyā » form fell into disuse in later Assamese. Oṛiyā never developed the « -iyā » form, but had only the ones in « -i » and « -iñā ».

Examples from eMB.: ŚKK.: p. 143, পাতিআছে « pātiāchē » *has established*; p. 175, শুনিআছ « ūñiāchā » *you have heard*; p. 317, স্তিআছিলো « sutiā āchilō » *I was asleep, I was sleeping*; p. 325, নিআছিস « niāchisā » *thou hast taken*; p. 376, বসিআ আছে « bāsiā āchēntā » *has sat down, is sitting*; Kṛttivāsa, 'Uttarā-kāṇḍa,' p. 16, হঞাছেক « hāñā-chēk » *has become*; p. 24, দিঞাছি « diñāchi » *I have given*; p. 177, স্না আছে « suā āchē » *is lying*; p. 201, জুড়িঞা আছে « juriñā āchē » *is spread*, পড়িঞা আছে « paṛiñā āchē » *lies*; etc., etc. The form is found copiously in other MB. works.

It would be seen that progressive or continuous action may be indicated in the case of intransitive verb; and such action is emphasised upon by keeping the « -iyā, -iyā » separate from the verb, in both MB. and NB.

The « -iyā, -iñā » form is doubtless the conjunctive: « niāchisā » being « niā + āchisā » = *having taken thou art* = *thou hast taken*. The nasalised form, current in West Bengal, is sufficiently indicative of its

proper nature. But that is not all. In the case of intransitive verbs, the « -iyā » form can equally represent the passive participle (see *supra*, p. 955): সূয়া আছে « suā āchē » *is lying (has lain)* < lain (* svapita- > suvia- > suia- > su-ā) + is, চলিআছে « cālīāchē » *has gone* < gone (calita- > calīā) + is. Cf. NB. এখানে যে বেশ গান চ'লেছে ! « ēkhānē jē bēśṣ ḡānṣ cāl'lēchē » *so, fine singing is going on here*; মাদ্রাজে খুব উত্তোপ চলিয়াছে or চলিতেছে « Mādrājē khubṣ udyōḡṣ cāliyāchē (cālītēchē) » *great preparations are going on in Madras*; রাস্তায় কাদা হ'য়েছে « rāstāy kādā hōyēchē » *there is mud in the street*; র'য়েছি « rōyēchi » *I am staying*, etc. Cf. also the perfect with the participle in « -la »; and the perfect of the intransitive verb in the Bihārī dialects, and in other NIA. languages, like W. Hindī, etc. (e.g., Hindōstānī « wuh gayā hai » = « asāu gataḥ asti »; Gujarātī « hū cālyō chū » = « ahaṃ calitaḥ asmi »). The static and continuous use with the substantive verb separated or united can in this way be explained. So that the « -iyā, -iñā » form would seem to combine in Bengali both the conjunctive and the passive participle (the latter in the case of intransitives); but from Early MB., from the similarity of forms (« -iyā » for both of them) and from the nature of the constructions, any such original distinction was lost sight of.

The participle in « -iyā, -iñā » and the auxiliary have coalesced but loosely in Bengali. To emphasise an « -iyā-ehē, -iyā-chilā » > -ē-chē, -ē-chilā » form, the emphatic particles ই « i » and তো « tō » *indeed, surely* generally come in between, and not at the end. This is especially noticeable in the Standard Colloquial. Thus, প'ড়ে-ই-ছে « pōrē-i-chē » *it has fallen, to be sure*: দিয়েই-তো-ছিলুম « diē-i-tō-chilum » *I had indeed given, I had very nearly given*; দিয়ে-তো-ছি « diyē-tō-chi » *I have given in truth*; etc. The emphatic, however, can also come at the end: e.g., প'ড়েছেই প'ড়েছে « pōrēchē-i pōrēchē » *it has certainly fallen*; etc.

The use of root « thāk » for the future progressive and perfect is rather rare in MB.: « √thāk », when not put in the future, expresses a continuous state in compound verbs with the « -iyā, -iñā » form: e.g., ŚKK., p. 176, বসিআ থাক « bāsīā thāk » *remain sitting, remain seated*.

758. Two dialectal forms for the progressive tense may be noted.

(5) The 'South-West Bengali' progressive, made by combining the present tense of principal verb with «√ṭha» to remain regularly conjugated : e.g., করিতি «kâri-ṭhi» I do + I remain = I am doing; যাউ $\sqrt{\text{jāu-ṭhu}}$ thou goest + thou remainest = thou art going; হয়চে «hāyṭ-ṭhē» he is + he remains = he is (= Standard Colloquial হ'ছে «hōcchē»). In some cases, the principal verb is not conjugated, but put in the conjunctive : খাবায় $\sqrt{\text{khābāy-ṭhā}}$ you are feeding. (See LSI., V, I, pp. 108, 109 ff.) The Common Bengali «-i» + «-āch» > «-ch-» form is also known in this dialect. The root «√ṭha» (<sthā) is not found elsewhere in Bengal. This use of two finite forms side by side is exactly of the type found in Brajbhākhā and in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī noted at pp. 1024-1025.

(6) In the district of Bogra, and in some other North Central Bengal tracts, there is a progressive form in «-(i)t, -it-» + root «-āch» : thus করতিতেছি «kârtitēchi» I am doing, করতুতুছ «kârtutuchu» thou art doing, করতিতিছে «kârtitichē» he is doing, খাটতিতেছি «khāṭtitēchi» I am labouring (LSI., V, I, pp. 152-153). This form appears to be merely the «-itē, -it-» participle further strengthened by the locative affix «-tē»—it is really a double locative form : «kâritē + -tē». The personal termination of the auxiliary substantive verb seems to have influenced the «-itē-tē» of the principal verb form, and to have altered it accordingly, at least in the 2nd person : «kâritētē. *kâritṭē + āchu > *kârt(ē)tē-chu > *kârtutu-chu».

The use of the «-r-» affix for the progressive in E. Vanga and S.-E. Vanga has been discussed before (pp. 994 ff.).

[M] CAUSATIVES.

759. The Causative in Bengali is made by adding the affix আ «-ā-» to the root, with euphonic «w» or «y» between vowels : e.g., কর «√kār» to do > করা «√kārā» to cause to do ; খা «√khā» > খাওয়া, খাওয়া «√khāwā, khāwā» to cause to eat ; দে «√dē» > দেওয়া, দেওয়া «√dēwā, dēwā, dēyā» to cause to give ; জী «√jī» > জীয়া «jīyā» to cause to live. There are of course old causatives of OIA. which do not add this «-ā» affix, but show original root-modification (Ablaut) and behave like independent roots, which have been noted before (*supra*, pp. 876-877).

The source of this « -ā- » is the MIA. « -āva- », from OIA. « -āpa-ya- », which has been indicated above (*supra*, p. 880). The normal OIA. form « -aya- », with modification of the root vowel, became considerably curtailed from First MIA., and « -āpaya- » largely took its place. Thus we have in the Aśoka Inscriptions forms like « kārāpita-, pārāpita-, vivāsāpaya-, sāvāpaya- » (= Skt. kārīta, hārīta, vivasaya-, śrāvaya-), and in Pali « vasāpēti, sarāpēti (√smṛ), pucchāpēti (√pṛcch), siñcāpēti, palāpēti », etc., etc. This « -āpaya- » even invaded the domain of the denominative. In Second MIA., it became « -āva-, -āv-ē », and when there grew a confusion between the « -aya- > -ē- » causative and the simple verb (see *supra*, pp. 933-934), the « -āv-, -v- » form with the unmistakable « -ā-, -v- » in it easily became established as the causative affix in Late MIA. and NIA.

In the Caryās, the causative affix occurs as « -āva- », as in « bandhāvaē » *causes to bind* (Caryā 22); and this « -āva- » was contracted to « -ā- » in MB. (*supra*, p. 350, *Phonology*). The « -ā- » causative has been extremely common in Bengali from its very origin.

760. The Verbal Noun from causative roots takes the affix আন, আনে, « -ānā, -ānō », which represents « -āpa- » base + « -na »: cf. Skt. « dā-pa-na » *causing to give*, « jñā-pa-na » *causing to know, announcement*, etc. On the model of these, First MIA. built up forms like « *kārāpana, *cālāpana » etc.; and a generalised « -āpana » gave Second MIA. « -āvaṇa », extended to « -āvaṇa-a » by the « -(k)a » affix, which became the Bengali causal noun affix « -ānā, -ānā, -ānō » ('Formative Affixes Nos. 13, 13a,' *supra*, pp. 664, 665).

761. Participles of the Causative.

The Active Present Participle has the usual affix ইত, ইতে « -it-, -itē », contracted to « -t, -tē » in the Standard Colloquial (see *supra*, 'Formative Affix No. 10,' p. 663). The archaic form « -anta » is not found with causative verbs. Assamese has « -āōtā »: « kārāōtā » *one who causes to do* (beside « kārāōwā » = « kārā-ū-ā » with « -ū-ā » affix, for which see pp. 678, 679), « khuwāōtā » *one who causes to eat* (beside « khuōwā »). Bengali has to indicate the active causative participle idea by a clumsy phrase—যে কৰায় সে, যে খাবায় সে « jē kārāy sē, jē khāwāy sē », etc.

The Causative Passive Participle affix is আন, আনো «-āna, ānō» (see *supra*, p. 666). Instances of «-ānā» are not very common in MB., but they do occur: thus, ŚKK., pp. 109, 116, 318 শুখান «śukhānā» *dried*; KKC. (Vāṅga-vāṣī edition), p. 147 হারান «hārānā» *lost*; VSP., p. 263 (17th century text), সিজান «sijānā» *boiled*; etc. The more favourite way seems to have been the «-il-» affix (see *infra*, p. 1032). On the analogy of the verbal noun in «-ā», presenting an identical form with the passive participle in «-ā» («cālā» = *a going*, also *gone*; «kārā» = *a doing*, also *done*), the «-ānā» affix, found also in the causative verbal noun, seems to have been strengthened for the passive participle in Modern Bengali.

The «-ānā» affix does not seem to occur in Assamese, in Oṛiā, and in the Bihārī dialects, but it is found in E. Hindī, and in W. Hindī, and it also occurs as a passive form in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī; thus, Tulasī-dāsa has forms like «phirānō, jurānī, harakhānē, lapaṭānī, akulānī», etc.; in Early W. Hindī, the «-āna» was found, but now it seems to have fallen into disuse: thus, Kabīr has (ed. Kshiti-mōhan Sēn, III, p. 62) «māyā dēkha-kē jagata lubhānō, kāhē rē nara garabānō?.....prēma-kē hāṭha kāhē na bikānō?» *the world has been charmed seeing Māyā; why, O man, has been this boasting? why hast not been sold in the hand of love?* (it would be seen that in «bikānō» we have the causative passive participle; in the other two cases, and also in E. Hindī «harakhānē, akulānī, lapaṭānī» given above, the forms are denominative passive participles); in Rājasthānī, forms like «suṇāṇō, batāṇō» *was heard, was displayed*, etc., are past passive forms (from passive participles: cf. LSI., IX, II, p. 58); and in Northern Gujarātī, «-āṇō» is the passive participle affix for roots in «-ā», e.g., «mārāṇō» *was killed*, «dīṭhāṇō» *was seen*, «bharāṇō» *was filled*, etc. (LSI., IX, II, p. 343).

The source of this «-ānā» seems to be «-māna», the OIA. affix for the present participle for *ātmanē-pada* and passive verbs. The past sense can easily evolve in the passive verb: *being done, being caused to be done, caused to be done*, and also simply in the passive participle, *done*. There might be in this matter some influence from the «-na» passive participles of OIA., which in some cases came down to Late MIA., e.g.

« *diṇṇa*, *kiṇṇa*, *ruṇṇa*, **liṇṇa* » etc.; and already in one instance at least we have a passive participle use of « *-māna* » in Pali, in combination with « *-ta* », in « *vibhāta-māna* » *become bright* (Geiger, 'Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' § 191, note: Geiger, however, regards the reading as doubtful). The form « *-māna* » in Epic and Classical Sanskrit becomes « *-āna* », and « *-āna* » is the more common form (Whitney, 'Skt. Grammar,' § 1045 f.). The form « *-āna* » also occurs in Pali, and in later MIA. it is also found as « *-āṇa* », though there it cannot be said to be common. The passive participle use of « *-āṇa* » came in during Second MIA.: a form like « *palāṇa* » (= Skt. « *palāyita* » = Bengali + পালন, পালানো « + *pālāṇa*, *pālānō* ») already occurs in Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī (Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.,' § 126 [2]).

762. In MB. and dialectal NB., the passive participle of causatives occurs with the usual « *-il-* » affix: e.g., SKK., p. 58, লোটাইল « *lōṭāilā* » *caused to be rolled, rolled*; p. 318, আখাইল « *ākḥāilā* » *scoured, washed*; East Bengali করাইল « *kārāilā* » *done, caused to be done*, জুড়াইল « *juṛāilā* » *cooled* = Standard Literary and Colloquial « *kārāṇā*, *juṛāṇā* ». In West Bengali, as in W. Murshidabad for instance, the « *-il-* » participle (contracted to « *-l-* ») occurs in the compound tense (perfect), but not independently: e.g., লাগালচে [lagalçhe] *have you fixed?*, কি খালাছিল [ki kḥalāçhila] *what were you feeding with?*, দেওয়াচে [deōwalçhe] *is causing to give*, etc. The « *-l-* » form occurs in the Oṛiyā and in the Bihārī dialects. Assamese however prefers the « *-ā* » form (« *kārōwā* » *caused to be done* = « **karāpita-* » + « *-ā* »).

763. Double Causatives—such as are found in Bihārī (e.g., Maithilī « *dēkhab* » *see*, causal « *dēkhāēb* » *show*, double causal « *dēkhābāēb* » *cause to show*; « *girab* » *fall* > « *girāēb* » *fell* < « *girābāēb* » *cause to fell*; Bhōjpuriyā « *dēkhal*, *dēkhāwal*, *dēkhāwāwal* », etc.), in Eastern Hindī (e.g., Lakhimpurī Awadhī « *hāsab* » *smile*, « *hāsāwab*, *hāsāwāwab* »), in Western Hindī (e.g., Hindōstānī « *karnā*, *karānā*, *karwānā*; *dēnā*, *dilānā*, *dilwānā* »), in Panjābī (e.g., E. Panjābī « *sikkḥṇā* » *learn*, « *sikkḥāṇā* [sikkḥlāṇā, sikkḥālṇā], *sikkḥwāṇā* »), in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī (e.g., Gujarātī « *karvū*, *karāvavū*, *karāvāvavū* »)—have not been found in Bengali and in Oṛiyā.

But they occur in a restricted way in Assamese (*e.g.*, « kār, kārā, kārōwā »). The « -l- » causatives of Western Hindi and Panjābī, and of Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, and the « -ḷ-, -r- » causatives as in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī (*cf.* Tessitori, ‘Grammar of OWR.’, § 141 [3]), are also unknown in Bengali and its sister speeches. A few Hindōstānī « -l- » forms occur as loans: *e.g.*, বাতলান « bātālānā » *to inform, to describe*, in slang or familiar colloquial; দেলান « dēlānā » *to cause to give* in Late MB.; and the nouns ধোলাই « dhōlāi » *a causing to wash > cost of washing*, সেলাই « sēlāi » *sewing* and চোলাই « cōlāi » *distilling*.

764. There is in Bengali a periphrastic way of forming the causative with the verbal noun in « -ā » and the verb করান « kārānā » *to cause to do*. This method is exceedingly common in Rājha Bengali, outside the Standard Colloquial: thus রাখ « √rākh » *to keep*, রাখা করান « rākhā-kārānā » *to cause to keep*; so আনা করান « ānā-kārānā » *to cause to bring*, ডাকা করান « ḍākā-kārānā » *to cause to call*, খাওয়া করান « khāwā-kārānā » *to cause to eat*, দেওয়া করান « dēwā-kārānā » *to cause to give*, etc. The use of the causative form করান « kārānā » with *ts.* or *sts.* nouns is also common in Standard Bengali: *e.g.*, বান করান « snāṇḍ-kārānā » *to cause to take a bath*, গান করান « gāṇḍ-kārānā » *to make sing*, নাচ করান « nācḍ-kārānā » *to make dance*, দাঁড় করান « dāṛḍ-kārānā » *to cause to stand*, etc.; such instances are extensions of nominal compound verbs with কর « √kār », and we have cases in the ŚKK. also—*e.g.*, চেনন করান « cētānā kārānā » *to bring to senses*, পান করান « pānā kārānā » *to cause to drink*, etc.

[N] DENOMINATIVES.

765. Denominatives have occurred in all the periods of the language: *e.g.*, « mātēla » (Caityā 50: mātā < matta); ŚKK., p. 159, খাঙ্গারিবে « khāṅgāribē » *will be angry* (khāṅgā anger); p. 158, খেআইলোঁ « khēāilō » *I ferried* (khēā = ferry); p. 191, ভাওসি « bhāṇḍāsi » *jestest*, ভাওাইলি « bhāṇḍāili » *didst jest* (bhāṇḍa fool, buffoon, knave), আউলাইল « āulāilā » *dishevelled* (ākula); p. 372, বিষাইল « biṣāilā » *poisoned* (viṣa), etc.

Commonly in Bengali, the noun, if it is a short form (disyllabic > monosyllabic), is used as a root: চিন « cinḍ » (cihna)—চিনিবে, চিন্বে

« cinibē, cinbē » *will recognise*; তাত « tāṭṭ » *heat* (tapta)—তাতিল, তাত্‌ল « tāṭilā, tāṭlā » *became hot*; পাক « pākṭ » (pakva)—পাকিতেছে, পাক্‌ছে « pākītēchē, pākchē » *is becoming ripe*; কম « kām » *small, less* (Persian kam)—কমিল, ক'মল « kāmīlā, kām'lā » *became less* জম « jām » *gathering* (Perso-Arabic jam^৩)—জমিবে, জ'ম্বে « jāmibē, jām'bē » *will gather, will flourish*; etc. But the distinctive affix for the denominative in Bengali is আ « -ā- »: শাণ « śaṇṭṭ » *hone, whet-stone*, শাণাইল শাণ'ল « śaṇāilā, śaṇā'lā » *whetted*; দাঁড় « dāṛṭṭ » *stick, rod*, দাঁড়ায় « dāṛāy » *stands upright, stands*; তল « tālṭ » *bottom*, তলায় « tālāy » *goes to the bottom*; ঘন « ghāṇṭ » *thick*, ঘনাইতেছে « ghānāitēchē » *is thickening*; MB. দঢ় « dāṛḥṭ » *firm*, দঢ়ান « dāṛhāṇṭ » *to make firm*; etc., etc. No definite rule can be laid down where the formative affix is employed and where it can be dispensed with. Here in the NIA. Bengali is as arbitrary as OIA. and MIA.: cf. Sanskrit « bhiṣakti, kṛṣṇati » beside « kṛṣṇāyatē, kavayati ». It may be noted that in Dravidian, Kōl and Tibeto-Chinese, the root could be used both as a noun and a verb.

The OIA. affixes to form the denominative (apart from cases where no such affix was used) were « -a-, -ya-, -ā-ya-, -a-ya-, -i-y-a-, -i-y-a-, -ū-ya-, -u-ya-, -s-ya (-ṣ-ya) ». The form « -ā-ya- », resembling the causative affix « -āpaya (-āvaya) », seems to have become more common than the rest in Early MIA.; and the colourless or « -a- » form also was largely used (cf. Geiger, 'Pali Litteratur und Sprache,' § 186, § 158). The causative largely influenced, and then encroached upon the domain of the denominative. In Pali, *e.g.*, we find denominatives with the generalised MIA. causative affix « -āpaya- », like « ōpuñjāpēti » = Skt. « ava-puñjayati », « ussukāpēti » = « utsukāyatē », and also causative-denominatives like « sukhāpēti, dukhāpēti » (Geiger, § 187). In Second MIA., there is a greater mix-up with the causative; the old forms are retained, but « -āya- » is more prominent, and « -āya- > -āa- » and « -āpaya- > -āvē- -āv- » approach each other (Pischel, §§ 557 ff.). As it has been seen before (Bengali Denominative Passives in « -ā- », *supra*, p. 929), the distinction between the denominative and the causative is all but lost in NIA.. being preserved only in the Bibārī dialects.

The verbal noun as well as the passive participle affix for the denominative is আন < -ānā >, which seems to be extended from the causative (see *above*, pp. 1030-1032). The verbal noun in < -ila > is also found in dialectal Bengali: OIA. < danḍāyita > > MIA. < danḍāya > + < -illa > > Bengali দাঁড়াইল, as in W. Bengali (Murshidabad) দাঁড়ান্ছে < dāṛāḍ-chē > *has stood so*; জুত্ছিল = জুতাইন্ছিল < jutulchilā < jutāilchilā > *gave a beating with the shoe*, < jutā shoe >; etc.

[O] VERB SUBSTANTIVE, AND DEFECTIVE VERBS.

766. Five roots express the substantive idea in NB.: আহ্ < āch >, হ or হো < hā, hō >, থাক্ < thāk >, रह् < rāh > and বটে < bāt >.

Of these, < āch > is the most important. Bengali < āchē > *is, are* comes regularly from Second MIA. < acchāi > (which is found in Mahārāṣṭrī, Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardha-māgadhī, Āvanti, Paisāci and Western Apabhraṃśa: cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' § 480), First MIA. < acchati > (as in Pali). Various derivations of this MIA. root < acch > have been proposed, connecting it with either < √ās > *to sit* or < √as > *to be* (see Pischel, *loc. cit.*) The derivation favoured by Pischel is from OIA. < √r, ṛech > *to go*, which also meant < mūrṭti-bhāva, indriya-pralaya, dravya-kāṭhinya > *to take a form, to have loss of the senses, to become hard*, according to the *Dhātu-pāṭha*. A verb meaning *to go* may develop the sense of *being*, and we find that in Kaśmīrī < gatsh > *to go* is very often used in the sense of *being, becoming* (cf. Grierson, 'Dictionary of the Kaśmīrī Language,' ASB., pp. 313, 315). But it is highly unlikely that this most widely used IA. substantive root (see following paragraph) should be merely a semantic development out of a verb meaning *going*, and that this development should have taken place as early as the First MIA. period, if not earlier. The most satisfactory derivation of < √acch, āch, ch > is from an OIA. < * √acch >, which is not preserved in Vedic or Sanskrit. The Indo-European root < * es >, = < as > of OIA., occurred in thematic forms as well: < * es-e-ti > (which would correspond with a possible OIA. < * as-a-ti >) and < * es-ske-ti > (which would agree with an OIA. < * as-cha-ti, * acchati >), beside the athematic < * es-ti > (= OIA. < as-ti >). Sanskrit grammarians do not recognise < -cha-, -ccha- >

as a verbal theme (= « *-ske-, -sko- » of Indo-European), occurring as it does in less than a dozen roots of Skt., *e.g.*, « icch (< iṣ), uccch (< uṣ), ꣳccch (< ꣳ), gacch (< gam), pꣳccch (< * pꣳs, cf. pꣳs-ṭa), mꣳccch (< mꣳ), mūrch (< mūr), yacch (< yam), yuech (< yu), vāñch (< van) » : but the source of this « -cccha » in Indo-European, namely, « *-ske-, -sko- », was a distinctive verbal theme which is of greater frequency and importance in other branches of IE. (cf. Brugmann's *Short Comparative Grammar*, French trans., pp. 549, 550 ; A. Meillet, 'Introduction à l'Étude comparative des Langues indo-européennes', pp. 185, 186). The « *-ske/o- » theme is found with « * ✓es » in a number of ancient Indo-European speeches—Greek (*e.g.*, Homeric preterit « éskon, éske »), Latin (Old Latin future « escit ») ; Tokharian (« sketar » *is*, « skente » *are*), Armenian (subjunctive « ičem »). This derivation of « acch, acchati » has been suggested by Sylvain Lévi and A. Meillet ('Remarques sur les Formes grammaticales de quelques Textes en Tokharien B : I, Formes verbales,' p. 28, from the 'Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique,' 1912). Cf. ञ्च « ✓pābūch », *supra*, pp. 344, 473.

The root « āch (ch) » is now found in all Magadhan speeches except Magahī and Bhōjpurīyā. It seems that these two dialects also at one time possessed them, for it is occasionally met with in old poetry in Bhōjpurīyā (see *supra*, p. 167). Eastern Hindī similarly seems to have had it also : in Early Eastern Hindī, as in Malik Muhammad Jāyasī for instance, it figures (*e.g.*, at pp. 31, 35, 45, 53 of the ASB. edition,—« āchabi, āchaī, āchabī », which have been explained as meaning *good*, « acchā », by Sudhākara Dvivēdī). The MIA. source dialect of Western Hindī, Śaurasēnī, possessed it, according to Vararuci (XII, 19 : « astēr acchaḥ ») ; « achnā » is recognised in Hindī as a root, and it seems that instances of it occur in Old Western Hindī poetry, but it is no longer a living form in that speech. It is found in Gujarātī as much as in Bengali, and it is equally common in some of the Rājasthānī dialects. In Marāṭhī, it is common as « aspē ». It figures also in most of the Pahārī speeches. The range of « acch » thus appears to have been fairly extensive (see *supra*, p. 167). The loss of it in some of the NIA. speeches is nothing exceptional : witness the disuse of the Old English substantive verb « weorðan » in New English,

while it is retained (as « werden ») in New High German. But it seems this root, despite its mention as a Śaurasēṇī form by Vararuci, was not a popular one in the Midland: its being ignored by Sanskrit may be due to a restricted occurrence in the Midland; and Midland influence may have further curtailed it in Eastern Hindi and in Bhōjpuriyā and Magahī in recent times.

« āch » is a defective root in NB. as well as in MB. It occurs only in the present and the past in NB., but in MB. the imperative, present participle, conjunctive and verbal noun in « -iba » also are found. Thus,

Present: 1. আহি « āchi », 2. আহিস, আহ « āchis, āchā », 3. আহে « āchē », MB. আহএ « āchāē »; 2 and 3 honorific আহেন « āchēn », MB. আহন্তি, আহন্ত, আহন্ত « āchānti, āchēntā, āchāntā »;

Past: 1. (আ)ছিলাম, ছিলুম, ছিলেম « (ā)chilām, chilum, chilēm », MB. (আ)ছিলো « (ā)chilō » etc.; 2. (আ)ছিলি, ছিলিস « (ā)chili, chilis », (আ)ছিল « (ā)chilā », ছিলে « chilē », etc.; 3. (আ)ছিল « (ā)chilā », †আছলেক « āchālēk », MB. also (আ)ছিল « (ā)chilā »; 2 and 3 honorific ছিলেন « chilēn », MB. (আ)ছিলন্তি, (আ)ছিলান্তি, (আ)ছিলন্ত, (আ)ছিলন্ত « (ā)chilānti, (ā)chilānti, (ā)chilēntā, (ā)chilāntā »;

Imperative, MB. 3. আছউক « āchāuk », (আ)ছুক, « (ā)chuk »;

Present Participle, MB. (আ)ছিতে « (ā)chitē »;

Conjunctive, MB. (আ)ছিয়া « (ā)chiyā, ছিঅ « chi(y)ā »;

Verbal Noun, MB. আছিবা « āchibā ».

The aphæresis of the initial « ā- » is as old as eMB.: e.g., ŚKK. p. 124, ছিতে « chitē », p. 232, ছুক « chukā »; cf. also p. 124, আগুছিঅ « āguchiā » *having been before*.

In Oriyā, the past and future tense of « āch » shows another root, « tha » (as in « thilā » *he was*, « thilū » *I was*, « thibē » *they will be*, etc.), of which the source seems to be OIA. « √sthā » (« sthita > thia + -illa > thilā »; but cf. Early Assamese « thāilā » *remained* < « *thaṣya- » + « -illa »). 'S.-W. Bengali' uses a base « ṭha », also from « √sthā », but with cerebralisation, in the equivalents of Bengali ছিল « chilā » etc., in

the compound tenses (see *supra*, p. 1029). *Beside equivalents of* « *acchita + -illa », *MIA. forms based on* « sthita + -illa » *were thus current in the Prakrit dialects brought to Bengal.*

767. Root ह, ह॑ « hā, hō ». This is apparently a single root in NB., but the form really represents two roots which have merged into one—one being « √ah » or « √ha » from OIA. « √as », the other « √hō » from OIA. « √bhū ». The distinction between the two is preserved in many NIA. speeches, at least in form. Thus, we have Magahī past forms « hal, halai » from « √ha », beside « hōl, bhēl » from root « √hō, bha = √bhū » ; W. Hindī has « hai » *is*, « hū » *am* (in Early W. Hindī literature frequently occurring as « ahai, āhai ; ahaū, ahū, āhū » etc., from « √ah, as »), beside « hōwē, hōē ; hōwū, hōū » *may be* (from « √hō = bhū »). Cf. Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' § 219, for « √ah » in Maithilī. And in West Bengali, in the Khārīā-ṭhār dialect of Manbhum District, the verb occurs as আহ় « āhāy » *is* (LSI., V, I, p. 97).

The OIA. « √bhū » became « hō, hū » in the NIA. languages. In MB., we have হ়, হ়় « huē, hōē », with its equivalents « huāī, hōī » in Ōriya and « hōwē » in Early Assamese. MB. and Assamese show beside these the form হ়, হ়় « hāē, hāy », honorific MB. হ়ন্তি « hāyānti = hāānti » (p. 9, Chuṭī Khān's 'Mahābhārata'), হ়ন্ত « hāyāntā = hāāntā » (ibid., p. 56), হ়ন্তি « hānti », etc. In the ŚKK., however, the « hō » form is extremely rare, occurring only once, and « hā » is the common form. In the Caryās, we find « hōī » and « hōnti », and the « ha, ah » form does not occur. The past tense of « √hō », apart from হ়ইল « hōilā » which has merged in হ়ইল « hāīlā » (< *āh-il-ā), shows in OB. and MB., as well as in Early Assamese, the forms ভইল, ভয়িল, ভৈল, ভৈলা « bhāīlā, bhāyilā, bhāilā, bhāilā », etc. A conjunctive ভই « bhāī » is also known. The « bha » base occurs also side by side with « hō » in other NIA. (e.g., W. Hindī (Hindōstānī) « hūā » beside dialectal « bhayā » ; and we can also note the Hindī verb « bhāwē » = « bhāvayati », (cf. the MB. ভ় « bhāy ») *seems*. OIA. « √bhū » gave « hō » through the occurrence of the verb in the middle of the sentence (see *supra*, p. 553), and side by side with this intervocal « -h- » modification, the original initial « bh- » seems to have remained as a stereotyped form in the same area.

In MIA., all roots of OIA. tended to conform to the thematic « -a- » group. Root « as », athematic in Vedic and Sanskrit, would thus seem to have developed a thematic form « * as-a-ti » beside « as-ti », if this did not already exist in OIA. OIA subjunctive forms, like « ásati, ásat » might have exerted some influence here. The OIA. 'athematic « as-ti » survives through MIA. « atthi » in the Gujarātī negative form « nathī < nāsti », and is not found elsewhere in NIA. The form « * as-a-ti » seems to be the source of NIA. আহর « āhāy » (West Bengali), হএ হয় « hāē, hāy » (Standard or Common Bengali), « ahaī, hai » (W. Hindi), « āhē » (Marāṭhī), etc. This « * as-a-ti » however, has not been found in MIA., and the phonetic puzzle of the change of « -s- » to « -h- » remains unsolved (*supra*, pp. 549-550). Jules Bloch suggests connecting Marāṭhī « āhē » with OIA. « ā-bhāvati », as a likely derivation of it ('Langue Marathe,' p. 294). But the loss of prefix « ā- » over a great part of the North Indian area would be strange. In any case, with the distinct occurrence in NIA. of « hō, ha » side by side, « ha » cannot with any certitude be derived from « bhū ». Bengali phonology shows that the source of « ha » in OB. was « * ah » and not « hō=bhū »: নয় « nāy » is not < ন-হয় « nā-hāy » = « na + * ahaī »; নইলে < নহিলে « nāilē < nāhilē » on not being < « na + * ahilē »; MB. নহিব « nāhibā » shall not be = « na + * ahiba »: the change is of « ā+ā > ā > ā » (for which see *supra*, pp. 347, 555). In the Standard Colloquial, MB. করিব, চলিব « kārībā, cālībā » I shall do, I shall go by loss of the interior « -i- » and mutation of the preceding « -ā- » give [korbo, ʃolbo], but there is no such mutation in the case of বহিব, সহিব « bāhibā, sāhibā » I shall bear, I shall suffer > [bobo, ʃobo], when the « -i- » is dropped; but when the « -i- » is retained (the presence of « -h- » preventing the hiatus in OB. and eMB. has something to do with the preservation of the « -i- » in such cases), we have mutation: [boibo, ʃoibo]. Now হইব « hāibā » shall be gives in the Standard Colloquial [ʃobo]: this would seem to be based on *অহিব, *অহব « *āhibā, *āhbā », which then by metathesis becomes হব « hābā » [ʃobo]. A form from « hō=bhū », হোইব « hōibā » would give in the Standard Colloquial * [ʃobo], with « -ō- » in the root, but such a form is unknown. In the past tense (first person), we

have for the above roots, respectively, [korlum (kollum), c̣ollum], but [boilum, joilum] and [fiolum] : [bolum, ſolum] would be exceedingly rare, and wrong for the Standard Colloquial dialect ; and [fiolium] never occurs. [fiolum] apparently is not based on * āh-il-um < √ āh >, but rather on * hō-il-um < √ bhū > : in the former case it would have fallen in line with [boilum, joilum], and with [koilum] < √ kāh > to *speak* etc., and preserved the * -i- > (in the Standard Colloquial). The future tense thus seems to preserve * √ āh >, and the past * √ hō >.

768. The root रह् < rāh > to *remain, to continue to be* (the causative of which occurs in the ŚKK., रहाए < rāhāē > stops), is a regular verb which can be said to form one of the substantives in Bengali. It occurs in other NIA.—Marāṭhī < rahāṇē, rāhṇē >, Gujarati < rahēvū >, Sindhi < rahaṇu >, Panjābī < rahiṇā >, W. Hindi < rahnā >, E. Hindi < rahab > : it is found also in the Dardic Kāśmīrī.

This root is of obscure origin. A common derivation is to regard it as an intransitive formation from a passive verb : Skt. < rakṣyatē > is *preserved, is kept* > MIA. < rakkhiaī > < rākhiaī, * rāhiaī, * rāhiaī > > NIA. < rahaī > *remains* (cf. Platts, 'Hindustānī Dictionary,' under < rahnā >). Despite the presence of the Marāṭhī < rāhṇē >, this derivation is not convincing. Then the NIA. form < rah > cannot be affiliated to any of the Sanskrit roots, < rah > to *separate, to abandon*, < rañh > to *hasten, to speed*, and < lañh > to *leap over*, because of the insurmountable difference of meaning. This root however occurs in MIA., e.g., Jaina Prakrit < rahaē > *remains, stays*, and MIA. dēśī < rāho = nirantarah > (as referred to by Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 393).

It would be strange indeed if such an important NIA. root, a root of elementary significance, and so widely spread too, should not be of OIA. origin. There is the Skt. root < arh = argh > to *deserve, to merit, to be worthy of, to have a claim to, to be entitled to, to be worth, to be able*, etc. This is connected with the Greek < alphē > *worth, value* ; and Skt. < √ arj > to *acquire* is also supposed to be related to this < √ argh, arh > (Uhlenbeck, 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischer Sprache' ; also J. Leumann, *ibid.*, I Theil, Dissertation, Strassburg, 1893). In Pali

« √ rah » figures as « araha- » : but the old meaning is preserved. Skt. « √ arh » in the present tense second person is used with the infinitive as a polite request : « kartum arhasi, dātum arhasi » *please do, please give*. This « arh, araha- » does not agree with the NIA. « rah » in sense, although in form they are almost identical.

There is in Middle High German a verb « rēgen » meaning *to raise oneself up, to be rigid, to be fixed*, in Modern German « emporragen » *to tower*, « hervorragen » *to rise above, to project, to stand out*. There is also in Latin a verb « rigeo, rigēre » *to be fixed, to stiffen*. It has been suggested that the Latin and the German forms are connected, and the hypothetical Indo-European root « * régh-o-, * řgh-é- » has been proposed as the source of both (August Fick, 'Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen,' Göttingen, 1890, p. 517 : Fick regarded this as belonging specially to the West European i.e. "centum" group of Indo-European, and he further connected the Greek « √ arkh » *to be first* and Lithuanian « rāgas », Old Slav « rogŭ » *horn* : W. Prellwitz accepts all this in his 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache,' Göttingen, 1905, under « árkhō » ; E. Boisacq, however, regards these etymologies as dubious, 'Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue grecque,' Heidelberg, 1906, under « arkhós » ; and A. Walde also disputes them, 'Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,' Heidelberg, 1910, under « rigeo, recens, frigeo »).

Was there a root « * ragh, rah » = *to stand, to be fixed, to be stiff* also in OIA. ? The possibility of an OIA. form like « * ragh, rah » is made a probability by the presence in most NIA. of « √ rah », and also of « √ raha » in MIA. (as in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī « sō ya alva jūya-pasanggi ; nivasana-māttam pi na rahaē » *he is exceedingly addicted to gambling : not even his clothes remain* : Jacobi, 'Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī,' Leipzig, 1886, p. 58 : it features also in the Jaina kārya « Sīri-sirivāla-kahā » : cf. 'Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavō' by Hargovinddas Trikamchand Seth, Calcutta, 1925 ; it occurs also in the late work 'Prākṛta-Pāṇḍala'). The use of this root in MIA. Jaina texts favours the assumption that it also occurred in the traditional Ardha-māgadhī from Early MIA. times. The eastern dialect of Aśōka undoubtedly

is *Ardha-māgadhi* of the Early MIA. period (cf. H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,' p. 41). In that puzzling passage in *Aśoka's* Pillar Edict IV, «*lajūkā pi laghamti paṭicalitavē maṁ (,) pulisāni pi mē chaṁdamnāni paṭicalisaṁti*», the word «*laghamti*=*laghanti*» has been interpreted to mean *are eager* (=«*raṅghantē*»: Bühler) and *they must* (=«*arhanti*»: *auch die Lajjukas müssen mir gehorchen*, H. Lüders, 'Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften,' Vol. LIII, 1913, p. 993). But it seems very likely that it means *remain*, and is the *Aśōkan* equivalent of the NIA. «*rah*»: *the Lajjukas also remain (are staying) to serve (obey) me, and they will also serve (obey) the officials who know my will* seems to be the proper translation (cf. A. C. Woolner, 'Asoka Text and Glossary,' 1925, II, p. 86). The sense of «*√arh*», with an implication of compulsion, is hardly suitable in this general statement in the above passage. In *Bhabra* Inscription, however, we have the OIA. «*√arh*» in the form «*alah*» with the «*a-*» retained: thus, «*alahāmi hakam tam vatavē*» (= *arhāmy aham tad vaktavē*=*vaktum*). The assumption of an OIA. root «**ragh, rah, lagh*», from the occurrence of it in NIA. and in (Late) MIA. (*Jaina Prakrit*) and from the presence in extra-Indian Iudo-European of «*rēgen, rigeo*» etc., seems to be borne out by the *Aśōkan* «*laghamti*». And it is not unlikely that there was a confusion between this «**ragh, rah, lagh*» and «*argh, arh, arah, alah*» in MIA.

769. Root थक् «*thāk*» to remain < to be fixed. It is commonly derived from the OIA. «*√sthā*», but Hoernle connects it with «*√stabh + kṛ*» > MIA. «*thakka*» (see *supra*, p. 680). This is certainly the true derivation, although it is possible that OIA. «*√sthā*» > «*thā, tha*» has merged into it: cf. *Oṛiyā* «*√thā*» beside «*√thāk*», *Assamese* past form «*thāilā*», *Bengali* causative थোয় «*thōy*» *places* (*sthāpayati*). Equivalents of this root occur in other NIA.—in *Bihārī*, in *W. Hindī*, in *Gujarātī*; and it is found in Late MIA.,—in the '*Prākṛtā Pāṅgala*,' for instance.

770. Root बट् «*bāṭ*» as a substantive verb in the Standard Colloquial is frequently used to express doubt or polite assent, and as such is ordinarily restricted to the 3rd person present only—बटे

« *bātē* »—which has practically been reduced to a particle of assent or query in Standard NB. The root is defective in not having past and future forms, and conjunctives, participles and verbal nouns. The forms for the 1st and 2nd persons, and the honorific, are sometimes used: বট « *bāṭi* » *I am, I may be*; বটিস, বট « *bāṭis, bāṭa* »; বটেন « *bāṭēṇa* », generally with the conjunction যদি, যদিও « *yādi, yādi-ō* » *if, although*. The 3rd personal form is sometimes used for emphasis—সেই বটে « *sēi bātē* » *it is he indeed*. In the West Rājha dialects, the use of « *bātē* » as the equivalent of « *āchē* » and « *hāy* » is still preserved: e.g., in Manbhum, তোমার হাতে বটিতে কি? « *tōmāṇa hātē ghaṭi-tē ki?* » *what have you got in the vessel in you hand?* জল বটে « *jāla bātē* » *it is water*.

In Oriyā, the counterpart of « *bāt* » is « *āṭ* », also a defective verb. The loss of the initial « *b* (<*v*) » in Oriyā seems to have been brought about by the occurrence of the verb in the middle of the sentence, which helped to reduce the « *v-* », which became « *b-* » in Bengali, to a glide « *w* » which came to be dropped. Maithilī and Magahī have not preserved the root, but in Bhōjpuriyā it is a very common and useful substantive verb, its forms there being « *bāt-*, « *bār-*, « *bā*, « *bā-ni* » etc.

The source of this root is the OIA. « *vṛt* » *to turn, to revolve, to roll, to take place, to occur, to exist, to remain* etc.: « *vartatē* », MIA. *Māgadhi* « *vaṭṭati, vaṭṭai* » > বটে « *bātē* » (see *supra*, p. 319).

771. Some Bengali verbs present irregularities in their conjugations, especially in the past bases. But these irregularities are not so great as in Panjābī or Marāṭhī. The process of standardisation early levelled down the passive participle bases derived from MIA. to a regular « *-il-* » form in Bengali. A few survivals, however, remain. Thus কর « *√kār* », past tense MB. করিল « *kārila* » (> NB. ক'রল ক'লল, করলে ক'ললে [korlo, kollo, korle, kolle]) is a new and regular formation in eMB. from the root, but the earlier form derived from MIA. « **kaṣa-illa* » is the OB. and MB. কৈল « *kāila* », now obsolete or dialectal: cf. Oriyā « *kālā* », Bihārī « *kail* ». So মরিল « *mārila* » *died* > ম'রল ম'লল [morlo, mollo], beside the older মৈল « *māila* », which is found in both standard and dialectal Bengali as ম'ল [molo]; and on the analogy of « *kāila, māila* », we have in MB.

a seemingly archaic মাইল « māilā » (whence the dialectal West Bengali মেল « mēlē », i.e., « māil-ē ») for a regular মারিল « mār-il-ā » *he struck* (« mārita + -illa », a causative form, which occurs in the Standard Colloquial as মারলে, মাললে [marle, malle < *marile]); and also পৈল « pāilā » *fell* in MB., for পড়িল « pāṛilā » > NB. পড়ল [porlo]. Root যা, জা « jā » (OIA. « yā- ») has the past base গেল « gēlā » = Early Assamese « gālā », Oṛiyā « gālā », Bihārī « gail », from OIA. « gata » + « -ila »; this is the genuine and current form, and যাইল « jāilā » is a regular « sādhu-bhāṣā » creation out of যা « √jā », which is not the spoken form. The conjunctive forms are গেলে « gēlē » and গিয়া, গিয়ে « giyā, giyē » *on going, having gone* (cf. Early Bengali, Early Assamese গই « gāi », also found in OB.); but য়েলে « jēlē » and য়েয়ে « jēyē » would appear to be extremely uncommon in colloquial Bengali, and would seem to be based on the literary forms যাইলে, যাইয়া « jāilē, jāiyā ».

772. The roots meaning *give* and *take* have had a close inter-influence in their history. OIA. root « dā » *to give* did not use its reduplicated forms in MIA., and already in Transitional MIA. (Bharhut), it figures as « dēti » < *dayati, apparently through analogy of « nayati » > nēti » (from « √ni » *to lead, to take away*). The passive participle base was « datta » in OIA. (which seems to be preserved in the Panjābī « dittā »); and a form *dita also occurred in OIA., which gave W. Hindī « diyā », Bengali দিল « di-lā »; beside another in « -nn- », attested from MIA. « dīṇṇa- » and NIA. « dīṇau » (W. Hindī, Brajbhāṣhā), « dīṇha » (Early Awadhī), « dīdhō = *dīndhau, dīndhau » (Gujārātī : cf. Tessitori, 'Grammar of OWR.', § 126 [3]). We have besides the form « dēl- » in Bihārī, in which occurs the vocalism of the present. NB. Vowel Harmony has largely modified the original disposition of the « -i- » and « -ē- » vowels (see *supra*, p. 894). For *take*, we have as many as *three* roots in Bengali. The standard « sādhu-bhāṣā » knows only ল, লহ « √lā, lāh » (which, if it is not the Skt. « labh », is at least influenced by its *tbh.* form « √lah ») : Present 1. লই « lāi », 2. লইস, ল'স « lāis, lās », লহ, লও « lāhā, lāō », 3. লহে, লয় « lāhē, lāy », honorific ল'ন, লয়েন, লহেন « lānā, lāyēnā, lāhēnā »; Imperative 2. ল « lā < lāhā », লও, লহ « lāō, lāhā < lāhāhā »,

3. লউক < lāuk >, honorific লউন < lāün >; Past base লইল < lāilā- >, Future base, লব, লইব < lābā-, lāibā- >, Conjunctive লইয়া < lāiṣā >, Passive Participle লওয়া < lāwā >. This < lāh, lā > root occurs in MB. literature also. But it is never used in spoken Bengali. The vocalism parallels that of roots লহ, বহ < sāh, bāh > as given above (e.g., Future [jāhibo > joibo, jōbo], so [lāhibo > loibo, lōbo]), and thus indicates the form < lah > (< labh >) as a source of the NB. root. The dialects (other than Standard Colloquial) use a root লে < lē >, e.g., Present 1. লি(হে) < li(i) >, 2. লিস্ < lis >, লেও > লাও < lēo > lāo >, 3. Present লেয় < lēy > [læð], Past লিলে < lilē >, Future লিবে, লেবে < libē, lēbē >, Conjunctive লিয়ে < liyē >, etc.: this root is now regarded as vulgar; but it figures in MB., and in OB. (e.g., Caryā 14, < kawāḍi na lēi, bōḷi na lēi > takes not a cowrie shell, takes not a farthing; Caryā 10, < lēmi > I take; 32, < lēhu > you take; 49, < lēli > taken). It seems that this < √lē >, and < lā, lāh > were confused with each other: < lē > was made to approach < lāh > as an elegant, literary form. The OB. conjunctive forms < lāi > (Caryās 29, 38, 47), < lāiā > (28, 45), < lāiā > (26) seem already to be the result of this confusion in changing the root vowel of < lē > to < la > as in < lah > (cf. NB. dialectal < liyē > having taken < √lē >). This < lē > is found in Bihārī, in E. Hindī, in W. Hindī (lē-nā), etc. The source of it seems to be the OIA. root < lā > to take, as in Sanskrit. In Sanskrit, however, this root is not so common. The popular Skt. root is < grah >, which is represented by forms in some of the NIA. speeches. The change of < lā > to < lē > is probably the result of the influence of < dēi, dēti = dāti, dadāti > (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe', p. 400, under *lenem*). The Standard Colloquial root meaning to take (occurring also in MB.) is লি, নে < ni, nē >, now conjugated exactly on the model of < dē > (see *supra*, p. 894). It may be that this form is due to the change of the initial < l- > of < lē > to < n- > (see *Phonology*, p. 545); but it is at least equally likely that here we have the OIA. root < nī > to lead, to carry off for one's self > to take. We have আন < ān > = < ā + √nī > as a common verb in Bengali; and it is exceedingly likely that OIA. < √nī > has also survived in Bengali.

OB. had the root « ghēn » *to take* (< OIA. grhṇāti) : cf. Caryā 6, « ghini (= ghēni) mēli » = « grhītvā muktivā », according to the Commentary. It is lost to Bengali now, but Oṛiyā still retains this root as a common form (√ghēn).

It is curious that the root for *taking* also means *wearing (clothes)*, in Oṛiyā (« √ghēn »), in Marāṭhī (lēṇē), and in MIA. (« laīam parihiṭam : laīam aṅgē pinaddham ity anyē » — ‘Dēśināma-māla’ quoted by Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ p. 400 : cf. Skt. « vāsāmsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya navāni grhṇāti narō’ parāṇi »).

773. Root आ « √ā » *to come* is a defective root, which is affiliated to root आइस, आस « √āis, ās » *to come* (< OIA. ā + √vis), to supply an optional past form and the familiar imperative (= singular). Thus—

3 Present, MB., NB. (sādhū-bhāṣā) আইসে, আসে « āisē, āsē », NB. Standard Coll. আসে « āsē »; 3 Past, MB. আইসিল « āisilā », NB. (sādhū-bhāṣā) আসিল « āsilā », also MB. আইল « āilā », NB. Standard Coll. এল [elo], East Bengali আঁল [aɪ̃lɔ]; 3 Future, MB., NB. (sādhū-bhāṣā) আসিবে « āsibē », NB. আসবে [aɪ̃bē]; Imperative, 2 familiar or inferior আর « āy », 2 ordinary « sādhū-bhāṣā » আইস « āisā », Standard Coll. এসো [eʃo], আইসুক, আসুক « āisukṣ, āsukṣ », 2, 3 honorific আ(ই)সুন « ā(i)sunṣ », Future Imperative 2 inferior আ(ই)সিস্ « ā i)sis », ordinary NB. আইসিও « ā(i)siō » > এসো [eʃo]; Conjunctive আসিয়া « āsiyā », এসে « ēsē »; Absolute, আসিলে « āsilē » > আস্লে « āslē », beside আইলে « āilē » > NB. এলে « ēlē »; Present Participle আসিতে « āsitē » > আস্তে « āste ».

The form « ā » comes from OIA. « ā + √yā » : « āyāta + -ila- > *āilla- > *āilla- > আইল « āilā- > এল [elo]. The verbal noun connected with this root is আনা « ānā », which is not found by itself : but here, as the OB. form « avanā-gavanā » *coming and going* (found in the Caryās : = NB. আনাগোনা « ānā-gōnā ») shows, we have « √gam » — « āgamana- + gamana- ». It seems a MIA. form like « *āwāi » (= OIA. *ā-gamati) has merged into « ā + √yā ». The present tense of « √ā » is not found in NB., but OB. shows « āvai » (Caryā 42; also spelt « āvayi » in Caryā 43). Corresponding to this OB. « āvai, avanā- » we have W. Hindi 3 Present « āwē », Verbal Noun or Infinitive « ānā »; in Biḥarī

(Maithilī), Verbal Noun « āb », Present Participle « ābait » beside « āōt », 3 Future and Conditional Past (= original Present Participle) « autā », Present 3 person original singular « āē » beside « ābai », plural > honorific « ābathī », Future 1st person « āēb, āōb », conjunctive « ābi, āī, āy ». (Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' §§ 312, 313). The Maithilī « -b-, -o- » forms, both from original « -w- », clearly show that as in Bengali, we have also the OIA. « *āgamati » > MIA. « *āwāi » form: Maithilī « āē = āī < āyāti », and « ābai = āwāi < *āgamati, ābathi < āgamanti, āeb < āyātavya, āob < *āgamitavya ». The Maithilī past base always is « ail- », where it is < « āyāta + -illa », as in Bengali « āilā » : cf. W. Hindī « āyau, āyā » (< ā-yāta-ka).

Three OIA. roots preceded by the « ā- » particle thus feature in the Bengali verb for *coming* : « ā-viś », « ā-yā » and « ā-gam ».

[P] DUPLICATED VERBS.

774. Certain verb-forms are doubled in Bengali to indicate repeated, intense or continuous action. These are either conjunctives in « -iyā » (or « -i » in Early Bengali), or present participles in « -itē », used with an adverbial force with reference to the finite verb. Thus we have in OB. (Caryā 10) « chaī chōī = chōī chōī » *frequently touching*; (26) « dhuni dhuni » *by continually carding (cotton)*; (31) « cāhantē cāhantē » *continually scrutinising*; MB., Caṇḍī-dāsa, ঝুরিয়া ঝুরিয়া কান্দে « jhuriyā jhuriyā kāndē » *weeps (silently) shedding tears continually*; Gōvinda-dāsa, উড়িয়া পড়িয়া যাতল ভ্রমর ঝুরিয়া ঝুরিয়া বু. « uriyā pāriyā mātālā bhrāmārā ghuriyā ghuriyā bulē » *the drunken bee flies and moves and circles round and round*, হাসিয়া হাসিয়া অঙ্গ দোলাইয়া নাচিয়া নাচিয়া যায় « hāsiyā hāsiyā āṅgā dōlāiyā nāciyā nāciyā jāy » *goes smiling always, swinging the body and dancing always*; NB. দেখে দেখে « dēkhē dēkhē » *seeing for a long time*, খেটে খেটে « khēṭē khēṭē » *working continuously*, etc. This usage goes back at least to MIA. : cf. Late Skt. « pītṛvā pītṛvā punaḥ pītṛvā, patitṛvā ca mahitālē », an idiom based on MIA.

775. There are a number of roots which are used in pairs—roots similar in meaning, or indicating connected ideas, and together they

convey an intensive idea, or the idea of the entire process involved (cf. under 'Onomatopoeitic Roots,' p. 591). These do not make what are known as 'Compound Verbs,' as both the roots take inflexions; e.g., NB. বুঝে-সুঝে « bujhē-sujhē » *understanding well*, ধুয়ে-মুছে « dhuyē-muchē » *washing and wiping=making clean completely*, মেরে-ধ'রে « mērē-dhōrē » *striking and restraining=forcibly*, কাঁদে-কাটে « kādē-kāṭē » *weeps and fidgets*, past tense কাঁদল-কাটল « kādla-kāṭla », future কাঁদবে-কাটবে « kādbe-kāṭbe »; নাচে কাঁদে « nācē-kōdē » *dances and capers*, past নাচল-কুঁদল « nāclā-kūdlā », future নাচবে-কুঁদবে « nācbē-kūdbē »; লাফাল-ঝাঁপাল « lāphālā-jhāpālā » *leapt and jumped*; হটকানো-পাটকানো « huṭkānō-pāṭkānō » *to turn topsy-turvey, to ransack*; etc. They occur in earlier Bengali as well: SKK., ছিড়ি-জুলি « chiṇḍi-juli » *tearing and scattering*; so ভাঁগি-জুলি « bhāgi-juli »; উধাআঁ-পাধাআঁ « uṭhāā-pāthāā » *cheering and heartening*; 'Sayings of Dāka,' ধোইয়া-পোছিয়া « dhōiyā-pāucchiyā » *washing and wiping = thoroughly washing*; etc.

There is another kind of reduplication, behaving like the roots which are used in pairs, in which, following the habit of Bengali with regard to nouns, the verb is repeated by an artificial form in which the vowel or the consonant in the initial syllable of the verb is changed, and a jingle thus results, which continues the idea of the verb, or brings in notions of a similar nature: e.g., খেয়ে-দেয়ে « khēyē-dēyē » *having finished one's meal*; জিরিয়ে-টিরিয়ে « jiriyē-ṭiriyē » *resting and reposing*; কাঁদে টাদে « kādē-ṭādē » *weeps and sorrows*; ঝাড়লে-ঝুড়লে « jhārlē-jhurlē » *wiped and cleaned* (see *supra*, p. 176, on 'Echo Words'). This form is also found in MB.: e.g., Dāka, খায়-দায়, না পালে হাতী « khāy-dāy, nā pālē hāṇḍī » *eats and enjoys, but does not attend to the cooking pot*.

776. There is in Bengali, as in other NIA., a common Verbal Noun of Reciprocity, which may be noted in this connexion. The verbal root or the noun is doubled, and they are connected by a link vowel « -ā- », and the second part of this reduplicated form takes the affix « -i < -ī »: e.g., জানাজানি « jānā-jāni » *knowing in common*, বলাবলি « bālā-bālī » *informing each other*, হুড়াহুড়ি « huṛā-huṛī » *pushing and pulling each other*, মারামারি « māṛā-māri » *striking each other > fighting*, দেখাদেখি

« dēkhā-dēkhi » *seeing each other, mutual seeing*, घृषाघृषि « ghuṣā-ghuṣi » *fighting with fisticuffs*, कानाकानि « kānā-kāni » *talking with mouth by each other's ears, whispering*, हाताहाति « hātā-hāti » *hand-to-hand fight*, मुखामुखि « mukhā-mukhi » *face-to-face*, etc. These nouns can be used adverbially.

Similar formations are known to OIA. Pāṇini has already noted them, under *Bahu-vr̥hi* compounds (cf. 'Aṣṭādhyāyī,' II, ii, 27, and V, iv, 127 : « kēśā-kēśi, daṇṭā-daṇṭi, karṇā-karṇi, muṣṭā-muṣṭi, jalpā-jalpi » etc.) In OIA., these are nominal compounds only, the « -ā- » being the modification of the stem-vowel of the word. This formation occurred with concrete nouns as well as verbal nouns in OIA. (cf. « jalpā-jalpi ») ; and the final « -i » seems to have been strengthened by « -ka » in MIA., so that it could be retained in NIA. as « -ī, -i » (-ika > -ia > -ī, -i : * karṇā-karṇi-ka > * karṇākaraṇiā > kārṇākāni, -ni).

Repeated roots of the type noted above in § 775 form by analogy compounds of a similar type, only the reciprocal sense is absent : e.g., छेच्छामेति « cēcā-mēci » *shouting and noise (singly or by many)*, क्रीडाक्रीडि « kṛīḍā-kṛīḍi » *weeping and sorrowing*, etc.

[Q] COMPOUND VERBS.

777. Modern IA. languages agree in having a remarkable idiomatic use of verb roots in connexion with a noun or a verbal conjunctive or participle. The noun which is compounded is in the accusative, and occasionally in the locative ; and the verbal form remains unaffected, the root following taking the temporal and personal affixes. The two parts combined form one idea. The inflected root in such a group, though outwardly in form the principal part modified by a noun or by a participle, is properly the auxiliary ; and sometimes it has no special force, although generally it strengthens or otherwise modifies the idea of the preceding verbal participle or noun. The use of this 'Compound Verb' or 'Group Verb' construction amply compensates for the loss of the root-modifying prefixes which form such a characteristic feature of Sanskrit and of Indo-European speeches outside India. In English, the modifying prefix now comes after (e.g., *to lie down, to sit down, to put off, to put out*), though

we have older forms (like *to with-stand, to for-give, to for-get, to up-set, etc.*). So for English *sit down*, and Skt. « ni + √sad », we have in Bengali বসিয়া পড়া « *bāsiyā pārā* », lit. *having sat, to fall*, = Hind. « baith jānā » *having sat, to go*. The loss of the root-prefix both in form and significance (e.g., « upa-vīṣati » becoming « bāisē, bāsē », « pra + √āp » becoming « √pā ») as well as the absence of new root-modifying prefixes or particles when the old ones were lost by assimilation, has gradually brought about this make-shift of the Compound Verb. These compound verbs supply to some extent the want of modal and temporal affixes, and are as characteristic of the modern Indo-Aryan speeches as the 'aspects' of the verb in the Slav languages.

In this point there is a remarkable agreement with Dravidian (see *supra*, p. 174). In the Dravidian languages, compound verbs of exactly similar formation and function occur, e.g., in Tamil, with « kolḷu » *take*, « varu » *come*, « viḍu » *leave*, « pō » *go*, « uru » *come*, « adi » *strike*, « paḍu » *suffer*, etc.; in Telugu, with « konu » *buy, take*, « vesenu » *throw*, « iccu » *give*, etc. It is very likely that here we have another contribution of Dravidian in the formation of Modern Indo-Aryan speeches.

778. The Compound Verb occurs from the earliest period in NIA. We have, e.g., in the Caryās, « diṭa(= diḍha)-karia » (1), « ? cauri-nila » (2), « ṭuṭi-gēli » (36), « ? saḍi-paḷiā » (44), « uṭhē (= uṭhi)-gēli » (47); in the ŚKK., আগি দিবে « *āṇi dibō* » *I shall bring*, কাড়ি নিলে « *kāṛhi nilē* » *snatched away*, লাগি গেল « *lāgi gēlē* » *become fired*, কহিআ দেহ « *kāhiā dehā* » *do describe*, মুছিআ পেলাইবে « *muchiā pēlaiḍō* » *shall wipe off*, etc., etc. Examples are common in MB.

779. Types of the Compound Verb in Bengali.

(Cf. J. T. Platts, 'Hindustānī Grammar,' pp. 169-180; S. H. Kellogg, 'Hindī Grammar,' pp. 257-279; Grierson, 'Maithilī Grammar,' pp. 289-298.)

I. Nominals.

(a) Accusative : জমা করা « *jāmā-kārā* » *to gather*, দর্শন করা « *dārsāṇḍ-kārā* » *to see* (e.g., *the deity in a temple*), দর্শন দেওয়া « *dārsāṇḍ-dēwā* » *to*

show oneself, আহাৰ কৰা « āhārṣ-kārā » *to eat*, আহাৰ দেওয়া « āhārṣ-dēwā » *to feed*, পাস or ফেল কৰা or হওয়া « pāsṣ-, phēṣṣ, kārā, hāwā » *to pass or fail (in examination)*, স্বাদ নেওয়া « swādṣ-nēwā » *to taste*, জল দেওয়া « jāṣṣ-dēwā » *to water*, নাম নেওয়া « nāmṣ-nēwā » *to repeat the name (of God)*, লাফ দেওয়া « lāphṣ-dēwā » *to jump* (Sanskritised in the « sādhu-bhāṣā » as লক্ষ প্রদান কৰা « lāmphā-prādāṣṣ kārā »), etc., etc.

(b) Locative : আগ বাড়া or বাড়ান « āgṣ-bārā, -bārāṣ » *to advance*, গা কৰা « gā-kārā » *to receive properly, to attend (receive on body, cf. গায়ে মাখা « gāṣ mākhā » = to smear on the body in the same sense)*, etc.

(c) With the locative verbal noun (or infinitive) in ইতে « -itē » :

(i) Inceptives (with « √lāg » *to be attached*) : কৰিতে > ক'ৰ্তে লাগা « kārītē > kōrtē lāgā » *to set to do*, থাইতে > থেতে লাগা « khāitē > khētē lāgā » *to set to eat*, etc.

(ii) Desideratives : দিতে চাওয়া « ditē cāwā » *to wish to give* (with « √cā, cāh » *to want*) ;

(iii) Acquisitives : দেখিতে > দেখ্তে পাওয়া « dēkhītē > dēkhtē pāwā » *to be able to see* (with « √pā » *to get*),

(iv) Permissives : বসিতে > ব'স্তে দেওয়া « bāsitē > bōstē dēwā » *to allow to sit* (« √dē » *to give*) ;

(v) Potentials : চলিতে > চ'ল্তে পাবা « cālītē > cōltē pārā » *to be able to walk* (« √pār » *to be able*).

(d) With the verbal noun in « -i » and in « -ā » : Reflexives : মুড়ি দেওয়া « muṣi-dēwā » *to wrap oneself up*, শুড়ি মাৰা « guṣi-mārā » *to creep, to cower*, হামা দেওয়া « hāmā-dēwā » *to crawl on all fours*, etc., etc.

II. Verbals.

(a) With the conjunctive (in « -iyā, -ē ») :

(i) Intensives : কাড়িয়া > কেড়ে নেওয়া « kāṣiyā > kērē nēwā » *to snatch away*; ভাঙিয়া > ভেঙ্গে দেওয়া « bhāṅgiyā > bhēṅgē dēwā » *to break fully*; আসিয়া > এসে পড়া « āsiyā > ēsē pārā » *to come along, to reach*; উঠিয়া > উঠে পড় « uṭhiyā > uṭhē pārā » *to get up*; দিয়া > দিয়ে দেওয়া « diyā > diyē dēwā » *to give away*; ভাগিয়া > ভেগে পড়া « bhāṅgiyā > bhēgē pārā » *to decamp*; সরিয়া > স'রে পড়া « śāriyā > sōrē pārā » *to retire (silently)*;

উঠিয়া পড়িয়া > উঠে পড়ে লাগা « *uṭhiyā-pāriyā* » *uṭhē-pōrē lāgā* » *to be up and doing, to be at something tenaciously*; etc., etc.

(ii) Intensives and Completives : খাইয়া > খেয়ে ফেলা « *khāiyā* » *khēyē phēlā* » *to eat completely, to finish entirely*; মুছিয়া > মুছে ফেলা « *muchiya* » *muchē phēlā* » *to rub off*; কাটিয়া > কেটে ফেলা « *kāṭiyā* » *kēṭē phēlā* » *to cut down*; বলিয়া > বলে ফেলা « *baliyā* » *bōlē phēlā* » *to blurt out*; বসিয়া > বসে পড়া « *bāsiyā* » *bōsē pāṛā* » *to sit down*, etc., etc. Generally with « *√phēl* » *to throw, to cast* with transitives, and « *√paṛ* » with intransitives.

(iii) Inceptives, with যা « *√jā* » *to go*; লাগিয়া > লেগে যাওয়া « *lāgiyā* » *lēgē jāwā* » *to start*; বসিয়া > বসে যাওয়া « *bāsiyā* » *bōsē jāwā* » *to sit down for something*, etc.

(iv) Staticals : বসিয়া > বসে থাকা, রহা (রওয়া) « *bāsiyā* » *bōsē thākā, rāhā (rāwā)* » *to continue to sit, to remain sitting*; লাগিয়া > লেগে থাকা, রহা « *lāgiyā* » *lēgē thākā, rāhā* » *to be fixed or working at something*; জাগিয়া > জেগে থাকা, রহা « *jāgiyā* » *jēgē thākā, rāhā* » *to keep awake*, etc. (The « *-iyā* » forms here may be the passive participle rather than the conjunctive).

(v) Continuatives : বকিয়া > বকে যাওয়া « *bakiyā* » *bōkē jāwā* » *to go on chattering*; খাইয়া > খেয়ে যাওয়া « *khāiyā* » *khēyē jāwā* » *to go on eating*, etc. (খাইয়া যাওয়া « *khāiyā jāwā* » is also passive, *to get eaten*, where the « *-iyā* » form is not the conjunctive : see *supra*, pp. 922 ff.).

(vi) Miscellaneous : e.g., করিয়া > ক'রে দেখা « *kāriyā* » *kōrē dekhā* » *to experiment (to do and see)*; বুঝাইয়া > বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া « *bujhāiyā* » *bujhiyē dēwā* » *to explain*; ছিটকাইয়া > ছিটকিয়ে পড়া « *chiṭkāiyā* » *chiṭkiyē pāṛā* » *to be scattered*; etc., etc.

(b) With the Present Participle in ইতে « *-itē* » :

(i) Continuatives or Frequentatives : দিতে, করিতে > ক'রতে, হাসিতে > হাসতে থাকা « *ditē, kārītē* » *kōrtē, hāsītē* » *hāstē thākā* » *to remain giving, doing, smiling*; etc.

(ii) Staticals : করিতে করিতে যাওয়া « *kārītē-kārītē jāwā* » *to go while doing*, নাচিতে নাচিতে গাওয়া « *nācitē-nācitē gāwā* » *to sing while dancing*. (Here the form is strictly not of the compound verb, as both roots retain their independent meaning : but the « *-itē* » forms have an adverbial sense.)

APPENDIX.

780. The following are the main or typical stages in the development of Bengali as a Modern Indo-European language from the Primitive Indo-European speech :

- (1) Indo-European, c. 2500 B.C. ;
- (2) Indo-Iranian or Aryan, c. 1800 B.C. ;
- (3) Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic Dialects), c. 1200 B.C. ;
- (4) Transition to Middle Indo-Aryan in the *Prācya* or Eastern speech, c. 700 B.C. ;
- (5) Early Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha (Old *Māgadhī*), c. 300 B.C. ;
- (6) Transitional Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha, about the time of Christ ;
- (7) Second Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha, c. 300 A.C. ;
- (8) Late Middle Indo-Aryan of Magadha and Bengal, or *Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa*, c. 800 A.C. ;
- (9) Old Bengali, c. 1100 A.C. ;
- (10) Early Middle Bengali, c. 1400 A.C. ;
- (11) Late Middle Bengali, c. 1600 A.C. ;
- (12) New Bengali or Modern Bengali, after 1800 A.C.

In the preceding pages, this development from the third stage as above, from Old Indo-Aryan, has been sought to be indicated in its general lines, both in sounds and in inflexions. The development of Old Indo-Aryan from the parent Indo-European speech properly forms a distinct branch of the subject. To illustrate the transformation of Indo-European to Bengali, however, a few sentences in New Bengali are taken below, and their equivalents through the typical preceding stages are given, and in this way the hypothetical Indo-European source-forms are worked back. This will indicate within a short compass the processes underlying this transformation.

All the words in OIA., Indo-Iranian, and Indo-European sentences below have been accented.

(i) মা ঘরে আছে « mā ghārē āchē » *mother is in the house* < eMB. মাও ঘরে আছে (আছে) « māo ghārē āchē (āchāē) » < OB. * « māwa ghārē (gharai, gharahi, gharahi) āchāi » < Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa * « māa (māwa) gharahī (gharahi, ghalahī, ghalahi or ghari) acchāi » < Māgadhī Prakrit * « māā (< māōā, mādā) ghalahī (< ghalaḥhi, ghaladhi ; or ghalaśśi, or ghalē) acchāi (< acchaḥi, acchadi) » < Old Māgadhī (Prācya) (= First MIA.) * « mātā ghaladhi (ghalaśśi, ghalē) acchati » = Late OIA. (not Prācya) * « mātā gharadhi (< garhadhi or gharassi (< garhasmin, gharē) acchati » < OIA. « māā * gṛhā-dhi (gṛhē) * ācchati (* acchāti) » < Indo-Iranian * « mātā gṛhā-dhi (gṛhāi) as-ṣ(h)ā-ti (< as-skā-ti) » < Indo-European * « mātē(r) gṛdhō-dhi (gṛdhēi) es-skē-ti ».

(ii) মাথ হয় মোর মনে « sādhaḥ [jɑ:dh] hāy mōrḥ mānē » *a longing is in my mind* (the form মোর « mōrḥ » *my* is archaic for the NB. Standard Colloquial) < eMB. মাথ হোয় মোর মনে « sādhaḥ hōē mōrā mānē » < OB. * « sādha hōi mōra maṇē (maṇai, maṇahi, maṇahī) » < Māg. Ap. * « śaddha hōi mōrahī (= mō-alahī, māwa-kalahī) maṇahī » < Māg. Prakrit * « śaddhā hōi (< hōḥi, hōdi) mama-kalabi maṇahi (< maṇaḥhi, maṇadhi, maṇaśśi) » < Old Māgadhī * « śaddhā hōti (or bhōti) mama manadhi (manaśśi) » < Transitional OIA. * « śāddhā bhavati mama manadhi (manasmin) » < OIA. « śrāddhā bhāvati māma mānasi » < Indo-Iranian * « ṣrād-dhā bhāwati māna mānasi » < Indo-European * « kréd-dhē bhéweti méne ménesi » . (হয় « hāy » also represents an OIA. * « as-a-ti » , IE. « es-e-ti » : see *supra*, pp. 1038-1040).

(iii) দাঁড়ে না বায় « dāṛē nā bāy » *rows a boat with an oar (= stick)* (the word না « nā » is rather archaic for the NB. Standard Colloquial) < eMB. দাঁড়ে (দাঁড়ে) নাও বাহে « dāṛē (dāṛē) nāo bāhē » < OB. * « dāṛē nāwa bāhāi » < Māg. Ap. * « daṇḍēm (daṇḍē) nāam (nāwā, nāā) bāhēi » < Māg. Prakrit * « daṇḍēa(m) nāam vāhēi (< vāhēḥi, vāhēdi) » < Old Māgadhī * « daṇḍēa nāam vāhēti (< vāhāiti, vāhay'ti) » < OIA. « daṇḍēna, daṇḍā (* dandrā) nāvam vāhāyati » < Indo-Iranian * « dandrā nāwa (nāwm) wāhāyati » < Indo-European * « dendró (? derdró) nāwm wēghéyeti ».

(iv) গোৱালা গাই দৌয় « gōwālā gāi dōy » *the cowherd milks the cow* < eMB. গোৱালা গাই দুহে : দুহে « gōwālā gāi duhē (duhāē) » < OB. « gōāl-ā (gōwāl-ā) gāi (gāwī) duhai » < Māg. Ap. * « gōāla (gōāli) gāim (gāi) duhai » < Māg. Prakrit * « gōvālē (< gōbālē, gōbālē) gāvīm duhai (< duhañi, duhadi) » < Old Māgadhī * « gōpālē gāvīm dubati » < Transitional OIA. * « gōpālāḥ gāvīm duhati » < OIA. « gō-pālāḥ (gō-pālḥ) gāvīm (gām) dōgdhi » < Indo-Iranian * « gau-pās (gau-pālās) gā(w)m dhāugdhi » < Indo-European * « gwou-pōs (gwou-pōlós) gwō(w)m dhéugh-ti ».

(v) বর বে (বিয়ে) ক'রে বউ আনে « bārḥ bē (biyē) kōrē bāu ānē » *the bridegroom brings (leads) the bride after having married* < eMB. বর বিয়া (বিহা) কৰিয়া বহু আগে (আগে) « bārḥ bi(h)ā kārīā bāhu āṇē (āṇāē) » < OB. * « bara biāha (= biyāna, biwāha) kariā (karī) bahu āṇai » < Māg. Ap. * « bara (bari) biāhan. (biwāhā) kariā bahum (bahū) āṇēi » < Māg. Prakrit * « valē vivāhan kalia (kadua) (or ūddhā) vahum āṇēi (< āṇēñi, āṇēdi) » < Transitional OIA. * « valaḥ (varaḥ) vivāhan karya (kṛ-t-ya, kṛtvā) (or ūdhvā) vadhūm āṇanti (āṇay'ti) » < OIA. « vāraḥ (* vālāḥ) vi-vāhām kṛtvā (or ūdhvā) vadhūm ā nāyati » < Indo-Iranian * « wāras (wālas) wī wāzhām kṛtvā (or uždhwā, uzhwtā) wadhūm ā nāyati » < Indo-European * « wélos wī wēghóm kṛtwō (or ughtwō) wedhūm ō néyeti ».

(vi) মাহুৱেৰ আই শ বছৰ « mānuṣērḥ āi śā bāchārḥ » *a man's life-time is a hundred years* (the word আই « āi » *life-time, man's age*, is by itself rather archaic for New Bengali, but it occurs in পরমাই « pārḥmāi », আইবুড় « āi-burḥ », etc.; and বছৰ « bāchārḥ » seems to be a *sts.*) < eMB. মাহুৱেৰ আউ শ (শঅ) বছৰ « mānuṣērḥ āu śā (śāś) bāchārḥ » < OB. * « mānu-ṣērāḥ āu (āwū) śaa (śāwa) bacchara » < Māg. Ap. * « mānuśa-ēra āu (āwū) śaam baccharā (bacchalā) » < Māg. Prakrit * « mānuśa-kēlē (= mānuśaśśa) āu śaam (< śaam, śadam) vacchalā » < Old Māgadhī * « mānuśaśśa āvu (āyu) śaam vacchalā (vacchalāśē) » < OIA. « mānuśasya (= mānuśasya) āyūḥ śatām vatsarāḥ (vatsarāśaḥ ; * vatāḥ) » < Indo-Iranian * « mānu-śasya āyūs śatām watsarās (watsarāśas ; watās) » < Indo-European * « mōnososyo āyús kṛtóm wetós (? wetserós) ».

(vii) সে দৌড়ে এল (গেল) « sē dāurē ēlō (gēlā [gālo]) » *he came (went) running* (lit. *having run*) < eMB. সে দৌড়িয়া আইল (গেল) « sē dāuriā

āīlā (gēlā) > OB. * < sē daūḍiā (daūḍi) āīlā, āyīlāwa (gēlā, gēlāwa) >
 < Māg. Ap. * < sē (śaī, śi) dava-ḍ-ia āyillā (gaillā, gayāillā) > < Māg.
 Prakrit * < sē (śaē < śagē, śagē) dava-ḍ-ia (davia) āāē (āyāē < āyāē, āyāē)
 (gaē < gaḍē, gaḍē; gaḍē) > < Old Māgadhī * < sē (śakē) dava (dava-ṭ-īya)
 āyātē (gatē; gaṭē) > < Transitional OIA. * < saḥ (sa-ka-ḥ, sa) dravya
 (dru-t-ya, drutvā) āyātah (gataḥ) > < OIA. * < sa drutvā (= drāvan) ā yātāḥ
 (gataḥ) > < Indo-Iranian * < sa drutwā (= drāwan[ts]) ā yātās (gatās) >
 < Indo-European * < so drutwō (= drōwonts) ō (e)yātós (gʷm̥tós) >.

(viii) জ্যন্তে দেখে না, ম'লে পায় < jyāntē [j̥j̥ænte] dēkhē [dæke] nā,
 m̥l̥lē [mole] pāy > *does not see while living, obtains when dead* < eMB.
 জিয়ন্তে দেখে (দেখএ) না, মৈলে পায় < jiyāntē dēkhē (dēkhā) nā, m̥l̥lē pāē >
 < OB. * < jīantē (= jīyāntē, jīwāntē) nā dēkhaī, m̥l̥lē pāāī (= pāwāī) > <
 Māg. Ap. * < jīantahī na dēkkhaī, maillahī (< maṣaillahī) pāvēī > < Māg.
 Prakrit * < jīvantahī (< jīvantadhi; jīvantaśśī) na dekkhaī (< dekkhaḍī,
 dekkhadi), maahi (< madadhi, madaśśī; maḍadhi, maḍaśśī) pāvēī (< pāḍēḍī,
 pāḍēḍi) > < Old Māgadhī * < jīvantaśśī (jīvantē; jīvantadhi) na dēkkhati
 (dakkhati), maṭaśśī (maṭadhi; maṭē) pāpēti (pappōti) > < Transitional OIA.
 * < jīvantē (= jīvantasmin, jīvati; jīvan) na drekṣati (derkṣati < dṛkṣati,
 drakṣati, *present form*), mṛtē (mṛtaḥ) prāpaiti (< prāpay'ti, prāpayati =
 prāpnōti) > > OIA. * < jīvan na * drakṣati (= * dārṣati), mṛtāḥ prā āpnōti >
 < Indo-Iranian * < g'īwan(ts) na dārṣati, mṛtās prā apnānti > < Indo-
 European * < gʷīwonts ne (nē) dērketi, mṛtós prō apnēuti >.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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PAGE

- 1, *l.* 8 : the number of Bengali speakers according to the Census of 1921 is 49,290,499.
- 4, *l.* 13 : *read* 1915 *for* 1914, *and F. for W.*
- 8, *ll.* 20-23 : these voiced stops accompanied by closure of the glottis are as a matter of fact found in certain East Bengali dialects, as regular substitutes for the voiced aspirates, [g', dz', ḍ', d', b'] for [gḥ, ḍḥ, ḍḥ, dḥ, bḥ], as I have found out subsequently. In East Bengali there is accompanying high tone.
- 12, *ll.* 12-17 : Amīr Khusrau was born at Patiyālī in 1253, and died at Delhi in 1325 (E. G. Browne, 'Literary History of Persia,' II, p. 540). The first authentic poet of Urdū seems to have been Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, king of Golconda in the Deccan, who died in 1611 A.C. He used a vernacular Western Hindī speech with Panjābī affinities, not exactly identical with the Hindōstānī of later times. (Cf. Braj-ratn Dās, 'Urdū-kā Pratham Kavi' in the 'Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā,' Benares, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 2.)
- 27, *footnote l.* 17 : *after* 1916, p. 364, *add* : R. G. Bhandarkar, in the JBBRAS., Vol. 25, 1917, pp. 76-81.
- 28, *footnote l.* 10 : *in the list of references on the Harappa seals, add at the beginning* : A. Cunningham, (Archæological) Reports, Vol. 5 (1875), pp. 105 ff. ; J. F. Fleet, JRAS., 1912, pp. 699 ff.
- About the recent discoveries in Sindh and at Harappa, see Sir John Marshall's article in the 'Illustrated London News' for September 20, 1924, and further articles by Prof. A. H. Sayce and Messrs. C. J.

Gadd and Sidney Smith in the same journal for September 27 and October 4, 1924, respectively. Cf. also S. K. Chatterji, 'Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilisation' in the 'Modern Review' for December 1924; also the 'Modern Review' for February, 1925, and the 'Journal Asiatique' for 1925, p. 371. See also 'Sumerian Connexions with Ancient India,' by Ernest Mackay, JRAS. for 1925, pp. 697-701. Further articles on these 'Indo-Sumerian' antiquities by Sir John Marshall have appeared in the 'Illustrated London News' for February 17 and March 6, 1926 and in the 'Times of India Illustrated Weekly' for March 7, 1926.

31, l. 7 : *read* dialects *for* languages.

44, l. 16 : *read* Kauṣītaki.

46, l. 8 : the Vṛātyas. Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī derives « vrātya » from « vrāta » *horde*, in a suggestive paper containing some interesting information about the Vṛātyas or 'the Original Inhabitants of Magadha,' one of six lectures on 'Magadhan Literature,' delivered in the University of Patna, 1923.

47, l. 12-21 ; « hēlayaḥ (hēlavah) ». This form has been sought to be explained as a Semitic word, the same as the Hebrew « ʾēlōāh » = Arabic « ʾilāh » (K. P. Jayaswal, in the ZDMG., Vol. 68, p. 719 : cf. R. G. Bhandarkar in the JBRRAS., Vol. 25, pp. 76 ff.). But this is extremely unlikely. Hebrew (as well as Arabic) was rather removed from the tracts where the Aryans moved much or were settled in, in North Mesopotamia and North-Western Iran, at this early period (B.C. 2000-B.C. 1300); and Hebrew conquest of Palestine took place during the closing centuries of the 2nd millennium B.C. The Semitic word for *god* which the Aryans would be likely to pick up, if they did pick it up at all, would be the Babylonian and Assyrian « ilu », which makes the connexion with the Indian form remote. Jayaswal also derives the Indian « mlēceba (Pkt. milakkhu) » *foreigner* from a Semitic word « mlk », in Hebrew « mēlēx ». But there is no reason not to regard this word as Indo-European (see Uhlenbeck, 'Altindisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch').

- 54, l. 33 : *after* « -āni », *add* : the dative plural affix was « -ēhi » (= -ēbhyah, *-ēbhiḥ) rather than the genitive-dative affix « -ānam » (= -ānām) which characterised the Midland, North-Western and Southern speeches as in the Aśoka Inscriptions and in Pali (cf. Surendranāth Majumdar Sāstrī, 'The Dative in Pali,' in 'Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, III,' Calcutta University, 1925).
- 56, l. 3 : *read presents for present ; and in l. 19, read dramas for drama.*
- 59, l. 17 : *read nama for nāma.*
- 59, footnote : Cf. K. P. Jayaswal in the JBORS. for 1924, pp. 189 ff., for further Brāhmi seals from Magadha with « -śa (= -śśa) » for the genitive affix « -sya » (e.g., Mamaśa, Citaśa, Bhadamta Lōpagōraśa, Abhaya-vamaśa).
- 65, l. 19 : *read Mōlālandī for Mōlālandī.*
- 66, l. 6 *from bottom* : *read* ५५५ for ५५५.
- 67, l. 27 : *read Bāgādīs for Bāgūdīs.* (The « Vāthurīs » are different from the « Bāurīs ».)
- 68, l. 24 : *read Mangalore for Bangalore.*
- 71, l. 4 : *read Gaina for Gaina.*
- 72, footnote, l. 2 : *read Lāla- for La-la-. Also in l. 11, correct Dīpa to Dīpa.*
- 75-76. King Candra-varman of Puṣkaraṇā. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, of the Archæological Survey of India, definitely suggested the identification of Puṣkaraṇā of the Susunia Rock Inscription with a place in Bengal—in the district of Bankura, and not with Pokharaṇ in Rajputana. Also Mr. Nikhil-Nāth Rāy B.L., in the 'Bhārata-varṣa' for Jyaiṣṭha, 1330, p. 832. There is actually in that district a village 'Pokharna' (*vu*lgo 'Pākḥannā, Pōkhānnā') on the Dāmōdar river, some 25 miles east of Susunia Hill (23 N 87 E, Bengal Survey, scale one inch = one mile, Sheet No. 238, Survey Season 1854-64). This is conclusive, and it would show that Rāḍha at least was entirely Aryanised, and had a Hindu Vaiṣṇava king in the 4th century A.C. ; and it may be concluded that Aryanisation was already some centuries old.
- 90, l. 19 : *add at the end, after Jan. 1923, the following* : C. D. Dalal and P.D. Gune, ' Bhavisayattakaha by Dhanapala,' Baroda, 1923, Introduction.

- 94, ll. 18-20 : the future in « -t- », from the old Present Participle, occurs in East Vanga Dialects : see under *Morphology*, pp. 961-963.
- 100, l. 6 : *for* rahaulāũ, *read* rahalaũ.
- 104, l. 2 : *after* in Brajabulī, *add* : The Braja-bulī dialect also spread into Assam, or rather, an Assamese Braja-bulī was developed, as early as the 15th century, Śaṅkara-dēva and others having composed poems and dramas in it. From the biographies of Caitanya, we learn that it had also spread into Orissa during that century, Braja-bulī songs being sung by Vaiṣṇavas in Orissa as much as in Bengal.
- 104, *footnote* : the 'Kīrtti-lāṭā' has been published in the Bengali character, with Introductions and Translation in Bengali, by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri, in 1924 (Hṛṣīkēśa Series).
- 106, ll. 21-24 : the earliest specimen of connected Oṛiyā seems to be in the newly discovered bilingual inscription (Oṛiyā and Tamil) of Nṛsiṅha-dēva II (13th Century) from Bhubaneswar, very carelessly edited in the JASB. for 1924, pp. 41 ff. Among some of the noteworthy things in this inscription, we may mention the following : (i) the vowel [ɾ] was pronounced as [ri] and not as [ru] as in Modern Oṛiyā : cf. the spelling « Kṛṣṇa » in l. 3 ; and (ii) the word « ācāya < ācārya », which occurs here, also occurred in Old Bengali (see pp. 121-122, *Introduction*). The writing differentiates between the dental and cerebral « l » sounds, and the former, marked with a diacritical sign below as in Modern Oṛiyā (see under *Phonology*, p. 538), has been wrongly transcribed as double « ll », in the verb past tense.
- 109, ll. 13-21 : the 'Ṭikā-sarvasva' was written Śāka 1082 : Paṇḍit T. Gaṇapati Śāstri published the first part in 1911, and completed the entire work in 1917.
- 110, *footnote*, l. 2 : *read* Caryā *for* Carjā.
- 123, *footnote* : the OB. line quoted was evidently a proverb, and it occurs in another MB. work, the 'Caṇḍi-kāvya' of Kavi-kaṅkana Mukunda-rāma Cakravartī, in the form হরিশ জগতবৈরী আপনার যাসে « hāriṇḍ jāgātā-bāiri āpanār māse » (as pointed out to me by my friend Mr. Charu Chandra Banerji of Dacca University).

127, *after* line 2, *add* :

65a. The Sanskrit encyclopædia 'Mānasōllāsa' or 'Abhilāṣārthacintāmaṇi' (of which the first volume has been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 1925), composed in Śaka 1051 or 1129 A. C. under the auspices of king Sōmēśvara III Bhūlōka-malla of the later Cālukya dynasty of Mahārāṣṭra, who ruled from 1127 to 1138 A.C., seems to contain a few Old Bengali lines. (Sakhārām Gaṇēś Dēuskar in the Bengali journal 'Āryāvartta' for Māgha 1317, pp. 678-679; R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Early History of the Deccan', Bombay, 1895, pp. 89-90; Dēuskar mentions a Marāṭhī article by V. K. Rājawādē on this work read before the 1st Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Sammēlan which I have not seen. I am indebted to my friend and colleague Mr. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, M.A., for bringing Dēuskar's article to my notice.)

In the section on Poetry and Music ('Gīta-Vinōda') in this work, short poems and verses in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Lāṭī, and in the Dravidian Kaṇṇaḍa speech have been given; and besides a few verses occur, which are undoubtedly in the various NIA. speeches—Old Marāṭhī, Old Braj-bhākhā, and Old Bengali, to judge from at least some of the forms. The work is preserved in various MSS. at Poona, Tanjore, Bikaner, and elsewhere. I could consult one of the Poona MSS. (copied Saṃvat 1930=1874) which happened to be in the Indian Museum at Calcutta in 1923, and through the kind offices of my friend Mr. Sris Chandra Chatterji, Engineer and Architect, lately in the service of the Bikaner State, I also obtained (December 1923) transcripts of the relevant parts from an old MS. of the work (dated Śaka 1593=1671 A.C.) in the Fort Library of Bikaner. Both the MSS. are very corrupt, and although there is a close agreement between them (both seemingly being based on the same original), the bad readings make it almost impossible to restore the text of the non-Sanskrit portions from these only. Instead of attempting to give a critical edition of these portions in question, I give below tentative readings of some of the vernacular passages based on a comparison

of the two MSS., wherever they can be made out with any degree of certainty. We have thus—

« chāmḍu chāmḍu mai jāivō (= jāibō ? jāiba ?) Gōvinda-saha khēlaṇa Nārāyaṇu jagaha-kēru (-kāra) gōsāmvi » (Bikaner, fol. 141a ; Poona, fol. 168b) = *Leave (me), leave (me), I shall go to sport with Gōvinda.....Nārāyaṇa the lord of the world.*

Bikaner folia 141b and 142a and Poona fol. 169(a, b) give a song praising the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu, which seems to represent more than one form of NIA. The first verse is in Old Marāṭhī, and runs thus : « jēṇē rasātala-uṇu matsya-rūpēm vēda aṇiyalē(m).....tū saṁsāra-sāyara-tāraṇu, maha-tē(m) rākḥō Nārāyaṇu » *by Whom the Vedas were brought from Rasātala in the form of a fish.....the Saviour in the ocean of transmigration.. He, Nārāyaṇa, (may) keep me.* The next verse (on the Tortoise Incarnation) is very corrupt. The third verse is as follows : « jō suvara-rūvēṁ pāyalu paīsi dāṇau Harīṇa-kachapu mācaviṁ (?), dāḥa Gōvinda dharāṇi uddharīṁ sō dēu..... » *Who in the form of a boar entered Pātāla and killed the demon Hiraṇya-kaśipu, Gōvinda who rescued Earth with his tusk, that God.....* This verse has Śaurasēṇī affinities, as also the next two verses on Nṛsiṁha and Vāmana Avatāras, but both are hopelessly corrupt.

The sixth shows some distinctive Bengali features : « jē brāhmaṇera kulē(m) upajiyā(m), Kātavi(r)yā jēṇē bāhu-pharasē khāṇḍiyā : Paraśarāmu dē(v)u sē māhara (mōhara ?) maṅḡala karaū » *Who was born in the family of a Brāhman, by Whom with the touch of his arm Kārttavīrya was cut down, He, the God Paraśurāma, may work my welfare.* The above reading is substantially that of the Bikaner MS., and the Bengali character of this passage is shown by the pronoun « jē », and « -ē(m), -ēra » affixes for the locative and genitive ; and « -iyā » would be the non-1 passive participle adjective (> verb past) which featured in Old Bengali (see pp. 946 ff.)

The verse describing Rāma is missing in both the MSS. That on Kṛṣṇa is apparently in Old Braj-bhākhā : « Nanda-gōula jāyau Kanhu jō gōvi-janē(m) vaḥihē..... » : but it is corrupt. The

verse on Buddha runs thus : « Buddha-rūpeṁ jō dāṇava-surā vañcaūṇi vēda-dūsaṇa bōllaūṇi māyā mōhiyā, tō dēu mājhi pasāu karu » *Who in the form of Buddha, after having Cheated Gods and Demons and having said words of scorn for the Vedas, led (them) astray by his Māyā—that God may grant grace to me : it is distinctly Old Marāṭhi.* The last verse on Kalki is in Sanskrit.

131, ll. 27 ff. Ḍāk the Gōwālā (cowherd) is also well-known in Bibār as a sage and author of proverbial sayings, as Sir George Grierson tells me. See also Mm. Haraprasād Śāstri on Ḍāk and Khānā in the Bengali journal 'Prāci' (Dacca) for Śrāvaṇa, 1330.

137, l. 13 : *read form for from.*

148, l. 30 : *read « bhāṣā » for « bhasā ».*

156, l. 13 : *read vēlā for vēla ; l. 15, correct to between.*

157, l. 13 : *read « nīb » for « nīb » ; l. 14, read tāmra for tamra.*

159, ll. 14, 15 : Pischel gives ('Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen,' § 304) « uṭṭa, iṭṭa » as MIA. forms. The deaspiration in these words thus goes back to MIA. times, and the W. Hindi « ūṭ, iṭ » are obviously based on MIA. « * uṇṭa, * iṇṭa » showing Spontaneous Nasalisation (discussed at pp. 368 ff.).

166, l. 6 : *after mī read : , myā.*

171, l. 5 *from bottom of page : after* Dravidian sounds, *and add :* these (barring the last, which is found in Dravidian—in Tamil only, to be precise).

176, l. 7 : *read « ghōṛā-ṭōṛā » for « ghōṛā-tōṛā ».*

176, l. 11 : *read « kudure-gidure » for « kudire-gidire ».*

177, ll. 21 ff. : This idiomatic use of a verbal conjunctive meaning *having said* is a common idiom in Tibeto-Burman as well—in Kuki-Chin, for instance—and it is also found in Burmese (see LSI., III, Part III, p. 5) ; and it is common in Boḍo also, which was the original language of a large section of present-day Bengali-speakers in North and East Bengal (J. D. Anderson in the JRAS., 1913, pp. 867 ff.).

180, *after l. 14, add :*

In connexion with the above is to be taken (iv) the Ghugrahati Copper-plate of Samācāra-dēva (cf. Ep. Ind., 1925, Vol. XVIII, pp.

74 ff., ed. by Nalinī-Kānta Bhaṭṭasāli, M.A.), which mentions « Navyāvakaśikā », as well as « Vāraka-maṇḍala », and « Vyāghra-cōraka » and « Gōpēndra-cōraka » village, and « Vidyādhara-jōṭikā »; and among personal names it gives « Pavitruka, Dāmuka, Vatsa-kunḍa, Śuci-pālita. Vihita-ghōṣa, Śūra-datta, Priya-datta, Janārddana-kunḍa ».

Para 87: This Copper-plate Inscription has been edited and published by Dr. L. D. Barnett in the Ep. Ind. ('Vappaghoshavāṭa Grant of Jayanāga,' Vol. XVIII, pp. 60 ff.).

182, l. 24 : « koppam ». Compare also Tamil « kuppam » *village*.

187, l. 10 : The Gōvindapur Grant has since been edited by Prof. A. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in the 'Bhārata-varṣa' for Phālguna, 1332.

188, *after line 5, add* :

[27a] A new Copper-plate Grant of Viśva-rūpa-sēna has been recently discovered in Maimansing, and has been edited by Mm. Haraprasād Śāstri in the 'Indian Historical Quarterly,' Calcutta, Vol. II, No. 1, March 1926, pp. 77-86. This gives quite a number of place-names in Varga, besides some personal names.

195, *after l. 6, add* : (अ)सवार « (ā)sāwār » *horseman, trooper, सवारि « sā-wārī » rider (on horse, in carriage)* : occurs in the Bharhut and Sanchi inscriptions as « asavārī » : from Old Persian « asa-bāri » *horseman* (=New Persian « suwār »).

195, *after l. 18, add* : कोण « kōṇ » *corner*, from MIA., and Skt., = Greek « gōnos ».

196, *last line but one* : read « śuruṭṭu » for « śuluṭṭu ».

197, l. 1 : *after* Tibetan « blama », *add* : टांगन « tāngan » *a hill pony, Bhotia pony* = Tibetan « rta-ṅān ».

198, 199 : The word « dhītā » (as the source of « jhi ») has also been derived from the Indo-European « √ * dhē » *suck* (=OIA. « dhā »), which we find in the Latin « fi-lius ».

203, l. 22 : read « fath » for « fath ».

213, *last line in footnote 1, read* 'khājāñci' for 'khajāñci'

215, ll. 9 ff. : the word चट्टे « mēṭṭe », a slang term to denote dark-skinned

Eurasians, is at least influenced by the French « métis », if not actually derived from it. The word may be from « māṭiā » *earthen*, by Umlaut.

215, l. 22 : read ইম্‌কপ for ইম্‌কপ.

232, l. 7 : read rasūla and mōhāmōti ; l. 20, read pūṣē for pūṣē.

233 : immediately before § 126, add : Bengali MSS. in the Persian character are but rarely found in other parts of the country. One such MS., however, has come to light recently—a Bengali version of the 'Qissah-i-Amīr Hamzah'—from Jessore district. It was exhibited by Maulavi 'Abdu-l-Walī in the ASB. (November 1925). In its transcription, unlike the Chittagong MSS., it employs regularly ৳ and ৳ for ৳ and ৳.

235, heading, read : SILĒT ; footnote, l. 4, read in for is.

245, l. 22 : read tzāndanon for tsāndanon.

254, 255 : loss of « -tr- » > « -tt- » : W. Geiger cites also (Festschrift E. Kuhn, p. 186) Sinhalese « hū » (sūtra), « mū » (mūtra) « rā » (rātri).

256, l. 21 : « ratta (< ratna) » actually occurs in MIA. (in the Pali 'Sutta-nipāta,'—'Sabbhiya-sutta': « ratta-ñña » = « ratna-jña », explained in the Commentary of Buddha-ghōṣa as « ratana-ññū »).

260, l. 25 : read « -vā » for « -ā ».

263, l. 18 : read 'ḥi(ṣ)ā:la for ḥi(ṣ)ā:la.

264, l. 14 : read kōhi for kōhi ; l. 17 : read ʃupōri for ʃupāri.

265, l. 5 from bottom : read mōnd for mōnd.

239, l. 3 from bottom, add : The glottal stop occurs with the voiced stops and palatal or dental affricates [g', ʃʃ' (dz'), d', d', b'] in some East Bengali dialects as the regular substitutes for the corresponding aspirates [gʰi, ʃʃʰi, dʰi, dʰi, bʰi] of Standard Bengali.

272, l. 17 : correct the figure for : [h] from 2·02 to 0·02.

282, l. 12 : read pāniya- for pāniya.

287, ll. 11, 12. It should be noted that the « Payār » has also 16 morae, including the pauses, although the number of syllables is 14.

293, l. 6 : read bāḥḥia for bāḥḥia.

294, l. 12 : read 'ḥa(ṣ)e for 'ca(ṣ)e.

- 298, l. 6 : read 'jaṅṅo for jaṅṅo.
- 301, last line : read pātā for pātā.
- 302, l. 20 : read kārā for kārā.
- 305, l. 20 : after (grīvā), add : MB. ঘড় < ghārā > array (ghatā) ;
- 307, last line but one : read < āc > for < āc >.
- 309, l. 8 : read MB. for MA.
- 313, l. 11 : after (alābu), add : হেঁটে < hēṭā > below > in a crouching position (*ahēṇṭa, *ahēṭṭha < *adhiṣṭāt, Buddhist Sanskrit hēṣṭā, = OIA. adhastāt) ; MB. পাসরে < pāsārē > forgets (apasmarati) ;
- 315, l. 19 : read māśānā for māśānā.
- 315, l. 12 : read < ātā > for < ātā > ; after (antra), add : আশথ beside অশথ < āśāthā, āśāthā > (aśvattha) ; and in l. 15, delete : খাজা < khājā > a sweetmeat (khādyā), and take this deleted portion to p. 321, l. 23, before the word জাড়, adding khājja before khādyā.
- 319, l. 20 : the word < sabhā > forming the plural. Mr. Sukumār Sen has drawn my attention to the word < yuvati-sabhā > young women in Song 18 of the 'Gīta-gōvinda' (Canto IX). Cf. also pp. 732-733.
- 324, l. 6 : read < niṣuti > for < niṣuti > ; l. 10, read *piuṣi for piuṣi ; l. 25, read চীঠ for চীঠ.
- 325, l. 20 : read *ūru- for *uru ; l. 21, read -aṣṭhi- for -asthi-.
- 329, l. 8 from bottom : correct bōḍṛa to bōḍra.
- 331, l. 20 : read 'যদ্দিন' for যদ্দিন ; l. 25, read caritavya for cartavya.
- 333, l. 8 : after [jīdne], add : বাটীতে < ghāṭī-tā > that water-vessel, বাটীতে < bāṭī-tā > that cup > Standard Coll. বাট্টে, বাট্টে [gḥoṭṭe, baṭṭe].
- 334, l. 7 from bottom, add : করম্‌চা < করমোচা < kārāmchā < kārā-mōchā > a fruit, Cassia carondas (Skt. kara-marda, Hind. karaundā : cf. 'Devatā,' Pāṇini Office, Allahabad, 1917, p. 155).
- 335, l. 7 from bottom : correct persons to person.
- 337, l. 10 : correct -ū- to -ū-.
- 341, l. 6 from bottom : read jaṣr for jaṣr.
- 342, l. 10 : read chāyārā for chāyārā ; l. 19, delete MB.
- 349, l. 1 : after NIA., add : (where no special force of the < -ā > is present or evident).

- 350, l. 4: *before etc.*, add: বাই, তাই « jāi, tāi » (yadā-hi, tadā-hi).
- 351, l. 13: *add at the end*: But পৌনে [poune] *less by a quarter* has « -āu- » for MIA. « -āō- » (pāōna, pādōna).
- 352, l. 15: *read* *duūlia *for* duulia; l. 8 *from bottom, after* (dēva, dēha), *add*: ‡ রে [rē:, ræ:] *line for plough to follow* (*rēā, rēhā, rēhā, rēkhā);
- 353, l. 7 *from bottom*: *read* *ghrata.
- 355, l. 8, *after* (naeca, nṛtya), *add*: ‡ বাসোয়া « bāswā » *or*, Maithili « basahā » (vasaha-, vṛṣabha-); *in* l. 21, *read* *tādṛśana.
- 356, l. 2: *before etc.*, *add*: বুক « bukaḥ » *chest* (cf. Skt. vṛkka, Avestan vərəḍka *kidney*, MIA. bukka);
- 357, l. 5 *from bottom*: *correct* egreja *to* igreja.
- 358, l. 3, l. 6: *read respectively* [abrito] and [abbrito]; *last line, correct to* ghanakam.
- 359, l. 12: *for* « ẁ » *read* « w ».
- 364, l. 7, *add*: But we have the sts. বেন্নান « bēnnān » [bænnon] *curry* from « vyañjana ».
- 365, l. 12: *read* saṇḍa *for* saṇḍa.
- 366, l. 7 *from bottom*: *read* śimulā *for* śimula.
- 367, l. 12, *add*: an! ŚKK. চাম্বলী « cāmbhālī » *a flower* for « cāmēli ».
- 369, l. 7 *from bottom*: *read* *inṭa *for* *inṭa.
- 370, l. 6: *read* śūcayati *for* śūcayati; l. 19, bātulā *for* bātulā.
- 373, ll. 11-12: *read* j̄ *for* j.
- 378, l. 13: *after e.g.*, *add*: Pali « issēra, acchēra » < *ēssaira, *acchaira < *essairīa, *acchairīa < āśvarya, āścarya ».
- 386, l. 18: *after* « gātā », *add*: beside গৈট « gētā ».
- 392, l. 19: *read* [jōītto] *for* [jōītto].
- 396, l. 3 *from the end*: *read* [borp(h)i] *for* [borp(h)i].
- 398, l. 10 *from bottom*: *read* *কুড়ালি *for the first* কুড়ালি, *and* kurāli *for* kurāli.
- 402, l. 14, *before origin*, *add to their*: l. 5 *from bottom*, *read* [jōre ɔ:].
- 424, l. 6 *from bottom*: *add*: MB. « -āhā-, -āya- » *also occur as* [ɔḥ]: গয়না < গহনা [gəḥna] < « gāhānā » *ornaments, jewels* (grahana-); যখন [məḥna] < « māyānā » *a talking bird, 'mynah'* (madana-). *In* l. 16, *read* bhāḥḥa *for* bhāḥḥa.

- 430, *ll. 4 and 2 from the end* : [ʃts] (as in [koʃtsit] and [dzoɪkʰoʃtsək:re:]) is pronounced also as [rɕʃ] and [cɕʃ].
- 438, *l. 9* : read §84 for §86.
- 440, *l. 21*, read gār for gār ; *last line*, correct † to ‡.
- 441, *l. 3* : *The Aspirates*. It should be noted that the aspirate nasals and liquids (◀ nh, mb, rh, lh ▶ : cf. 'Prākṛta-Pāṇḍala,' Bib. Ind. ed., p. 6) occurred in OB. and Early MB., and these became deaspirated in the Late MB. stage.
- 443, *l. 5 from bottom* : read ◀ ādḷā ▶ for ◀ ādla ▶.
- 449, *l. 5*, add recent before foreign, and put a comma after words. After *l. 8*, add: Other instances of assimilation : ◀ n > m ▶ : মোহনভোগ ◀ mōhānḡ-bhōgḡ ▶ *pudding made of flour, sugar and ghee* > [mo(ḥ)on-bhōg > mombhōg > mumbhōg] in the Calcutta Colloquial ; ◀ ṇḡ > n > ṅ ▶ : ডাঙাগুলি ◀ dāṇḡḡ-guli ▶ *tip-cat (game)* > ডানগুলি, ডাংগুলি [ḡanguli, ḡanguli].
- 451, *l. 22* : correct pañca to pañca ; *l. 24, at the beginning*, add : [r̥] is similarly assimilated to a following [ʃ], as in মাকড়সা ◀ mākarḡḡsā ▶ *spider* > Calcutta Coll. মাকসা ◀ mākasā ▶ [makor̥ʃa > makor̥ʃa], হাঁড়িশাল ◀ hāṛisālḡ ▶ *room for pots, kitchen* > [hāṛ̥ʃal] by Epenthesis > হৈশেল [h̥iʃel].
- 452, *l. 5, and l. 4 from bottom* : correct < to >.
- 453, *l. 17* : correct gh to gḥ.
- 456, *l. 14* : correct kākḡ to hākḡ.
- 460, after *l. 8*, add, in a new paragraph : OIA. ◀ -kṣy- ▶ : ভেখ, ভেক ◀ bhēk(h)ḡ ▶ *mendicancy, the life of a monk, monk's garb* (bhāṛkṣya).
- 468, *l. 13* : add so before long.
- 470, *l. 2 from bottom* : correct the semicolon before পেঁচা to >.
- 471, *l. 8 supply, after jēācḡ* : woman with first child living. *L. 9, before etc.*, add : MB. আচাভূয়া ◀ ācābhūā ▶ (accābbhua-, atyādbhuta-). After *l. 11*, add as a new paragraph : OIA. ◀ -re- ▶ > MIA. ◀ -cc- > -ñc- ▶ : ঔচ ◀ ācḡ ▶ *heat of flame* (arcih) ; কুঁচি ◀ kūci ▶ *brush* (kūreikā).
- 472, *l. 2 from bottom* : read *es-ské-ti for *es-sko-ti.

- 473, l. 2 : read *pró + bhu-ské-ti ; l. 3, read *přk-ské-ti ; l. 17, add at the end : MB. বেউহা, নিছা « nēuchā, nichā » adorn (« nēvaccha-, nēpathya- » : there is another form in MB., নিছা « nichā », for which see *infra*, p. 551).
- 475, l. 13 : read 'fry' for 'try' ; l. 3 from bottom, correct † to ‡.
- 480, l. 15 : delete * before dhītā, and add after duhitā) : (the MIA. « dhītā » is derived by some scholars from the IE. « *√dhē » suck = OIA., « √dhā », which is found in the Latin « filius, filia ».)
- L. 7 from bottom, read ঝুঁঝা for ঝুঁঝা ; l. 5 from bottom, read ঝুঁঝা for ঝুঁঝা.
- 484, l. 18 : read « mardā-mi » for « mardāmi » ; l. 5 from bottom, delete one and.
- 488, l. 26 : read dāsṣ for dāsṣ.
- 490, l. 16 : read টাটু for টাটু.
- 495, l. 5 : read ḍimba for dimba.
- 498, l. 15 : read ডেগ for দেগ.
- 502, l. 9 from bottom : correct > to <.
- 509, l. 21, read পুঁটা মাছ for পুঁটা মাছ.
- 510, l. 10 from end : add, after « rūpā » : silver ; and after rūpya : stamped coin.
- 513, l. 2 from bottom : correct to বেওরা.
- 514, add after l. 17, as a separate para. : OIA. « -vy- » : the future base ইব « -ibā- » (OIA. « -itavya- », MIA. « -iavva-, -iabba- »).
- 515, l. 5, read bhukḥ for bhukha ; after l. 23, add as a separate para. : OIA. « -dbh- » : MB. আচাভুয়া « ācābhuā » (atyadbhuta-) ; and then after that add the portion from উভিয়া যাওয়া to (ud + √bhr̥, bhar) in ll. 31-33 (by mistake entered under OIA. « -rbh- »).
- 520, l. 9 : before MB. গোড়া, add : গুই « gūi » a surname (« -gōmin » : cf. Candra-gōmin, the Bengal grammarian of c. 600 A.C.) ;
- 521, l. 11 : before হাতিম, add : Standard Coll. গোম্বে [gomne] late, a sts., for গোণে « gāṇṇē [goune, gōwne] » (< gāṇṇa) ;
- 523, l. 10 : read ̣ for ̅.
- 525, l. 9 from bottom : read most for all ; l. 3 from bottom, correct to intervocal.

- 527, l. 9: *correct to* বিষ্ট পুরের.
- 534, l. 11 *from bottom*: *correct to* পক.
- 535, l. 2: *read* [ö] *for* [õ].
- 536, l. 13 *from bottom*: *read as follows*: at a later time, Early Braj-bhākhā in the West as well), to change....
- 548, l. 11 *from bottom*: *read* apasmarati *for* prasmarati.
- 549, l. 1: *read* śimsapā *for* śimsapā.
- 550, l. 9: *read* si *for* sī; l. 2 *from bottom*, *read* śatāyuh.
- 556, l. 9 *from bottom*: *read* bāṭci *for* bāṭci.
- 557, l. 10: *read* sāhā *for* sāha; 11, *read* nēhā *for* nēha.
- 560, l. 9: *read* regarded *for* regard; l. 12, *read* Saifi *for* Saifi.
- 563, l. 3 *from bottom*: *correct to* syllable.
- 570: l. 8, *read* 'Moghals' *for* Moghals; and in the Table of Consonants, take h *from the* Semi-vowel *to the* Fricative line.
- 576, l. 7: *read* [tābu] *for* [tābu]; l. 11, *correct* Hindōstani *to* Hindōstāni; l. 23, *read* fiab(e)li *for* fiab(e)i; l. 25, *read* হালুয়া *for* হালুয়া; and l. 26, fiabji *for* fiabji.
- 577, l. 4 *from end*: *read* বিশবৎ *for* বিশবৎ.
- 580, l. 9: *read* হিন্দু *for* হিন্দু; and l. 5 *from bottom*, before and, add: and আমারী « āmārī » canopied seat on elephant (*imārī).
- 581, l. 14: *read* corpses *for* corpses.
- 593, last line: add In as the last word.
- 608, l. 12 *from bottom*: *correct* phāṣṣad *to* phāṣṣad.
- 613, l. 5 *from bottom*: before হাজির, add: নজর [naʒɪr] present (naʒr);
- 621, l. 10: *correct* Collected *to* Collected.
- 623, l. 11: *read* তোলা *for* তোলা.
- 625, l. 5: *read* 'coffee' *for* 'caffee.'
- 643, l. 6: before 'theatre,' add: (also থিয়েটার [thiɛtər] commonly in Calcutta cockney, through assimilation with the following cerebral).
- 656, l. 13: *read* ghūrṇ- *for* ghūrṇ-.
- 658, l. 4: *read* রাধনী *for* রাধনী.
- 670; *read* rūpālī *for* rūpālī in l. 7, and rūpuli *for* rūpuli in l. 8.
- 672, l. 17: *read* রাধনী *for* the first রাধনী.

673, l. 2 : read বটুমী for বটুমী.

677, last line : read pleonastically for peonastically.

682, l. 13 : read dholla for dholla ; l. 20, before পুটকে, add : মেচকো in মেচকো
কেৰ < mēcākō > in < mēcākō phērṣ > a strong knot, a complication < a
knot in a jute rope (< মেচা < mēcā > jute in the Standard Dialect in
tracts to the south of Calcutta) ;

688, l. 5 : read sāpāriyā for sāpāriyā ; l. 6, read লুটিয়াড়া.

697, l. 6 from bottom : add : < ugra-rūpa > exceedingly fierce, Pali < kalya-
rūpa > exceedingly pleased, etc., etc.

699, l. 5 from bottom : read বুপসা for the second বাপসা.

702, l. 4 from bottom : read thānī for thanī.

703, l. 1 : correct to Perso-Arabic.

706, under (9) ময়, add : It is likely that in the locative sense, as in দেশময়,
the affix is partly based on the NIA. locative suffix from < madhya >
noted *infra*, p. 751.

706, before last line add :

(12) স্থ < -sthā >.

467a. Following Skt. forms like দেশস্থ < dēśā-sthā > remaining in
the land, সভাস্থ < sābhā-sthā > present in the assembly, মধ্যস্থ < mādhyā-
sthā > remaining in the middle, arbitrator, etc., etc., the compounded
< -sthā > has come to be used as an affix with *bh.* and foreign words, in
the sense of occurring at, present in, etc. : e.g., কলকাতাস্থ < Kālikātā-
sthā > of Calcutta, from Calcutta, staying at Calcutta ; লড়াইস্থ সংবাদদাতা
< lārāi-sthā sambādā-dātā > war correspondent ; কর্ণওয়ালিস-ষ্ট্রীটস্থ দোকান
< Kārnāwālīs-Ṣṭrītā-sthā dōkānā > shop in Cornwallis Street ; etc.

712 : Add at the beginning :

(5a) পাতি, পাত < pāti-, pāt- >.

473a. This word, in the sense of *small*, occurs with a number of
terms, like পাতি-কুয়া or পাত্কে < pāti-kūā, pāt-kō > a small well (as
opposed to an ইদারা < idārā > a large masonry well < < indrāgāra >),
পাতি-শিয়াল < pāti-ṣiyālā > small jackal, পাতি-লেবু < pāti-lēbu > a kind of
tiny lemon (as opposed to other kinds), পাতি-হাঁস < pāti-hāṣā > duck

(as opposed to রাজ-হাঁস « rāj-hāṣa » *goose*), পাতি-ভাঁড় « pāti-bhāṛa » *small earthen cup*, পাতি- or পাতি-মোড় « pāti-, pāti-maurḍa » *an ornament for the head* (< mukuṭa), পাতি-কাক « pāti-kāka » *crow* (as opposed to দাঁড়-কাক « dāṛa-kāka » *jack-daw*), পাতি-নেড়ে « pāti-nēḍe » *shaveling, small shaven-headed one* = *Mohammedan of the lower castes* (a term of abuse), etc. The form occurs in East Bengal as পেতি « pēti », as in পেতি-কোয়া « pēti-kauā » *crow*, পেতি-মেকুর « pēti-mēkurḍa » *kitten*. The source seems to be OIA. « patra » *leaf* > « patrika », MIA. « pattia » > NIA. « pāti » *thin as a leaf* > *small, insignificant*: cf. পাতিলা « pātīlā » *thin, not deep* (patra-la). The French « petit » [pəti, pti] *small* has been suggested by some as the source of this form, but it is exceedingly unlikely, despite the fact of the presence of the French in Bengal (at 'handernagore), and of the East Bengali form « pēti » presenting an unexpected vowel in the « -ē- » (the East Bengali form, however, seems to be a borrowing from Standard Bengali with irregular alteration of the vowel).

712, l. 13: correct « nābālakḥa » to « nābālakḥa ».

720, ll. 8, 9: delete « বৎসহারা গাভী » bātsa-hārā gābhī » *a cow which has lost her calf*. In l. 11, read *form* for *from*.

731, ll. 11, 13: read « professors » for « scholars »; and in last line but two, put an * before মাতৃষোদ.

733, l. 5: read rāj-hāṣa for rāj-hāṣa.

740, l. 7 from bottom: read: a form of Māgadhi.

741, l. 9: read *thāwi for thāwi; l. 12, add after NB.: so Assamese « gādhāi » (< *gaddahi, gaddahc, gardabhai), « lātāi » (is. latā + -i). In l. 24, read p. 1 for p. 2.

744, l. 6: read « gōru-ē » for « gōru-ē ».

745, l. 2: read « -ānām » for « -anām ».

751: add as a new paragraph, after l. 16:

In dialectal Bengali, as in Sylhet, there is a locative affix in « -ō, -ā »; e.g., ঘরো, ঘর « ghārō, ghārā » *in the house* (LSI., V, I, p. 225). This would seem to be based on a MIA. « *gharaha »,

where « -ha » is the OIA. affix « * -dha », of a locative character, which is found in Sanskrit in « i-ha (cf. Prakrit i-dha), ku-ha, sa-ha (cf. Vedic sadha) », and which seems to have been extended to the noun also. (This « -dha » seems to be connected with the other locative affix « -dhi » discussed before at p. 745, and has cognate forms in the Latin « in-de », Slav « kŭ-de »: cf. Thumb, 'Handbuch des Sanskrit,' Heidelberg, 1905, § 407).

751, l. 8 *from bottom* : read an unsolved problem.

756, l. 8 : « udyāna-kṛtam āsanam » (cf. Grierson, 'On Certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Vol. 38, pp. 473 ff. : also « karaṇḍē mālā-kṛtē », in the 'Mahā-vastu,' etc.).
Last line but two : read puruṣāṇām.

759, l. 12 : the affix in Assamese seems to be ণ « sā »: cf. also the genitive form « tōmāsā-rā » and the locative « tōmāsā-tā » in Early Assamese.

762, ll. 2, 3 *from end* : a solitary example of an ablative form in OB.

There is another instance of an ablative in « -hu » in the Caryās, viz., « raṇṇahu ṣahajā kahēi » (Caryā 27), which the Sanskrit Commentary translates and explains as « sadguru-vacana-tattva-ratna-prabhāvāt sa mayi sahañānandaṁ kathayati ».

772, under *Post-position No. (26)*, বহি « bāi ». My friend Mr. Sailēndranāth Mitra, M.A., of the Department of Pali in Calcutta University draws my attention to the use of « bahiddhā » in Pali, with the ablative, to mean *apart from, outside of* : e.g., « itō bahiddhā samaṇō'pi n'atthi » *outside of this, there is no monk* (Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, V, 27). The use of « bahiḥ, bahirdhā (= bahiḥ + dhā) », with the ablative as well as genitive, to denote *outside*, occurred in OIA. (cf. Speijer, 'Vedische und Sanskrit-syntax,' §§ 88, 89, 90). The source of the Bengali post-position বহি, বহি, বহি « bāi, bāhi, bāhi » would thus be the OIA. « bahiḥ », and not « vyāṭta » as suggested in the text.

790, l. 14 : correct to Wackernagel.

800, l. 15 : read śō for sō.

- 801, l. 21 : A MIA. form for « sahasra » seems to have been « sahaṁsa » (beside « sahassa »), and this nasalised form occurs as « sahāsa » in Early Western Hindi. An old spelling of the place name ' Sasseram ' or ' Sahasram ' in Bihar is ' Sahansram.'
- 802, l. 11, *add at the end*: There is also the word সিকি « siki », সিকা « sikā » a quarter, a silver coin equal to the fourth of a rupee. The word occurs dialectally as « suki, sukā », and is apparently the same word as the Hind. « sūkā ». Platts derives « sūkā » from « sapādaka » with a quarter (' Hindustani Dictionary '). It may be that here we have the influence of the MIA. « sikka » (see *supra*, pp. 194-195) or the Perso-Arabic « sikkah » coin, in connexion with the « -k- » consonant as well (as the « -i- » vowel in the Bengali form).
- 811, l. 17 : read মুহি, for মহি,
821. In the Table, under Old Plural, Oblique, read তাঁ for তা; under New Plural, Nominative, read তা(হা)রা, and oblique, তা(হা)দের; and in connexion with what has been said in l. 8 in § 555, note: the form « sa-kaḥ » actually occurs in OIA. (Rig-Veda, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.): see below, note on p. 993.
- 823, l. 13 from bottom : read তাঁ for তা.
- 825, l. 17 : read possesses for possess.
- 828, l. 10 : read tāṁṣ-rā-rṣ for tāṁṣ-ra-rṣ.
- 829, l. 2 in § 566 : delete comma after « ē-ta- » ; l. 5, read . base « *to- ».
- 832, l. 3 from bottom : read in the Shahbazgarhi Aśōkan.
- 835, l. 7, read ওহা for উহা; in the Table, under Oblique of Old Plural, read ওহাঁ for ওহা.
- 839, read [F] for [D] before the heading ' THE RELATIVE PRONOUN ; and in the Table, under Oblique of Double Plural, read বা(হা)দের for যা(হা)দের.
- 840, l. 6 : « ya-kaḥ » as the source of « jē » occurs in OIA., like « sa-kaḥ » the source of « sē » : see *supra*, note on p. 821, and *infra*, on p. 993.
- 861, l. 14 : read *-n- for -n-.
- 862, l. 4, read div-ya-ti for div-ya-ti.

867, l. 3 *from bottom* : read *cār-i-tav-āī* for *car-i-tav-āī*.

869, l. 12 *from bottom* . read *NOUN* for *VOUN*.

871, l. 15 : read *seem* for *seen*.

873, l. 12, read *es-ské-ti* for *es-sko-ti* ; l. 15, read *খুঁজ* for *খুঁজ* ; l. 24, read *ধব* for *ধব*.

874, l. 5 : read *lāj* for *āj* ; last line, read *Bengali*.

875, l. 12 : read *es-ské-ti* ; l. 14, read *pró + bhu-ské-ti*.

882, l. 22 : read *vyākhyāna* for *vyyākbāna*.

884, l. 16 : read *দ্বিতীয়* for the second *দ্বিতীয়*.

885, heading line : read COMPOUNDED AND SUFFIXED ROOTS.

898, ll. 18-19 : The dative-accusative with the post-position occurs in OB. : e.g., Caryā 12, « *matīē ṭhākura-ka jarinivittā* » = « *matyā prajñāpāramitānub addhyā ṭhākuraṃ iti saṅklēśārōpita-cittaṃ parinirvāṇārōpitaṃ kṛtaṃ* », according to the Commentary.

L. 3 from bottom : read *like* for *ike*.

900, l. 12 : read *labh-ē-ta* for *labh-i-ta*.

901, l. 3 : read *NB.* for *MB.*

904, l. 5 : read « *-aü* » : « *kar-aü* ».

907, l. 16, add : The affix in the form of « *-ūt* », however, is actually found in S.-W. Bengali : *চলুৎ* « *calūt* », etc.

908, l. 15 : read *later* for *latter*.

909, l. 15 : add : The form « *gā* » (earlier form « *gai, gaē* ») is also optionally added in Maithili to emphasise the future (cf. Grierson, *Maithili Grammar*², pp. 136-137).

L. 4 from bottom (=heading line) : read as (1) PASSIVE INDICATIVE.

924, l. 18 : read *lālāṭā-* for *lālāta-*.

932, l. 7: read *খোঁসো* for *খোঁসো* ; l. 11, read *পারো* for *পারো*.

941, l. 11: correct to *Grammatik*.

956, l. 4 : read « *cali, jāri* ».

961, headline : correct to *FUTURE*.

968, l. 13 : read *is* for *in*.

975, l. 9, *from end* : read « *pāṛilāhō* » for « *pāṛilāhō* ».

984, l. 19 : *correct the first बुद्धि to बुद्धि.*

993, *last line, after 'e.g.,' add* : MIA. « aha-ka-m̐, tva-ka-m̐ », OIA. (Rig-Veda) « asa-ka-, sa-ka- », (Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa) « yāma-k-i », (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.) « sa-kā, sa-ka-, ya-ka-, ya-kā, asa-ka- », etc ; and note also.....(I am indebted to Mr. Sukumār Sen for drawing my attention to the OIA. forms occurring in the Vedic texts).

1019, l. 9 *from the end* : read « āch » for the present and the past.

1029, l. 13 : read « -(i)t- + -it- » + root « āch ».

1032, l. 10 : read pālāṇā for pālāṇā.

1035, l. 3 : read adjective passive participle for verbal noun ; and in l. 6, take the semicolon before so.

1040, *last line but one* : read altindischen.

INDEX OF BENGALI WORDS

INDEX OF BENGALI WORDS

[The Numbers refer to Pages]

অ—(sound) 142, 258, 263,
271, 283, 303, 344, 391,
394, 396, 397, 402, 403,
413, 575, 576, 582, 623,
636, 638 ; (suffix) 652, 653,
678 ; (prefix) 397, 709, 710 ;
(noun stem) 716 ; (verb
inflexion) 903, 906, 925,
974, 977, 987, 989, 1012,
1013

অই—(sound) 344, 397, 425 ;
(suffix) 672 ; (pronoun)
839

অইছন—854

অউ—(sound) 427 ; (verb
inflexion) 903

-অউক—903

অএ—424

অও—425

অওরংজেব—588

অং—402

অঁ—346

অঃ—402

-অক—679, 681, 986

অকথা—406

-(অ)ক—681

-(অ)কি—681

-অকী—681

অকু—596

অকুমারী—378, 710

অকেজে—710

অকু—615

অকোবর—642

অকু—382

অখন—857, 997

অখুন—997

অখুণী—710

অগর (= Eng. auger)—636

অগেরান—462

অগ্গা—431

অঘর—710

অঘোর (নিজঃ)—710

অগ্রা—431, 440, 463

অগ্রার—440

অকু—533

অচিন—529

অচেনা—529

অছি—584, 612, 615

অছিল্লা—612, 615

অজচ্ছল—473

অজানা—710

অজেন—578

অজাত—382

অবক—311, 481

অবোর—481

-অগ্র—989

অঞ্জলি—431

অটো—400

অটেল—337

-অত -অং—653, 654, 655

অত—854

-অভা—653, 654

-অতি, -অতী—653, 654, 655

অতুল-উআ—333

অতেক—855

অথাত্তর—346

অথির—336

অতুত—449

অতু—147

অধীর—303, 397

অধ্যাক—216

-অন (verbal noun)—651,
656, 657, 924, 1012

অনন্ত—533

-অনা—657

অনা—709, 710, 1012, 1013

অনাচিটি—710

অনাধিনী—696

অনামুৎ—710

অনাহুটি—710

-অনি—692

-অনী—657, 1012

অনুগ্রহ—304

অনুবাদিত—704

অনুদিত—304

অনেক—733

-অপ্র—(present participle)
112, 653, 654 ; (verbal
affix) 903, 974, 986, 989,
999

অপ্রকরণ—558

অন্তর—112

অন্তরযামী—376

অন্তরে—769

-অন্তি—974, 986

-অন্ত—796

অঙ্গ—381

অপচর—473

অপভাষা—69

অপমৃত্যু, অপমৃত্যে—716

অপেক্ষা—767

অপ্—347

অপ্পাই—422

অপ্সারাজিতে—431

অপ্সরী—673

অক্লান্ত—999

অবজ্ঞা—413

অবন্তি—710

অবিরত—419, 704, 710

অবিজ্ঞি—705

অবুধা—710

অবে—837, 856

অবের—712

অবেলা—710

অভাগিনী—694

অভ্যাস, অভ্যাস—393

-অম্—974, 975

অমত, অমন—851

অমল—378, 71

-অনি—666

অনিয়া—355

অমৃত, অমৃত—357

অন্ন (sound)—424, 426

অন্নি, অন্নী (sound)—425

অন্, অন্ (sound)—427

অন্নে (sound)—424, 426

অ'ন্নে (sound)—426

অলৌকিকলভ, -লভ—645

-অর—112

অরঙ্গ—710

অরি—397

-অরি—668

অর্পণ—214

অর্পা—884

অর্পণ—582

-অল—669

অলিকূল—727

অলী—615

অলখ—335, 504, 506, 1068

অলুখ—506

অলুখ—710

অল—534

অলু—792

অলুআলী—792

অলুন(কা)ই—792

-অলিয়া—700

অলখ—397

অলখদি(র)—814

-অহ—(sound) 425 ; (verbal
affix) 903, 906

অহিনু—710

অহিসাবী—710

-অহে—425

‘অ’—271

অ—(sound) 258, 271, 272,
389, 393, 402, 404, 574,
575, 576, 579, 582, 622,
636, 637, 638, 639 ; (suffix)
656, 657, 658, 660, 664,
716, 734 ; (genitive affix)
162, 752 ; (in verb forms)
921, 922, 923, 926, 974,
980, 988, 1012, 1029,
1034 ; (prefix) 709, 710 ;
(verb-root) 874, 1046

অঅর—283, 314, 340, 349

অঅা—429

অই—(sound) 421 ; (affix)
422, 661, 662, 663

আই (grandmother)—307,
421

আই (=syug)—310, 406,
662

আইঅ—383

আইচ—342, 471

আইজ—269, 380, 385

-আইত—653, 655, 663, 676

আইদ—308, 380, 383

আইন—582, 584

-আইন—725, 974, 986

আইনচে—1021

আইবুড়—422

আইরা—416

আইরানে—1007

আইরারে—994

আইল—(verb) 320, 386,
544, 1046

আইলপনা—380

আইলা—386

আইলাখ—383, 386

আইলাহী—975

আইলে—1046

আইলাই—987

আইলু—384

আইশ—892

আইস—123, 379, 874, 892,
1046.

আইসই—350.

আইসতে—385

আইসা—885

আইসি—340

আইসিঙ—1046

আইসিয়া—352

আইসিল—1046

আইসিস—1046

আইসু—379

আইসুক—1046

আইয়ন—1046
 আইসে—320, 345, 379, 383,
 387, 560
 আইহ—198, 283, 307, 314,
 347, 383, 554
 আইহণ—198, 283
 আইহু—692
 আই—162
 আইষ—372
 আইশ—310
 আগি—882
 আগ—269, 307
 আগা—351, 704, 882
 আগলা—699
 আউ (= *eye*)—310
 আউ (sound)—423
 আউআ (আগরা)—664
 আউখ—310
 আউট—493, 554
 আউট (= *Eng. out*)—639, 645
 আউল—320, 342, 379, 383,
 544
 আউলা—345, 351, 386, 423,
 704, 882
 আউলাইল—383, 957, 1033
 আউশ—320, 355
 আউষ—355, 547, 548
 আগ—(sound) 423 ; (suffix)
 663
 আগজ—874
 আগজা—320
 আগট—349
 আগটা—320, 423, 491
 আগড়া—423, 887
 আগতা—535
 আগরাজ—314, 616
 আগরাস—427
 আগররজব—588, 607

আগররজব—607
 আগল—522
 আগটি—493
 আগরজ—215
 আই (= আমি)—521, 815
 আই—726, 974, 986
 আইষ—336, 372, 519, 547,
 550
 আইষটিয়া—686
 আউনী—423
 আগনা. -নে (= আপনা, আপনি)
 —850
 আগরা (= আমরা), -রার, -রারে
 —815
 আগলা—519, 544
 আগ—316, 360, 362
 আগড়া—887
 আগড়ী—691
 আগলা—333, 550
 আগড়া—880
 আগড়ার—880
 আগড়ে—880
 আগুর—337
 আগুলী—337, 550
 আগোর—337
 আগ—1..0, 307, 316, 369,
 460
 আগর—369, 540
 আগি—150, 316
 আগি (= *heat, flame*) 307, 316,
 369, 1070 ; (*to guess*) 878
 আগড়া—887
 আগল—335, 361, 471
 আগা—874
 আগান—664
 আগার—519
 আগলা—364
 আগুলি—398

আট—878
 আটি—316, 369, 493
 আট—311
 আড়—496
 আড়া (= আগা, আনা)—526
 আড়ি (= আগি, আনি)—526
 আড়রা—365
 আড়—316, 502
 আতকা—882, 896
 আতকে—449
 আতড়ী—691
 আতড়ী—661
 আধার—317, 345, 366, 507
 আধার—882
 আধি—366, 507
 আনে, -না (= আপনি, আপনি)
 —850
 আয—301, 321, 637, 514, 531
 আয়রা, -রার, -রার, -রারে. -র
 আয়ার (= আমরা etc.)—815
 আর (= আমার)—142, 815
 আর, -র (= আমার, -র) —815
 আর—215, 310, 362
 আর—372, 519, 547, 550
 আরটে—491, 686
 আ—558
 আক্ (suffix)—681, 974
 আকহার—473, 574, 612
 আকল—456
 আকর—577, 598, 605
 আকল—597
 আকলমলী—592
 আকাশ—454
 আকাশ—710
 আকারণ—710
 আকুমারী—314, 378, 710
 আকাড়—626

আকাঁড়া—710
 আকেল—574, 592, 597, 619
 আক্তা—599
 আখ—310
 আখড়া—282, 331, 460, 495, 688
 আখনী—599, 614
 আখ(ি)ভা—710
 আখর—316, 369
 আখাইল—1032
 আখুজি, -জী—578, 584, 618
 আখের—599
 আগ (= agni)—302, 461
 আগ (= agra)—767
 আগত—767
 আগড়—687
 আগন—440, 461, 463
 আগবাড়া, -বাড়ান—1051
 আগমন—462
 আগর (= Eng. auger)—636
 আগল—462, 544
 আগলা—888
 আগলার—330
 আগা—213, 461
 আগি—152, 302, 316, 461
 আগুআ, -রা—882, 883
 আগুছা—885
 আগুছিআ—1037
 আগুন, -নি—152, 376, 398
 আগে—767
 -আগে (in কার্যকাণ্ডে)—462
 আগুন—440, 461, 463
 আগাট—710
 আগোর—314
 -আঙ—974, 976
 আঙট, -টা—685
 আঙল—522
 আঙলা—889

আঙিনা—363
 আঙুর—574, 607
 আঙুল—544
 আঙ্—360
 'আঙ্' (= ক)—377
 আঙ্গ—361
 আঙ্গট—685
 আঙ্গটা—333, 685
 আঙ্গটা—333
 আঙ্গন—335, 528
 আঙ্গরা—331
 আঙ্গিনা—335, 363
 আঙ্গুটি—493
 আঙ্গুর—574, 607
 -আচ—684
 আচকান—574, 577, 601
 আচকা—522, -চমকা—314, 522
 আচবা—314
 আচবিত—314
 আচাভুআ—1070
 আচাঘা—406
 আচার—628
 আচার্য—406
 আছ—112, 114, 167, 443, 873, 926, 1035, 1037
 আছউক—1037
 আছএ—1037
 আছহু, আছহু—1037
 আছম—1024
 আছলেক—1037
 আছাড়—874, 888
 আছি—1037
 আছিতে—313, 1037
 আছির—314
 আছিবা—1037
 আচিবার—1018
 আছিয়া—1037
 আছিল—313, 1037

আছিলন্ত, -ন্তি—1037
 আহিলা—1037
 আহিলান্তি—1037
 আহিলাম—1037
 আহিলাহা—981
 আহিলাহী—975
 আহিলি—1037
 আহিলেন্ত—1037
 আছু—980
 আছুক—1037
 আছু—316, 444, 465, 472, 875, 926, 1037
 আছেন—1037
 আছেন—1037
 আছেন—995
 আছো—932
 আছ—269, 307, 316, 318, 354, 380, 385, 475
 আ'জ—269
 আজকাল—450
 আজব—574, 596, 605
 আজবু—354
 আজল—314, 398
 আজলী—354, 475
 আজড়—888
 আজান—314 ; 710
 আজানা—710
 আজি—269, 307, 318, 380
 আজি আজিয়া (= আশিকী)—307, 476
 আজুলি, -লী—314, 398
 আজা—393
 -আজি—726, 974, 986, 989
 আজল—361
 আজাম—601
 আজমান—206
 আটে—301, 316, 442, 491, 552, 792

আট—664, 687

আটাই—303, 372, 512

আটক—457, 680

আটকা—449

আটচলিস—796

আটটা—401, 447

আটত্রিস—330

আটপুত্রে—398

আটা—490

আটাত্তর—555

আটান(ক)ই—792

আটান্ন—789

আটানী—792

আটাসে—700

-আটি, -টা—664, 687

আটুই—521

আঠ—301, 792

আঠা—441

আঠার—317, 347, 555, 792

আঠারই—806

আড়—349, 497, 680, 802

আড়—500

আড়গড়া—497

আড়চিবান—500

আড়ত—499

আড়পাগল(ট)—500, 802

আড়কা—802

আড়মাতলা—500

আড়মদলা—802

আড়া—499

আড়াই—351, 500, 802

আড়াল—497, 669

আড়ানী—497

আড়—802

আড়ডা—497

আড়ত—499

আঢা—499

আঢেল—337

আধি-দ্বিধা—1050

আধিলে—984

আধিলেই—981

আধিলে—981

আধেক—733

আণে (=ণ)—377

আণ্ডিল—677

-আত—663, 676

আতর—580, 592, 596, 602

আতরদান—708

আতশবাতী—602

আতা—622

আতি—314

-আৎ—655, 682

আত্মা—373, 503

আম(ট)স্বর—346, 504

আধির—336

আম—308, 380

আদফাটা—419, 450

আদব—582, 602

আদমী—582

আদরা—698

আদল—698

আদলা—443

আদা—321, 505, 506

আদি—380, 383

-আদি—727, 730, 731, 732, 992

-আদিক—703, 727, 730, 731, 732, 992

আদিকের—732

আদিত্যো—705

-আদিগ—446, 732

আ-দ্বিস—710

আ-দেখ—710

আদখলার—1004

আদোণে—446, 511

আদোবে—446, 511, 513, 514, 525, 678

আদাশ—574

আত্ম—381

আধ—507, 713, 802

আধখান—449

আধফোটা—713

আধলা—334, 443, 698

আধসেরা—451

আধা—802

আধিপতী—314

আধীন—314

আধেলা—698

আ-ধোয়া—710

আন (verb)—874, 1045

-আন, -আন, -আনো—162, 348, 658, 661, 664, 666, 707, 880, 1003, 1030, 1031, 1035

আন (=anya)—367, 529

আনল—283

আনা—462

-আনা—658, 707

আনা করান—1033

আনাগোনা—281, 512, 535, 1013, 1046

আনাঙ—336, 475

আনাড়—527, 528

আনাড়ী—527

আনাথী—695

আনার—314, 574, 609

আনারস—622, 623, 630, 631, 632

-আনি, -আনী—162, 665, 666, 658, 692, 695, 707, 725

আনিয়া—389, 416

আনিল—333

আনিস—215

আনুগাম—283

আনুযতি, -যতী—283, 314

আনে—528

আনো—348, 666, 664, 880,
1008, 1030, 1031
-আন্ত—653, 974, 986
আন্তরে—313, 770
-আন্তি—974, 986
আন্—453
আন্ডাজ—574, 613
আন্—440
আন্বেশ—585
আন্কারী—361
আন্—440
-আন্—789, 796
আন্—416
আপ—847
আপড়ার—526
আপন—434, 511, 849
আপনকার—755, 849
আপনা—849
আপনি—846, 849, 974, 988
আপনে—849
আপমান—314
আপরাধ—314
আপরিচয় (= April)—638
আপশোধ—574, -সোশ—605
আপস—699, 849
আপার—314
আপি আপি—846
আপিং—522, 530, 605, 642
আপিন—530, 605, 642
আপিম—522, 591, 605, 642
আপিমখোর—707
আপিস—216, 634, 636, 638,
643, 645
আপুণি . গী. -নি—849
আপেল—645
আপ্ত—449, 850
আপ্ত-গরজিরা, -জ—850
আপ্ত-জন—850

আপ্ত-নারী—850
আপ্ত-স্থানী—850
আফগানিস্তান—709
আফশোধ—586, -সোশ—574,
605
আফালে—512
আফিম—591, 605
আফিস—645
আব (= abhra)—301,
(= tumour) 514
আবকারী—582
আবছা—301, 443, 515, 699
আবতার—314
আবধা—504
আবরিল (= April)—638
আবর—582, 605
আবরৌয়া—608
আবলুখ, -স—574, 585, 607, 612
আবসী—303
আবস্থা—314
আবা—574
আবাগী—314, 694
আবাগে—675
আবাজ—314
আবুজিরা—314, 710
আবুধ—507
আবুধি, -নী—283, 314
আবুত—358
আবুধা—710
আবেলা—710
আবেদী—340
আবোলা—856
আবোলাব—574, 616
আবেলা—314
আভ—515, 699
আভর—314
আভাং—363
আভাগিরা—675

আভাগী—314, 694
আভাজ—363, 515
আভাজা—711
আভিনার—314
আম—157, 301, 321, 366,
531, 582, 652
-আম, -ম—(suffix) 666, 667 ;
(verb affix) 974, 976, 987
আমকা—682, -গা—758
আমড়া—282, 321, 497, 690
আমদানী—578
আমরা—735, 812, 813, 815
আমরা—736, 815, 812, 815
আমল—611
আমলা—519, 522
আমা—769, 811, 812, 815,
819
আমাগো, আমাগো—758, 815
আমাদের—736, 812, 814, 815
আমানৎ—574
আমানে—814, 816
আমাপানে—305, 771
আমার—815
আমার—142, 211, 758, 815,
926
আমারা—735
আমারী—1072
আমি—145, 309, 334, 350,
367, 516, 531, 533, 554,
734, 809 ff., 818, 921
-আমি—(suffix) 666, 667 ff. ;
(verb affix) 976
আমিজা—314
আমিন—584
আমিনি, -নী—667
আমি-গুহ—706
আমিসব—812
-আমী—666

আমীর—314, 574, 584
 আমুদে—399
 আমুল—314
 আমেজ—574, 585
 আমেদ—557, 619
 আমেরিকা—638
 আমোল—337
 আর (diphthong)—422
 আর (verb)—1040
 আরনা—588
 আরমা—588
 আরর—340
 আরা—622, 625
 আরান—198, 314
 আরি (diphthong)—421
 আরি—307
 আরিলাজে—975
 আরী (diphthong)—421
 আরি (grandmother)—421
 আরে (diphthong)—422
 আরেন্দা—578, 588, 614
 আরেন, -স—574, 596
 আর্য—198, 383
 আর্যত—692
 আর—314, 340, 349, 540
 -আর—350, 668, 669
 আরংজব—588
 আরজা—314, 710
 আরজ—574, 596
 আরতি—302, 501
 আরতিল—677, 957
 আরত্ব(ন)—314
 আরবী—596
 আরবীয়—703
 আরশি, -শী, -সী—256, 375, 540, 548
 -আরি (-আরী)—668, 669
 -আর—669

আরু—500
 আর্ট—217
 আর্দালী—636, 645
 আর্দাস—574
 আর্ধ্য, আর্য—534
 -আল, -ল—669, 670
 আলক—283
 আলকাতরা, -কাংরা—622, 624, 626, 629
 আলখান্না—213
 আলপা—882
 আলগোছা—700
 আলগোছে—551, 700
 আলতা—314, 502, 544
 আলপ—314
 আলপনা—372, 380
 আলশিন—622, 625, 626, 629, 631
 আলব(ত)ৎ—574, 578, 591, 602, 618
 আলমারি, -রী—622, 652, 626, 630
 আলর—424
 আলস—314, 544, 548
 আলুছে—1026
 আলুসে—699
 -আলা—669, 670
 আলাদা—590, 594
 আলাপী—672
 আলাহিলা—590, 594
 আলি—889, 544
 আলিপন(ত)—336, 372, 380, 383
 আলিবর্দা—616
 আলিসা—699
 -আলী—669, 670
 আলু (=Akula)—820, 379, 383
 আলুখান্না—320, 383
 আলুয়াইল—383

আলুবি, -নী—314, 334, 709
 আলেকোষ—587
 আলেয—580
 আলো—353
 আলোবী—334
 আলু—384
 আল্যাঙ—383
 আলা—574, 582, 610
 আলাভালা—583
 আশ—305, 312
 আশখ—335, 1068
 আশনাই—588
 আশরফী—574, 612
 আশা—312
 আশিন—336
 আশী—309, 314, 351, 799
 আশু—320
 আশুভ—314
 আশোরাস—427, 534
 আট—314, 551, 792
 আস—548, 874, 892, 1046
 -আস—700, 701
 আসওয়ার—1066
 আসশাস—312, 548
 আসবাব—574, 605
 আসমান—314
 আসমান—612
 আসল—574, 611, 612
 আসা—885
 আসামী—574
 আসি—340, 379
 আসিজী—379
 আসিঞা—313
 আসিঙে—385, 387, 1046
 আসিং আসিং—1000
 আসিব—379
 আসিবে—379, 1046
 আসিবেক—379

আসিরা—313, 352, 387, 389,
1003, 1046
আসিরা (এসে) পড়া—1051
আসিরা (= Asia)—641
-আসিরা—700
আসিরাহে—387
আসিল—386, 1046
আসিলাম—386
আসিলে—1003, 1046
আসিস—1046
আসিহ—379, 908
আসিহেনক—1008
আসী—379
আহ—379
আহক—1046
আহখ—283, 314
আহখিল—957
আহন—1046
আহর—314
আসে—350, 387, 550, 1046
-আসে—700
আক (= ক)—377
আস্তাবল—640, 645
আস্তে—590, 594
আসতে—1046
আসতে—385, 387
আস্তে ব্যাস্তে—314
আমান—377
আম্পদা, -দা—314, 377
আস্বে—1046
আস্তে—383
আস্লে—1046
আহমদ, আহমদ—557, 609,
619
আহর—1089
আহরিত—704
আহা—557
-আহা—974, 980, 988

আহামক—574
আহামদ—557
আহামক, -খ—574, 591, 597,
609, 619
আহার—554
আহার—336
আহঠ, -ট—493, 554, 830
-আহে—422
আহেরি—553
-আহে—974, 975
-আহে—974, 975
আহা—734, 751, 811
আহারা—735, 812
আহি, -হী—734, 810
আহে—734, 810, 812
আহে—810
আহাদ—557
আহ—879
আহান—200
'অ্যা'—142, 271, 410, 636
অ্যাদিন—331
অ্যার—421
ই—(sound) 271, 299, 381,
382, 383, 392, 397, 402,
405, 521, 584, 614, 636 ;
(suffix) 406, 522, 655, 662,
663, 671, 672, 673, 674 ;
(case affix) 925 ; (verbal)
337, 915, 923, 974, 975,
978, 988, 989, 1002, 1006,
1012, 1013, 1020, 1028 ;
(pronoun) 834
ইঅ—(passive affix) 112 ;
(imperative) 352
ইআ (verbal affix)—112, 370
ইআ (noun suffix)—674
-ইঅ—1002
ইই (sound)—429

ইউ—(sound) 419 ; (suffix)
919, 920
ইউনাইটেড (ষ্টেট্‌স)—419
ইউনানী—585, 614
ইউনিভার্সিটি—419
ইউরোপ—533
ইউরোপময়—706
ইউরফ—614
ইউ (suffix)—903
ইএ (suffix)—675, 915
ইও (sound)—418
ইংরাজ, ইংরাজ-রাজ—585
ইংরেজ—215, 585, 607, 626,
631
ইংলও—524, 639
ইংলাও, ইংলাও—639
ই—522
-ইএ (suffix)—370
ইট—322, 324, 369, 444
ইটগাদা—451
ইদারা—324, 349, 365, 1073
ইদুর—324, 337, 365, 540
ইদেয়া—324
ইহ—725
ইহাকে—522
ইহারে—522
ইকন—408
ইগড়া—66
ইগা—736
ইকমটেল—645
ইদলও—524
ইচ—873
ইছিল—324
ইছে—875
ইচ্ছিত—704
ইচ্ছে—400
ইজার—579
ইজারা—579

ইজের—579, 583
 ইজৎ—579, 596, 613
 .ইঞ (suffix)—370, 522, 1002,
 1006, 1010
 .ইঞা—1006
 ইঞি—305, 645
 ইট—322, 324, 369, 444, 491
 ইটা—882
 ইটালীয়—703
 ইটি—859, (suffix) 687
 ইটে—543
 ইতিয়া—640
 -ইড—335, 348, 372, 406,
 502, 503, 653, 654, 676,
 704, 959, 1030
 ইডরভাষা—89
 -ইডু—1016
 -ইডে—335, 393, 999, 1000,
 1012, 1014, 1015, 1030,
 1051, 1052
 ইঞ—504, 834, 839
 ইদ—584, 603
 -ইন (noun affix)—162
 ইনাম—579, 596
 ইনি—829, 831, 835
 .ইনি (suffix)—692
 ইনেম্পট্টি(t)র—640, 645
 ইনকমিট্টি—645
 ইনাস—349, 701
 ইন্দির—376
 ইঞে—859
 ইনসাক—579
 ইনসালভেট—644
 ইনসল—626
 -ইব—112, 141, 331, 348,
 661, 676, 988, 1012, 1017
 -ইবা—393, 631, 1016, 1017,
 1018

-ইবাম—136, 141
 -ইবার—1018
 ইবে—856
 -ইবো—141
 -ইবো—136, 141
 -ইম—667
 ইমরা—834
 -ইমা—667, 703
 ইমান—584, 607
 ইমাম—579, 609
 ইমারা—828
 -ইমু—136
 ইয় (sound)—418
 ইয়—377
 -ইয়া—(sound) 417 ; (suffix)
 133, 352, 370, 406, 409,
 416, 522, 614, 662, 674,
 682, 806, 923, 1002, 1003,
 1006, 1021
 ইয়াকুব—614
 ইয়াদ—614
 ইয়ার—418, 534, 614
 ইয়ারিং, ইয়ারিং—640, 645
 -ইয়—370, 406, 1002, 1006,
 1010
 ইয় (sound)—419
 -ইয়ে (sound)—416 ; (suffix)
 675
 -ইয়ে—1006
 ইয়েস—533
 ইয়ে—(sound) 418 ; (suffix)
 908
 ইয়েরোপ—419, 533
 ইয়োর্ক—419, 533
 ইয়াদা—579
 ইয়াদ—609
 ইয়ান—584, 609
 -ইরি—668

-ইজ—112, 331, 333, 348,
 676, 677, 922, 974, 982,
 1012, 1017, 1020
 -ইলু—973, 974, 982
 -ইলা—982
 -ইলাম—141
 -ইলাহী—975
 ইলুম—141
 -ইলু—141
 -ইনে—112, 677, 901, 1003,
 1004
 -ইলা—974, 982
 -ইলাহী—975
 -ইলা—141
 ইলৎ—579, 610
 -ইহ—904
 -ইশ—633
 ইশপিত্ত সাত্ত—626
 ইশ—558
 ইশাদী—579, 602, 612
 ইশার—579
 ইশেরা—583
 ইষ্টবার—645
 ইষ্টরিট—645
 ইষ্টশ(t)ন—640, 645
 ইষ্টট, ইষ্টট—645
 ইষ্টলেন—645
 ইষ্টলান—640
 ইষ্টাম্প—645
 -ইস—974, 979
 ইমবগুল—577
 ইসবী—616
 ইসা—584
 ইসানী—595
 ইসুই—616
 ইসুপ—614
 ইসে—833, 834
 ইকাতোর—215

ইকাকব—215
 ইকুপ—215
 ইকুল—216, 640, 645
 ইকুপ—215
 ইকুকা—579, 612
 ইকুকা—594
 ইকিরি, ইকি—628
 ইকী—377
 ইকী—624, 630
 ইকাত—624, 628, -ইক—622, 631
 ইকিরি—641
 ইকি—641, 645
 ইক—989
 ইকিরি—645
 ইকায়—610
 ইক—352, 555
 ইক—533, 735, 829, 830, 831, 834
 ইকাগ—736
 ইকাগি—829, 834
 ইকাগ—829
 ইকান—831
 ইকাগ—834
 ইক—578, 586, 601, 614, 615
 ইক—359, 829, 831
 ইক—829
 ইকাগি—829
 ইকাগ—829
 ইক—831
 ই—(sound) 271, 402, 405, 584, 636; (prefix) 834; (suffix) 406, 655, 661, 662, 663, 671, 672, 673, 1012
 ইগল—645
 ইগ—584, 596, 608

ইগ—(sound) 418; (suffix) 703
 -ইগ—409
 উ—(sound) 271, 382, 383, 392, 397, 402, 407, 585, 638; (suffix) 310, 653, 662, 677, 678, 903, 974, 980, 988, 989
 উআ—(sound) 428; (suffix) 679, 682
 উআরী—349, 668
 -উআরী—325
 উই—(sound) 428; (affix) 672; (pronoun) 874
 উইল—645
 উউ—429
 উএ—325
 উও—(sound) 429; (affix) 679
 উঃ—558
 উক—305, 826, 456
 -উক—679, 681, 903
 উকটা—685
 উকল—578, 593
 উকন—408, 456
 উখড়—331
 উখড়ার—880
 উখড়—326, 331
 উখড়ার—880
 উখলী—460
 উখড়—460, 880, 888
 উখড়—331
 উখড়—331, 880
 উখলি—278, -লী—544
 উগরার—880
 উগরে—326
 উগরার—880
 উগার—880

উগরে—880
 উগে—881
 উগরে—877
 -উগ—974, 975
 উগান—521
 উট—685
 উকুগু—401
 উকল—473, 874
 উকস—473
 উকড়ার—880
 উকড়ার—880
 উকবক—213
 উকবক—213, 578
 উকল—335, 475
 উকলিত—704
 উকীর—613
 উকল—476
 উক—874
 উকড়—326, 880, 888
 উকড়—880, 881
 উকান—664
 উকায়—326, 336, 475
 উট—369, 444, 491
 উটপেঙ্গিল—645
 -উট—687
 উট—874
 উট-বস—896
 উটতি—654, 655
 উট—401
 উট—999
 উটান—493
 উটবেহে—988
 উটরি (উট) পড়া—1052
 উটরি গড়িরা লাগা—1052
 উটরি—998
 উটরি—994
 উটরি—1008
 উট—326

উঠোন—401
 উত্তপেঙ্গিল—645
 উড়(1)ন—664
 উড়ানী—665
 উড়িষ্যা—329, 417, 496, 675
 উড়িষ্যা—105
 উড়ু উড়ু—678
 উড়ু নি—398, -নী—415, 665
 উড়ে (= উড়িষ্যা)—408, 496, 675
 উড়ে—326, 497
 উত্তর—874
 উত্তরল—698
 উত্তরলী—698
 উত্তরাই—682
 উত্তরে—322, 501, 540
 উত্তরোল—698
 -উত্তি—692
 উত্তম—533
 উত্তরিয়—409, 674
 উত্তীর্ণ—541
 উত্তরে—409, 674
 উত্তল—326
 উথাখী-পাখী—1048
 উদ—326, 505
 উদাত্ত—519
 উদ্দেশ—337
 উদ্ঘাটন—449
 উদ্যোগ—663
 উদ্যায়—313
 উদ্যানে—877
 উদ্যো—507
 উদ—326
 উদ—792
 -উদ—907
 উদআখী—799
 উদই—185, 529
 উদইখা—806
 উদকাশ—347, 789, 796

উদনই—347
 উদপকাশ—347, 789, 796
 উদবাট—798
 উদসত্তর—555, 792, 798
 উদাএ—881
 উদান, উদানী—326, 529
 উদাখী—799
 -উনি, -নী—657, 658, 665, 692
 উনি—835
 উনিশ—330, 792, 795
 উনিশ-বিশ—794
 উনিশে—806
 উনিস—325
 -উনী—1012
 উমুই—185, 529
 উমুন—275
 -উন্—728, 903
 উন্মে—859
 উপকার—451, 452
 উপচ—874
 উপচয়—875
 উপজ—874
 উপজয়—875
 উপজে—475, 510
 উপড়য়—275, 331, 877
 উপড়ে—275, 331
 উপর—407, 770
 উপরে (তে)—770
 উপাএ—533
 উপাড়—888
 উপাড়—275, 510, 877
 উপায়—533
 উপাস—325, 349
 উপেক্ষ—337, 874
 উবু—311
 উবে—881
 উভর—515
 উভরা—889

উভা—326, 437, 515
 উভিরা যাওয়া—515
 উভু—311
 উভে—881
 -উবু—974, 975
 উমড়—326, 530
 উমাএ—881
 উমান, (= to be hot)—521, 531
 উমান (= to weigh)—530
 উমায়—326
 -উমি—666
 উমেদওয়ার—617
 উমেদার—350, 616
 উয়া—(sound) 428; (suffix)
 381, 662
 উয়ারী—325, 352
 উয়ি (sound)—428
 উয়ে (sound)—428
 উয়ে (verb)—325, 342
 উয়ে (sound)—429
 -উয়ী—377
 উর—540, 874
 -উর—696
 উরভ—325
 -উরি—668
 উরভ—325, 502
 উরু—213, 581
 উরু—213
 উরু—586, 602
 উল (= Eng. wool)—636
 উল—874
 উলসে—326
 উলহ—874
 উলান—550
 -উলী—671
 উগুল—615
 উচ্চারণ—551
 উচ্চ—527

- উস—700
 উসক—886
 উহল—615
 উই—835
 উহা—835
 উহাদিগ—835
 উই—835
 উহ—557
 .উ—974, 975
 উচকপালী—335
 উচলা—888
 উচা—326, 369, 470, 659, 882
 উচু—333, 369, 678
 উট—369, 444
 উন্নান—521
 উ—(sound) 271, 402, 407, 585, 638; (affix) 662, 677, 920
 উল—645
 ঞ—356, 358, 402, 625, 627
 ঞড (= Read)—358
 ঞবিবর (= receiver)—358, 648
 ঞজানী—696
 ঞ—358, 402
 ঞ—402
 ঞ—(sound) 142, 271, 327, 344, 389, 391, 394, 402, 406, 408, 410, 411, 412, 585, 616, 624, 639; (nominal suffix) 133, 162, 163, 303, 386, 925; (verb suffix) 350, 674, 739, 915, 974, 981, 983, 988, 889, 1008; (pronoun) 555, 829, 830, 834, 835
 ঞ—412
 ঞা—830
 ঞে—(sound) 419; (pronoun) 830, 834
 ঞেথানে—834
 ঞেউ—(sound) 420; (pronoun) 834
 ঞে—429
 ঞে (sound)—420, 421
 ঞে (= avidhava)—198, 307, 314, 420
 ঞে (pronoun)—834
 ঞেজ—616
 ঞেৎ—692
 ঞক—142, 301, 302, 328, 396, 411, 454, 455, 456, 780, 783
 -ঞক—778, 974, 986, 989
 ঞকযেয়েৎ—705
 ঞকচালিশ—796
 ঞকচ(টি)লিশ—784, 796
 ঞকজিবিশন—645
 ঞকটা—396, 401, 686, 784
 ঞকটিনি—642, 645
 ঞকটী—396, 686
 ঞকটু—211, 396, 781, 992, 998
 ঞকটুক—992
 ঞকতিরিশ, -ত্রিশ—784
 ঞকত্রিত—704
 ঞকরার—579, 597, 609
 ঞকলা—659
 ঞকবর—577
 ঞক-শ—800
 ঞক-শ-পঁচিশ-তম—804
 ঞ(ট)কবর—700
 ঞকবটী—784, 798
 ঞকসর—700
 ঞকসা—700
 ঞকত্তর, ঞকত্ত—551
 ঞকহার—701
 ঞকা—302, 396, 411, 659, 786
 ঞকান্তর—502, 555, 784
 ঞকান(কা)ই—784, 800
 ঞকান্ন—784, 789
 ঞকুইতি—692, 785
 ঞকুশ—363, 456, 784, 795
 ঞকে—445
 ঞকেবারে—448
 ঞকেকালে—785, -বারে—448, 785
 ঞক্তার—579, 590, 599, 615
 ঞক্তিরার—579, 590, 599, 615
 ঞক্সিবিশন—645
 ঞখন—857
 ঞখনী—398
 ঞখানকার—755
 ঞখানে—401, 458, 859
 ঞখুনি, -নী—398
 ঞখেনে—401
 ঞগার—327, 336, 341, 462, 555, 784
 ঞগুলা—829
 ঞগো—882, 883
 ঞগ জামিন—645
 ঞগ জিবিশন—645
 ঞছা—211
 ঞজমাল—601
 ঞজলাস—579
 ঞজার—579
 ঞজারা—579
 ঞজাহার—580, 594
 ঞজিদ—577, 614
 ঞজেহার—580
 ঞজে—393
 ঞজরি—327
 ঞটি—859

এড়—497, 878
 এড়া—956
 এড়িলেই—981
 এত—328, 351, 854
 এতদিন—450
 এতলা—596
 -এত—739
 এতেক—855
 এতেলা—580
 এতলা—602
 এতেলা—580, 619
 এখা—328, 412
 এনিগ—829
 এদের—829
 এখারে—859
 -এন (verbal)—335, 409, 974,
 986, 988, 989
 এনটেল, এনট্রেল—645
 এনা-, এনাদের—829
 এনাম—579
 এনারা—829, 835
 এনে—389, 416
 এনে (pronoun)—853
 এনটাস—645
 -এন্ত—335, 974, 988, 989
 এখা—389
 এখো—416
 এখু—626
 এনসাক—579
 এখিল—638
 এবি—328, 856
 -এম—974, 976
 এমত—529, 696, 851
 এমত—852
 এমন—211, 411, 529, 851
 এমতর—708
 এমনধারা—708
 এমনে—852

এমেরিকা—638
 এম্বে—853
 এম—421
 এমা—420, 412
 এমানরা—835
 এমানে—853
 এমারিং—645
 এমি, -মী—419
 এমু—420
 এমো—420
 এমো (= avidhava)—198, 554
 এর—409
 -এর—95, 112, 337, 386, 540,
 717, 718, 734, 739, 776
 এরগো—835
 এরা—829, 835
 -এরা—734, 735, 776
 এরাদা—579
 এরাসব—735
 -এরে—739
 এল—388, 1046
 এলা—882
 এলাকা—580, 597
 এলাম—386
 এলায়িত—704
 এলাল, এলালে—383
 এলাহি—579, 582, 694
 এলি—389
 এলুম—386
 এলে—1003, 1046
 এলেম—592
 এলেমান—215
 এলো—(adjective) 345, 350,
 386; (verb) 350, 386
 এলিরা—418, 641
 এলেকিন—530, 642, 646
 এলোপ—640
 -এস—974

-এস—979
 এসব—735, 829
 এসি—830
 -এসি—974, 979
 এসে—350, 352, 387, 389,
 918, 1046
 এসেছে—389
 এসো—1046
 এতফা—579
 এতিহার—594
 এসতে—387
 এতমরাই—579
 এতা—389
 এতাছে—389
 এসলাম—610
 এহ—412, 555
 এহা—412, 829, 830
 এহি—830, 852
 এহেন—313, 350, 555, 853
 এহো—830
 এই—829
 -এই—974, 981, 988
 এই—831
 এ—522, 829
 -এ—303, 974, 981, 988
 এঁ(রা)দিগ—829
 এঁ(রা)দের—829
 এঁড়ে—365
 এঁরা—829
 এঁ(রা)রা—829
 এঁখানি—349, 666
 এঃ—558
 এ্যা—636
 ঐ—344, 383, 402, 415, 425
 ঐ (pronoun)—ওই
 ঐছন—854
 ঐরি—380, 397

ও—(sound) 142, 271, 272,
341, 391, 394, 397, 402,
413, 586, 793; (suffix) 652,
653, 678, 679; (verbal)
906, 974, 975, 987;
(pronoun) 555, 835, 851
ওআ, ওা—227, 534, 616
ওই—(sound) 425; (pronoun)
838, 839
ওউ—427
ওও—429
-ওক—974, 986
ওকালৎ—577, 602, 615
ওকালতী—656
ওকু—596
ওক্ত—578, 593, 597, 615
ওখন—857
ওখান—836
ওগুল—835
ওছমান—581, 611
ওজন—592, 613, 615
ওজর—592, 596, 613
ওজু—585
ওজুহাৎ—594, 601, 615
ওঝা—199, 302, 329, 481, 542
ওঠ—329
ওড়ন—329
ওড়না—330, 415
ওড়িয়া—329, 675
ওটন—329
ওটনী—665
ওংলো—338
ওদিগ-, ওদের—835
ওধারে—859
-ওন—651
ওনা—835
ওনারা, ওনাদের—835
ওমত—851

ওমরা(হ)—581
ওমর—581
-ওমি—666
-ওম—974, 975
ওয়ান—645
ওয়—341, 426
ওয়া—227, 426, 534, 616
-ওয়া—663, 664
ওয়াকপ—606
ওয়াকফ—592, 606, 615
ওয়াকিব—580, 616
ওয়াকিব—580, 616
ওয়াজ—596
ওয়াজিব—616
ওয়াজি—426
ওয়াদা—615
-ওয়ান—707
ওয়াপস—604, 616
ওয়ার—426
-ওয়ারা—671
ওয়ারিন—641, 646
ওয়ারিস—580, 612
ওয়ারী—325, 349
ওয়ারেন—646
ওয়ার্ডসওয়ার্—645
-ওয়ারা—196
ওয়াক্তা—612, 616, -স্তে—211
ওয়াকিল—616
ওয়াহাবী—615
ওয়ে—426
ওয়েটিং রুম—646
ওরফে—581
ওর—835
ওল—544
ওল—669
ওলগা—628, 629
ওলমাজ—215, 623, 628
ওলা—413, 544

-ওলা—671
ওলাউঠা—413
ওলা(হা)—981
ওলী—615
ওয়ুধ—710
ওস—305, 329
ওসমান—581
ওসর—835
ওস্তাগর—603
ওস্তাদ—581, 612
ওহ—555
ওহা—(sound) 426; (pronoun)
835
ওহি—839
ওহো—557
ওহে—974, 975
ওই(ই)—835
ওই—974, 975, 987
ও—360, 519; (pronoun) 835;
(affix) 974, 975, 987
ওছলা—888
ওদিগ, ওদের, ওরা—835
ওদ—215
ওঃ—558
ও—154, 402, 415, 427
ওট—639, 645
ওরংজেব—697
ওবজ্জেব—588
ওবধ—427
ং—271, 363
°—271, 360
ক—(sound) 271, 411; (suffix)
679, 681, 682, 703, 727, 756,
885, 903, 907; (pronoun)
844
কখা—425

কই—(a fish) 308, 344, 346,
425; (where?) 344, 384,
844, 853
ক'ইয়ে—394, 675, 676
কইয়া—379, 383
কইয়ছি—474
কইয়েত—384, 542
কইয়া—379
কইল—984
কইলা—315, 342, 344
কইলে—984
কইলে—981, 1005
কউক—427
কউনে—417, 675
কও—425
কওয়া—425
কওঁ—932
ক'ক—427
কখন—317, 857
কষায়া—629
কচ—614
কচটা—685, 886
কচলা—483
কচু—318
কচুয়ান—646
ক'চি—444
ক'চ্ছ—392
ক'চ্ছিল—1020, 1025
ক'চ্ছ—541, 1020, 1025
কচটা—452
কছটা—896
কজ—614
কটকট—371
কটকটা—891
কটমটা—891
কটাস—700
কটকী—672
কড়—315, 343, 355, 495

কড়ক—886
কড়চা—541
কড়মড়া—891
কড়া—302, 336, 346, 348, 497,
886
কড়াই—336
কড়াক—681
কড়াকিয়া—682
কড়ার—610
কড়ি—348, 396
কড়য়া—315
কণিয়ার—529
কণিয়ার—336
কত—854
কতক—855
কতল—203
কতলা—483
কতেক—855
কতোক—855
কত্তা—541
কত্তা—705, -বি—705
ক'ত্তে—542
কথ—369, 504
কথা—454, 455, 505
কথার—780
কথি, -র—844
কথো—855
কদবেল—506
কদম—366, 531, 574, 596
কদমা—331
কদর—574, 592
কদুয়া—432
কনকন—455
কনকনাইয়া—890
কনয়া—659
কনুই—315, 337, 452
কনে—853
কনোজ—344

কনক'নিয়—890
কফ (-কাটা)—438
কয়া—330
কয়—545
কজা—382, 384, 455
কপচা—700, 889
কপাৎ—655
কপি—624, 627, 628, 631
কপি (= copy)—646
কবচ—574, 614
কবজ—574, 592, 596, 614
কবলা—884
কবর—574, 592, 605
কবুল—575, 611
কবে—856
কভু—454
কম—315, 574, 575, 597
1034
কমণ, কমন—843
কমবজ—599
কমর—577
কমান—665
কমিল—1034
কমী—575
কমেডি—217
কম্ভি—655
কম্ভে—853
কফ(টি)—646
ক'বল—1034
কম্ব—541
কয়—(= speaks) 403, 424, 455,
554; (pronoun) 844, 881
কয়লা—404, 424
কয়িল—984
কয়েথ—369, 500, 504, 506
কয়েদ—587, 596, 603
কর (verb)—258, 348, 453,
536, 873, 890, 902, 906,
1012, 1029, 1033, 1043

- কর—683, 707
 করই—309
 করএ—424, 533
 করকচ—541
 করগা—885, 909
 করগে—909
 ক'রুগে—909
 করচা—541
 ক'রুছে—1020
 করজ—592
 করত—654
 করতঃ—654
 করতিতিছে—1029
 করতিতেছি—1029
 করতুতুছ—1029
 ক'রুতে—767
 ক'রুতেম—392, 400
 করনা—330
 করশু—545
 করবাক—752
 ক'রুবে—393
 করবের—401
 করম—375, 531, 541
 করমু—531
 করমোচা, করম্চা—1068
 করম—424, 533
 করয়ে—424
 করয়—994
 করলা—334, 403
 ক'রুলেম—392
 করস—994
 করহ—348, 903, 906
 করা—393, 660, 896, 1019, 1029
 -করা—702
 করাইয়া—417
 করাইল—956, 1032
 করাড়—574
 করাড—336, 349, 403, 501, 692
 করান—348, 666, 1033
 করায়—334, 351, 422
 করায়িলে—981
 করায়—574, 610
 করি—302, 380, 396, 994, 1012
 করিএ—915
 করিগা—908
 করিগে—908
 করিছ—392, 1020
 করিছিল—1020
 করিছে—1020, 1024, 1025
 করিঞা—522
 করিঞাছে—1021
 করিঠি—1029
 করিত—704, 901
 করিতাম—392, 901
 করিতে—384, 542, 767, 901, 1014, 1025
 করিতে আছ—392, 1019
 করিতে আছিল—1019
 করিতেছ—392
 করিতেছি—1023
 করিতেছিল—137, 1019, 1025
 করিতেছে—541, 1019, 1025
 করিতে থাকিবে—1019
 করিতে (ক'রুতে) থাকা—1052
 করিতে (ক'রুতে) লাগা—1051
 করিত-কথা—704
 করিনা—401
 করিমু—545
 করিনে—401
 করিব—331, 348, 375, 391, 487, 531, 1039
 করিবা—393, 988
 করিবার—393, 449, 752
 করিবেক—990
 করিবেই—988
 করিবো—531
 করিম—531
 করিমু—531
 করিয়া—299, 352, 379, 383, 388, 392, 409, 417, 522, 655, 682, 739, 747, 767, 1004
 করিয়াছি—144, 394, 474, 1002
 করিয়াছিল—1021
 করিয়াছিলাম—1002
 করিয়াছে—1021
 করিয়া থাকিবে—1021
 করিয়া (ক'রে) দেখা—1052
 করিয়ারে—994
 করিরে—337, 675, 932
 করিরের—994
 করিরিছে—1021
 করির—994
 করিল—343, 383, 392, 984, 1043
 করিলাম—392, 545
 করিলুম—545
 করিলে—984
 করিলেক—457
 করিলাই—726
 করিলু—545
 করিলে—1005
 করিসুগা, করিসুগে—908
 করিহ—908
 করিহলি—997
 করি—302, 351, 904
 করী—396
 করু—310
 করুক—310, 397, 683, 903
 করুকগা, করুকগে—909
 করুন—903

করনগা, করনগে—909
 করম—531
 করে—315, 391, 540, 917, 994
 ক'রে—141, 352, 380, 388, 391, 392, 409, 655, 682, 739, 747, 767, 1004
 ক'রেচি—444
 ক'রেছি—394
 ক'রেছিল—1021
 করেন—335, 528, 725
 করেসু—335
 করেসি—646
 করেস—994
 করেলা—334, 403, 544
 ক'রে—902, 906
 করোলা—403
 ক'রেছিল—1021
 ক'রে—520
 কর্—902
 কর্গা—908
 কর্গিমা—909
 কর্গি—474
 ক'র্গে—908
 কর্হ—392
 ক'র্হ—392
 ক'রছিল—1020, 1025
 ক'র্হে—541, 1025
 কর্হ—574, 592, 613
 কর্ণেল—214, 639, 646
 কর্ভাছে—1000
 কর্ভে, ক'র্ভে—384, 1025
 ক'র্ভেছে—1025
 কর্ভা—705
 কর্ভক—768
 কর্ভা—994
 কর্ভ, ক'র্ভ, কর্ভ—391
 কর্ভার—449

ক'র্বে—988
 ক'র্বে—391
 কর্ভ—541
 কর্ভা—299, 383, 392
 কর্ভে—392
 ক'র্ভ—984, 1043
 কর্ভে, ক'র্ভে—392, 984, 1043
 কর্ভ—305
 কর্ভা—213
 ক'র্ভা—672
 কর্ভা—213
 কর্ভ—454
 কর্ভা—331
 কর্ভান—708
 কর্ভা—597
 কর্ভা—331
 কর্ভা—346, 455, 544
 কর্ভা—588
 কর্ভা—544
 কর্ভা—65
 কর্ভা—1073
 কর্ভা—282, 476
 কর্ভা—203
 কর্ভা—529
 কর্ভ—544
 কর্ভ—646
 কর্ভ—636
 কর্ভা—282, 476
 কর্ভা—644
 কর্ভা, কর্ভা—203, 610
 কর্ভা—413
 ক'র্ভ—984, 1043
 কর্ভা—331, 610
 কর্ভে, ক'র্ভে—392
 ক'র্ভে—984, 1043
 কর্ভা—612
 কর্ভা—584

কর্ভ—873
 কর্ভা—886
 কর্ভা—142, 300, 687
 কর্ভা—882
 কর্ভা—318
 কর্ভা—142
 কর্ভ—592
 কর্ভ, কর্ভ—610
 কর্ভা—588, 596
 কর্ভ—582
 কর্ভা—685
 কর্ভ—913
 কর্ভা—705
 কর্ভা—399, 417, 675
 কর্ভা—933
 কর্ভা—425
 কর্ভা—995
 কর্ভা—1050
 কর্ভ, কর্ভ—844
 কর্ভা—995
 কর্ভে—675, 676
 কর্ভা—986
 কর্ভা—986
 কর্ভা—687
 কর্ভ—427
 কর্ভে—675
 কর্ভ—315, 554, 881
 কর্ভ—844
 কর্ভ—557
 কর্ভ—518
 কর্ভ—361
 কর্ভ—629
 কর্ভ—681, 682, 756, 841
 কর্ভ—320, 455
 কর্ভ—380
 কর্ভ—289, 380, 882
 কর্ভা—380

কাল—269, 308, 380, 382, 392,
539
কালী—383
কাউ—310
কাউখা—320, 345
কাউকে—845
কাউলিল—639
কাউর—542, 845
কাউর—381
কাওয়াজ—590, 604, 616
কাওড়া—423
কাওয়ালী—576
কাউল—520
কাক (Eng. *cork*)—636, 646
কাকইকু—646
কাকতুরা—627, 628
কাকী—672, 695
কাকেও—845
কাখে—845
কাগ—320, 445
কাগচ—614
কাগজ—461, 577, 582, 597,
603, 614
কাগতী—603
কাঙল—520
কাঙলা—520
কাঙুর—299, 303, 381, 520,
697
কাঙ্কণ—361
কাক্সক—646
কাচ—320, 470, 471, 878
কাছ—316, 455, 473, 768
কাছারী—317, 355, 471
কাছি—473
কাছিব—395, 473, 521, 531
কাছে—762, 768
কাজ—227, 321, 455, 476, 652
কাজ-বর—622, 631

কাজল—475, 544
কাজী—559, 584, 613
কাজু—627, 628, 629
কাট—380, 442, 492, 873
কাটছাঁট—896
কাটনা—657
কাটা—956
কাটারী—317, 491
কাটএ—919
কাটরা (কাটে) ফেলা—1052
কাটরে—337
কাটল—957
কাটে—491, 919
কাঠ—443, 492, 493, 664
কাঠ-কাঠড়া—691
কাঠ-কাটা—449
কাঠড়া—321, 541
কাঠরা—54., 691
কাঠরিয়া—542
কাঠি—664
কাঠী—673 ; (in place-names)
183
কাঠুরী—679
কাঠুরে—542
কাড়—873
কাড়া—499
কাড়িয়া (কাড়ে) নেওয়া—1051
কাড়ে—881
কাড়—442
কাঢ়া—499
কাড়ি-নিলে—1050
কাড়িলাগু—986
কাণ—277, 523, 529
কাণা—528
কাণোআল—283
কাণর—669
কাণারী—440, 669
কাণার—361, 365

কাণারী—440
কাভল, কাভলা—698
কাভান—215, 623, 626
কাভি—502, -ভী—302
কতুর—215
কাদা—347, 372, 506, 521
কাধার—706
কাধিগ—841
কাধের—841, 845
কাধের (name)—580
কাধো—347, 506, 521
কাধানী—610
কান (= ear)—227, 316, 367,
455, 529
কান (= Kṛṣṇa)—191, 355,
367, 529
কানড়(ী)—492, 529
কান(ী)ডী—197, 672
কানাই—191, 283, 355, 455,
529, 662
কানাকানি—1049
কানচ—684
কানৎ—576
কানসোঁআ—520, 701
কানান্তরা—622
কানু—191, 355, 367, 455,
529, 677
কানুন—582, 596, 607
কানুনগো—586, 598
কানেন্তরা—622
কান্দি—361
কান্তে—366
কান—361
কানল—657
কানিতে—1002, 1003
কানিল—389, 1003, 1012
কানিরে—932
কান্যা—389

কাল্প—331, 360, 366, 657,
985
কাপ—511
কাপড়—511, 691
কাপড়আলা—670
কাপড় ও(রা)লা—671
কাপড়-কাচা—659
কাপড়-চোপড়—176
কাপড়সহ—706
কাপাস—321, 336, 511
কাপি—629, 637, 638, 646
কাপূর—337
কাপ্টেন—624
কাপ্তান—624
কাপ্তেন—624, 626
কাফরি—623, 624, 629
কাফি—622, 625, 629
কাফের—582, 597, 605
কাবলী—590
কাবা—578
কাবাব—576, 605
কাবার—622, 627, 628, 630
কাবু—213
কাবুলী—590
কাব্য—382
কাম—301, 316, 455, 531, 541,
651, 667
কামড়—482
কামতা—239
কাম্বলী—522
কামরা—623, 630
কামরা—520, -রু—303
কামলা—520
কামান—203, 576, 597, 607,
609
কামার—881
কামার—668
কামিল—622, 625, 631

কামিনা—667
কামিনিয়া, কামিনা—667
কাম্প—361
কাষ—227
কায়া—588
কায়াহিনী—695
কায়েত—320, 504
কায়েতী—697
কায়েথ—504
কায়েম—578, 588, 609
কার (= Eng. cord)—636,
641, 646
কার—842
-কার—855
কারণ—768
কারবানী—610
কারনিস—636, 646
কারা—841
কারাও—845
কারিকর—707
কারিগর—597, 707
কারু, কারুর—542, 845
কারেসি—646
কারো—542, 845
কার্গিস—636, 638
কার্তুড—215
কার্কা—382, 448, 474
কার্কাগে—462
কাল—269, 302, 308, 348, 380,
382, 455, 652
কাল—269, 382
কালকিষ্টা—527
কালন্দর—576, 596, 602
কালশিরা—348
কালী—302, 348
কালাপতি—624, 629
কালার—882

কালি—269, 308, 380, 382,
455, 539
কালিমা—703
কালিয়া—380, 383, 417, 674
কালিয়া—597
কালী—454
কালীক্ষেত্র—65
কালুরা—381, 679
কালেক্টর—638
কালেক্টার—633
কালেক্টর—642
কালেক্ট—638
কালো—302, 320, 348, 652
কালোয়াং—196
কালু—347, 348
কালুচে—700
কাল্যা—383
কালিয়াল—670
কাহন—555
কাহল—556
কাহি—841, 845
কাহান—844
কাহিনী—307, 336, 554, 696
কাহোকে—845
কাহ—191, 367
কাহাঞি, -ঞি—283, 523
কাহো—845
কাংনী—522
কি—323, 842
-কি—681, 682
কিকে—844
কিখাব—577
কিছু—372, 454, 455, 465, 845,
846
কিনার—579, 582, 597
কিন—873
কিনি—841
কিনে—323, 455, 528, 875

- কিস্ত—992
 কিস্তক—683, 992
 কিপটা—527
 কিসনে—852
 কিবা—367
 কিসং—619
 -কিসা—682
 কিসে—417
 কিসিচ—625, 627, 631
 কিসিমা—376
 কিসিস—625, 631
 কিসে—376
 কিল—323
 কিল—882
 কিল্লা—577
 কিশন—375
 কিশমিশ—579, 613
 কিশং—191
 কিস-, কিসে- —749, 833, 842, 843
 কিস্তী—579, 612
 কিসে—417
 কিংবা—201, 367
 কী—323, 842
 -কী—681, 682
 কীড়া—323
 কীর্ষ—879
 কীবে—843
 কু—455, 711
 কুইনাইন—197, 646
 কইলপেন—646
 কইলা—329, 342
 কুউ—429
 কুকাভ—711
 কুতুর—337, 456
 কুহুল—488
 কুকেছা—711
 কুগর—520
 কুগার—325
 কুচ—601
 কুচাল—711
 কুচি—532
 কুছা—471
 কুছিত—471
 কুটনা—657
 কুটিল—677
 কুটিনাটা—459
 কুটে—491
 কুটনী—332
 কুঠ—301
 কুঠারী—493
 কুঠিাল—670
 কুড়—301
 কড়মী—333
 কড়মুড়া—891
 কুডার—882
 কুড়াল—499
 কুড়ালি, লী—159, 398
 কুড়ি—499, 794
 কুড়িয়া—144, 463
 কুড়ুল—398, 499
 কুড়ে—496
 কুটালী—499
 কুদ—879
 কুদরং—581, 597
 কুদর—711
 কুনবী—196
 কুপন—215
 কুপিল—415, 957
 কুপী—182
 কুমড়া—282, 326, 332, 367
 কুমার—326, 350, 367, 531, 668
 কুমীর—326, 336, 367, 531
 কুমোর—668
 কুমোরনী—695
 -কুয়া—682
 কুয়িলা—342
 কুয়িলী—396
 কুরনিশ—586
 কুরনী, কুরনী—658
 কুশ—627
 কুশা—580
 কুশী—333
 কুল—325
 -কুল—727, 732
 কুলকণী—197
 কুলঙ্গী—459
 কুলচী—446, 471
 কুলচী—372, 446, 471
 কুলখী—504
 কুলা—544
 কুলাপ(ী)না—696
 কুলী—213
 কুলঙ্গী—459
 কুলচী—446, 471
 কুলুঙী—446
 কুলুপ—453, 581, 593, 596, 606
 কুলুপা—884
 কুলোপনা—696
 কুলে—611
 কুশারী—668
 কুষ্ঠী—612
 কুহ—429
 কুয়া, কুয়া—325, 342, 659
 কুকেট—358
 কুপা—455
 কুমিনাল—358
 কুশ—304
 কুশান—624, 641
 কুষ্ঠ—527
 কুফ—191
 কু—412, 455, 460, 841, 842

কে—553, 728, 739, 775,
921, 927
কেঅট—335
কেউ—327, 420, 542, 845, 846
কেওট—335, 411, 423, 491,
685, 688
কেওড়া—342, 352, 421, 688,
611
কেদার—646
কেছা—572, 580, 612, 619
কেটুকা—679, 682
কেটুলি—641
কেঠো—679
কেতা—579, 781
কেতাব—203, 580, 582, 597,
602, 605
কেতন—431
কেদারী—622, 623, 625, 628
কেন—95, 142, 313, 344, 454,
455, 555, 852, 853
কেনমণে, -মণে, -মনে—852
কেনাদেব—841
কেনাবেটা—1016
কেনে—(buys) 455; (why) 853
কেফায়ৎ—578, 694
কেমণ, কেমণে—852
কেমত—843, 851
কেমডে—852
কেমন—411, 843, 857
কেমনতর—708
কেমনে—852
কেমন্ত—843
কেমিষ্টা—217
কেয়া—342, 420
কেয়ার—646
কেয়ারী—327, 336, 342, 540
কেয়—355
কেয়া—540

কেরাগী, -নী—540, 672
কেরাগীগিরি—707
কেরামৎ—577
কেরাসিন—646
কেছা—619
কেলাস—646
কেলে—380, 417, 674
কেলো—381, 679
কেলা—203, 559, 577, 597,
619
কেল—411
কেশেল—670
কেটে—191, 492, 527
কেটো—191
কেহ—542, 845, 846
কেহন—95, 313, 344, 555,
853
কেহা—327, 542, 845
কেহু, কেহু—95, 344, 853
কেই—841
কেকেয়ী—425
কেছন, কেছে—854
কেফিয়ৎ—586, 605
কেল—341, 350, 355, 455,
517, 1043
কেলু—980
কেলুম—971
কেলে—342, 984
কে—413
কেইরুতে—384
কেইল—329
কেক—427
কেডর—325, 520
কেডল—520
কেডা—215, 627, 630
কেডার—520
কেদা—215
কেচ—214, 329

কেচমান—646, 707
কেচুমান—707
কেছ—392
'কেছাচ'—332
কেট—480, 492, 640, 646
কেটাল—329, 349, 426, 490,
560, 670
কেটি, -টা—801
কেটিপতি—801
কেটিষর—801
কেটোরাল—426
কেডাকর—758
কেণ—329, 344, 842, 1066
কেণাচ—684
কেগোহা—842
কেখা—455
কেখায়—558
কেথেকে—332
কেদাল—505
কোন—842
কোনাচ—471
কোনো—842
কোন্—344, 385, 841, 842
কোপ—182, 415, 482
কোপা—182
কোপি—624
কোপ্তা—586, 597, 602
কোবি—624
কোমণ—842
কোমর—557, 577
কোম্পানী—633, 646
কোরতে—384
কোরবান—559
কোরবানী—596
কোরাণ, -ন—203, 523, 559,
583, 596
কোরে—141, 380, 388, 391,
392

কোরেন্ডা—623, 624, 630
 কোরোক—593, 596
 কোরু—392
 কোর্ট—646
 কোর্ডে—384
 কোর্ডা—454
 কোর্স, কোর্সো—391
 কোর্গা—213
 কোর্লে—392
 কোর্লো—392
 কোল (the people)—329, 544
 কোল (= lap)—229, 455, 543
 কোলু—544
 কোল্লো—392
 কোল্লো—392
 কোল্‌হান—726
 কোশ—455
 কোষা—329
 কোফো—842
 কোড়ী—348, 427
 কোণ—842, 843
 কোড়ুক—899
 কোড়ুকাগার—216
 কঁদল—365
 কাঁ—841
 কাঁই—422, 483
 কাঁইবিড়ি—483
 কাঁউর—697
 কাকই—398
 কাকড়া—368, 369, 456
 কাকণ—301, 316, 362, 456, 523
 কাকর—456
 কাকাল—317, 322
 কাকালী—317
 কাকুই—398
 কাকুড়—369
 কাকু—369, 460, 768

কাচ—320, 361, 370, 470
 কাঁচা—361, 892
 কাঁচী—213, 587, 601, 608
 কাঁটা—491
 কাঁটল—317, 322, 491
 কাঁঠাল—283
 কাঠী—493
 কাড়—365, 496
 কাড়ার—669
 কাড়ারী—365
 কাড়িয়ালী—673
 কাটার—361
 কাতি—321, 361, 502
 কাঠী—361
 কাঁত তে—366
 কাঁথ—305, 362
 কাঁথা—312
 কাঁদ—361, 365, 405, 873
 কাঁদ-কাঁদ—653, 678
 কাঁদতে—366
 কাঁদন—316, 335, 400, 656, 657, 985
 কাঁদনা—331, 360, 657
 কাঁদনিয়া—394, 675
 কাঁদনী—657
 কাঁদা—985
 কাঁদা-কাঁটি—1049
 কাঁদিগ—841
 কাঁদিত্তে—366
 কাঁদিয়া—389
 কাঁছনি—657
 কাঁছনে—394, 675
 কাঁদে—455
 কাঁদে-কাঁটে—1048
 কাঁদে-টাঁদে—1048
 কাঁদে—841
 কাঁদো-কাঁদো—653, 678
 কাঁদলে—985

কাঁদল-কাঁটল—1048
 কাঁদবে-কাঁটবে—1048
 কাঁধ—316, 366, 438, 456, 507
 কাঁধা—882
 কাঁপ—361, 362, 510, 873
 কাঁরা—841
 কাঁশ—361
 কাঁশ—321, 362, 548, 659
 কাঁশাই—421
 কাঁসারী—322, 362, 668
 কাঁদা—841
 কিঁউকিঁউ—419
 কুঁকড়া—659, 887
 কুঁকড়ো—659
 কুঁকড়া—326, 369, 659
 কুঁকড়া—333
 কুঁচ—446, 457, 471
 কুঁচকি—326, 681
 কুঁচড়া—887
 কুঁচি—326, 1070
 কুঁচিয়া—325
 কুঁচিল—677
 কুঁচে—325
 কুঁজা—326, 369
 কুঁজে—475
 কুঁড়—67, 180, 496, 878
 কুঁড়িয়া—496
 কুঁদ—326, 873, 878
 কুঁদন—369, 656
 কুঁদে—326, 369, 506
 কুঁউকুঁউ—421
 কুঁচুই—337
 কুঁচো—324, 337, 361
 কুঁডেলী—670, 673
 কুঁদরা—365
 কুঁদে—389
 কৌঅরী—519
 কৌঅল—520

- কৌঅলী—519, 695
কৌকড়া—887
কৌথ—327, 369
কৌচ—329
কৌচকা—885
কৌচড়া—887
কৌচা—471
কৌতকা, কৌৎকা—213, 606
কৌদল—365, 405
কৌয়রী—519
কৌয়লী—519
কৌয়া—627, 630
কৌয়ার—325, 520
কৌয়া—521
কৌগুলি, -লী—633, 639, 646
কৌহলি—427
ক্যাওট—685
ক্যাকার—646
ক্যানেস্তার, ক্যানেস্তা—622
ক্যামন—391
ক্যার (= Eng. care)—640, 646
ক্রমে—357
ক্রিপণ—357
ক্রিস্টান—641
ক্রিস—631
ক্রিস্তাও—624
ক্রিস্তান—624, 625
ক্রুশ—627, 628, 630, 632
ক্রোক—581, 593, 596
ক্রোড়—801
ক্রোড়পতি—801
ক্রোড়েশ্বর—801
ক্রোর—801
ক্রাইব—644
ক্র(ী)সিক—217
ক্র—144, 228, 382, 406, 458
ক্রণ—459, 528, 857
ক্রমা—382
ক্রা—413
ক্রুর—325
ক্রুত—459, 501
ক্র্যাটক্র্যাট—891
ক্র্যাটক্র্যাট—371
খ—271, 411, 438, 599, 600, 643
খআলহিলা—1032
খই—344
খইল—380, 384
খউস—310, 381, 551
খঙ্কার—599, 618
খঙ্গারিই—1033
খঙ্কর—601, 607
খটপটা—891
খড়—459, 497
খড়কিয়া—497
খড়িটি—687
খড়ী—459, 496
খণ—459
খণ্ড—903
খণ্ডায়—929
খত—599
খতা—884
খতাল—459
খ'দর—393, 572, 575, 583, 591
খন—528, 628, 857, 873, 997, 998
খনকার—593, 599
খনিত—704
খনতা, খত—315, 332, 459, 501
খক—440
খপর—574, 599, 605
খপরা—318
খবর—351, 574, 599, 605
খবীস—584
খবরা—424
খবরাত—587, 599
খবের—342, 459, 540
খবেরখা—587, 599
খবগোণ, -স—574, 598, 613
খবচ—574, 592, 601
খবতাল—459
খবল—459
খরিদ—575
খল—318
খ'ল—380
খলি—380, 384
খলিত—704
খলীকা—575, 579, 605
খস—878
খ'স—381
খসড়া—610
খসম—592
খহু—551
খন্তরী—459
খা—873, 927, 1029
খাঅ—441, 906
খাঅন—656
খাআ—341, 350, 429, 660, 1029
খাআর—995
খাই (noun)—320, 459, 488
খাই (= I eat)—344, 422, 994
খাইআর—994
খাইত—335
খাইতে—383, 389, 393, 1000, 1014
খাইতে (খেতে) লাগা—1051
খাইবার—458
খাইয়া—522
খাইয়া (খেয়ে) ফেলা—1052
খাইয়া খাওয়া—1052

খাইব—994
 খাইল—351, 386
 খাইলে—883
 খাইলু—983
 খা ক—351, 423
 খাউখাউ—678, 896
 খাউজাইতে—458
 খাও—348, 421, 423, 906
 খাওআ, খাও—341
 খাওগা—885
 খাওজা—459, 475
 খাওন—656
 খাওরা—371, 350, 429, 660
 1029
 খাওরাই—422
 খাওরা করান—1033
 খাওর—994
 খাও—932
 খাক—598
 খাকী—206
 খাক—351, 907
 খা-খা—896
 খাগড়—185, 461, 691
 খাছে—1026
 খাজ(ি)না—579, 590, 599, 613
 খাজা—316, 459, 475, 579,
 599, 601, 1068
 খাজাকী, খাজান্চী, -চি—213,
 601
 খাজুখাইতে—458
 খাজুর—316, 337, 459, 475
 খাঞা—522
 খাট (noun)—305, 316, 459,
 491; (verb) 878
 খাটতিতেছি—1029
 খাটান—878
 খাটান—491
 খাটে—491

খাটল, খাটিলে—985
 খাড়া—459
 খাড়ী—179, 181, 488
 খাড়ু—311, 498
 খাত—628
 খাতব্য—705
 খাতা—576, 618
 খাতি—389
 খাতির—580, 599, 609
 খাতুন—213
 খাত্যে—383, 389, 393
 খান (=খাঁ)—213
 খান (=piece)—365, 459
 খান (=place)—859
 খান(ি)—779
 খানকী—598
 খান-দশ, -দশেক—778
 খানসামা—590, 608, 612
 খানা (=ditch)—215, 626, 628
 খানা (=eating)—365
 খানা (=place)—707
 খানি, -নী—365, 779
 খানুম—213
 খানে—859
 খাপ—511, 609
 খাপরা—318, 437, 511
 খাপা, খাপা—606, 619
 খাবল—159, 438, 459
 খাবাইতা—1016
 খাবার—1029
 খাবার—1019
 খাবো-খাবো—678
 খামকা, খামকা—600
 খামচা—884
 খামার—317, 367, 459, 531,
 553
 খাখা—183, 367
 খাখা—367

খার—320, 344, 409, 422,
 459, 533, 917, 994
 খারী—341
 খারের—994
 খার-দার—1048
 খারাপ—446, 582, 599, 605
 খারিজ—601
 খাল (=skin)—459
 খাল (=channel)—482
 খালান—458, 576, 599, 613
 খালে—983, 986
 খালেক—683
 খাস—613
 খাসী—576, 612
 খাতা—600
 খাহ—348, 441, 903, 906
 খাহা—903
 খিচড়ী, খিচড়ী—438, 459
 খিড়কী—459, 498
 খিড়কী—406
 খিদমৎ—603
 খিলা—460
 খিদির—604
 খিদে—406
 লিমচা—884
 খিল—438, 459
 খীন—323
 খীর—323, 459
 খুইর—522
 খুকী—695
 খুক—677
 খুলী—482
 খুঞা—459, 520, 522
 খুকিপোষ—599
 খুড়ুতা—508
 খুড়া—326, 459, 497
 খুড়ী—606
 খুড়ুত—692, -তা—503

খুড়ো—401
 খুদ—326, 459
 খুদী—672
 খুন—586, 599, 607
 খুন—857, 997
 খুনহটা—686
 খুব—586
 খুর—326
 খুল—878
 খুলী—586
 খুলি—581
 খুলী—599
 খুট—358, 641
 খুটান—624, 641
 খে—419
 খেআইলে—1033
 খেই—327, 419
 খেউড়—421
 খেউরা—883
 খেজমত—603
 খেজুর—337, 459, 475
 খেটে-খেটে—1047
 খেড়—327, 497
 খেড়—421
 খেত—(noun) 322, 411, 459, 501
 খেতে—389, 393
 খেলড়া—887
 খেলমৎ—603
 খেলা—887
 খেলাইয়া—458
 খেলা—883
 খেমটা—685
 খেমা—351, 459
 খেমা—327, 342, 420, 459, 659
 খেমারী—688
 খেমাল—584, 611

খেয়াস—589, 594, 600
 খেয়ে, খেয়ে', খেয়ে—392, 429, 918
 খেয়ে-দেয়ে—1048
 খেল—(= play) 305, 306, 327, 438, 459, 543; (= ate) 873, 985
 খেলন, খেলনা—657
 খেলা—306
 খেলাৎ—580, 596
 খেলাপ—606
 খেলিয়ে—675
 খেলে—386, 983, 1003
 খেলোয়াড়—688
 খেসারৎ—580
 খোকা—677
 খোজা—482
 খোজা—599
 খোদ—581, 599
 খোদ হাগিয়া—598
 খোদা—203, 581, 582, 599, 602
 খোদাই—661
 খোনকার—593, 599, 603, 618
 খোন্দকার—582, 593, 599, 603
 খোপা—510
 খোবানী—604
 খোয়া—427
 খোয়াব—599
 খোয়াবগা—599
 খোয়ায়—882
 খোয়ার—599
 -খোর—707
 খোরাক—458
 খোল—384
 খোলজা—459

খোলস—699
 খোলসা—581, 583
 খোলা—532
 খোলাইতে—454
 খোলতাই—682
 খোলাবুচ্চি—532
 খোস—310, 381, 440, 551 599
 খোসলা—888
 খোস—387
 খোসা—598
 খোসামদ, -মোদ—586
 খা—213, 599, 608
 খাকতি—655
 খাখার—459
 খাখা—655
 খাটি—646
 খাড়—316, 365, 459, 496
 খাড়া—365, 496, 659
 খাড়ুলে—196
 খিচকা—886
 খিচড়া—887
 খুঁচী—459
 খুঁজ—873
 খুঁট—878
 খুঁটিনাটা—459
 খুঁড়—459
 খুঁয়া—522
 খুঁয়ে—459, 520
 খেঁচ—886
 খেঁড়া—482
 খেঁড়ে—496
 খোদাই—661
 খোপা—329, 510
 খোয়াড়—688
 খোয়াড়ী, -রী—609, 610
 খ্যাতি—480
 খ্যাল—584

- খিটু—358
 খিটু—358, 641
 খিটান—624, 641
 খিটান—703
 খাঁৎ খাঁৎ—411

 গ—271, 600, 629, 643
 গআলী—425
 গই—1044
 গউড়—427
 গউন—304
 গজাভীর—551
 গজ—574
 গজনভী—617
 গজরা—452
 গজল—315, 400, 574, 600,
 611
 গজা—892
 গজি, -জী—396, 646
 গটই—492
 গড (noun)—343, 500
 গড় (verb)—440, 498, 499
 গডাগড়া—891
 গড়ান, -ন—665
 গড়াহলি—997
 গড়িয়ান—498
 গড়ুর—315, 453
 গট (verb)—440, 499
 গট (noun)—500
 গটই—492
 গটিলে—981
 গণ—304
 গণ—727, 731, 732, 733,
 873
 গণেশ—337
 গণনা—334
 গণাক্ষর—682
 গণ্ড—304

 গতর—255
 গদকা—682
 গন (=way)—346
 গনগনা—891
 গপাং—655
 গপুড়ে—398
 গবরনর—643
 গবরাট—317
 গব(ভ)র্মেষ্ট—524, 638
 গবর্ণর—39, 643
 গবর্ণর জন্মরাল—633
 গব—449
 গড(ট)ব—639
 গম—247, 554
 গমক—482
 গমনা—461, 557, 657, 1069
 গমলা—332, 403, 424, 670
 গমলানী—694
 গমালী—349, 425, 670
 গর—713
 -গর—707
 -গরজ—574
 -গরজ—375
 -গরব—375, 400
 -গরবা—196
 -গরম—592, 598
 -গরমা—884
 -গরমিল—713
 -গরহাজির—713
 -গরাধি—623, 624
 -গরালিয়া—623, 627
 -গরানে—623, 628
 -গরাস—303, 375
 -গরীব—396, 575, 600
 -গরীবনেওয়াজ, -নেবাজ—616
 -গর—397, 697
 -গরুড়—337
 -গরে—768

 গজ্জ—879
 গদা—574, 598
 গব্ব—449
 গহিত—304
 গল—185
 গলগলা—891
 গলদ—602
 গলা—491
 গলাবাজী—709
 গলাশী—315, 349
 গলিবর (=Gulliver)—638
 গলে—461, 877
 গলুই—673
 গচনা—461, 557, 657, 1069
 গহির—540
 গহাঁর—336, 554
 গা—255, 461, 739, 885
 -গা—756, 908, 909
 গাঅ—255
 গাই—351, 421
 গাউতে—393, 1000
 গাইয়ে—394, 416, 675
 গাইল—674
 গাল—539
 গাউন—646
 গাও—255, 423
 গাওনা—657
 গাওয়া—582, 598
 গা-করা—1051
 গাও—305, 363
 গাজ—183, 305, 363
 গাজিনী—181
 গাছ—301, 472, 779
 গাছগাছড়া—691
 গাছা—779
 গাছি, -ছী—779
 গাছুআ—395
 গাজী—204, 600

গাজে—316, 475
 গাঞি—522
 গাঞন—522
 গাটারি—646
 গাড়(ী)-অনি—333, 707
 গাড়ীআলা—535
 গাড়(ী)ওয়ারন—707
 গাড়ীওয়ারা—535
 গাড়ীওলা—535, 671
 গাড়র—698
 গাড়ল—335, 698
 গাড়ী—498
 গাড়ু—311, 498, 678
 গাড়ুরী—672
 গাড়ে—882
 গাঢ়া—499
 গাঢ়িল—957
 গাভ—255, 501
 গাধ—878
 গাধা—316, 331, 440, 507
 গান—461
 গাপ—587, 605
 গাব—318
 গাবরাট—317, 332, 664
 গাবান—318, 514
 গাবায়—882
 গাবিন—308, 336
 গাবীন—516
 গাবুর—381, 697
 গাভরু—697
 গাভিন—308, 336
 গাভীন—516
 গাভুর—381, 515, 697
 গামছা—334
 গামলা—625, 629, 630
 গামোছা—334
 গায়—255, 422, 882
 গায়ন—656

গায়ন—522, 656
 গায়-মাথা—1051
 গায়ের—587, 605
 গারদ—216, 400, 642, 646
 গারহ—376
 গার্জেন—646
 গাটারি—646
 গাল—461
 গাল—674
 গালা—186, 883
 গালি—316, 461, 539, 543
 গালিতা—213, 591, 600
 গালিম—605
 গালে—877
 গাল্চ—591
 গাহনা—657
 গাহতি—933
 গাহা—892
 গাহিত—393
 গাহিয়ে—394
 গাহে—882
 গাহ—305, 363
 গাইছি, গিছি—398
 গিধ—355, 507
 গিধিনী—507
 -গিন্—728
 গিন্ন(ী)ম—667
 গিন্নি—541
 গিন্নীপনা—696
 গিম—305, 323, 461, 521
 গিন্নু—625
 -গিরি—707
 গিন্নি (= church)—626
 গিন্নি—376
 গিন্নিমাটি—407
 গিন্নিমেট—639, 646
 গিন্নিগ, গিন্নিগ (= grīṣma)—376
 গিন্নিগী—376

গিন্নি—629
 গিন্নি—357, 622
 গিন্ন—397, 873
 -গিন্না—728
 গিন্নি—397
 গিন্নক—397
 গিন্নে—323, 544
 গিন্নি—641
 গিন্না—885, 909, 1044
 গিন্নি—398
 গিন্নিহিল—146
 গিন্নিহিলে—474
 গিন্নিছে—416
 গিন্নে—1044
 গিন্নিহি—398
 গিন্নিহিলিস—979
 গিন্নিছে—416
 গিন্ন—304
 গিন্ন—355
 গিন্ন—305
 গিন্না—625, 627
 গিন্ন—325, 554
 গিন্নর—471
 গিন্নন—326
 গিন্ন—882
 গিন্না—884
 গিন্নরট—326, 672, -টী—672
 গিন্নাত—672
 গিন্নান, -না—581, 603
 গিন্না—892
 গিন্ন—395, 779, -টী—686, 779
 গিন্নাইহেনক—1008
 গিন্ন—496
 গিন্না—892
 -গিন্নি—67
 গিন্নিমা—1051
 গিন্ন (= rope)—461
 গিন্ন (= to count)—461, 873

- গুণন—153
 গুণবস্ত—697
 গুণী—671
 গুণে—528
 গুদাম—624, 627, 629
 গুদাম—624
 গুন (=gunny)—461
 গুন (verb)—461
 গুনি—396
 গুনো—545
 -গুনো—728
 -গুনোগার—583
 গুন্ডি—655
 গুন্নি—695
 গুমট—376, 408, 461, 531, 889
 গুমটা—686
 গুমরা—331, 889
 গুমান—598
 গুফা—512
 গুফত—609
 গুয়া—325
 গুজর—708
 গুল—545
 -গুল(†)—94, 97, 144, 173, 446, 453, 725, 727, 732, 992
 গুলকঁদ—608
 -গুলাইন—727
 -গুলাক—727, 992
 -গুলান—725, 727
 -গুলি—173, 725, 727
 -গুলিক—727
 গুলিখোর—707
 -গুলিন—725, 727
 গুলো—446, 727
 গু—554
 গুজা—357, 627
 গৃহিনীপনা—696
 -গে—908, 909
 গেইলে—474
 গেঙা—891
 গেছিলে—474
 গেছে—412, 416
 গেছো—390, 395
 গেজেট—217
 গেঙ্গি—646
 গেঙ্গ—462
 গেয়ান—462
 গেয়াজি—482
 গেয়াম—377
 গেয়িমাটি—407
 গেয়আ—407
 গেয়রা—328, 461, 540
 গেয়গুর—583, 602, 606
 গেয়ো—357
 গেল (=swallow)—397
 গেল (=went)—343, 411, 461, 677, 983, 984, 956, 1044
 গেলা—397
 গেলাস্তি—986
 গেলাপ, গেলাব—606
 গেলাস—216, 377, 640
 গেলাই—981
 গেলাহো—975
 গেলা, -লী—721, 984
 গেলির—995
 গেলু—980
 গেলে (=swallows)—397
 গেলে—397, 1003, 1005, 1044
 গেলে—725
 গেলেব—606
 গেলা—397
 গেলা—983
 গেলাছিল—146, 1020
 গেলাছে—1020, 1026
 গৈরী—587, 600
 -গো—739, 756
 গোআর—441
 গোআলা—329
 গোআলিনী, -লী—694
 গোকল—347
 গোথরা—381
 গোঙা—892
 গোঙাএ—520, 877
 গোঙ্গা—464
 গোচ—683
 -গোচর—451, 471
 -গোছ—683, 684
 গোছা—327, 413, 473, 684
 -গোছের—683
 গোট—779
 গোটচার—451
 গোটি—396, 686, 779, 780
 গোঠ—329, 461, 493
 গোড়—439, 498
 গোড়া—498
 গেতি—329
 গেলা—203, 581, 598
 গেলা—396
 গোপ্লা—332
 গোফা—329, 512
 গোবর—400
 গোমনে—1071
 গোমরা—608, 617
 গোমস্তা—583
 গোয়াড়ী—180, 349, 688
 গোয়াল—426
 গোয়ালী—332, 336, 426, 670
 গোয়ালিনী—694
 গোয়ালী—892
 গোয়—586, 598
 গোরা—330, 461, 540, 659

গোর—303, 329, 352, 397,
461, 646, 697, 744
গোরএ, -এ—744
গোরদেব—732
গোল (= crowd, noise) 586
গোলকন্দ—608
গোলা—461
গোলাপ—581, 598, 605
গোলাপী—671
গোলম—600
গোলা—581, 600
গোদাই, গোদাই—155, 329,
520, 548
গোদাঞি, গোদাইঞি—155, 523,
519
গোস্ত—586, 593, 598, 612
গোষা—581
গোহার—555
গোহারী—441
গোহাল—306, 336, 426
গোড়জন—149
গোণ—304
গোণ—1071
গোন—646
গোরব—427
গঁধা—366
গঁহেহনক—1008
গী—320, 461, 520
গাই—422, 520, 522, 671
গাইট—308, 380, 385, 386,
674
গাঁট—308
গাঁজলা—506
গাঁজা—364, 475
গাঁট—308, 380, 385, 386, 443,
461, 674
গাঁঠ—308, 362, 493
গাঁঠী, -রী—691

গাঁঠি, -রী—380, 671
গাঁথাঘর—461
গাঁদলা—506
গাঁরী—522
গুঁই—1071
গুঁড়া—892
গুঁতা—884
গেও—420
গেগা—891
গেট (= গাঁট)—386, 1066
গেড়—498
গেড়র—328
গেঁজা—883
গেঁড়—67, 329, 365, 498
গেঁড়া—498
গেঁতা—608
গেঁৎ—608
গেঁতা—608
গেঁপ—443, 448
গেঁক—329, 362, 443, 512
গেঁয়ার—668
গেঁয়ারা—608, 617
গেঁয়ারত(ী)মি—667
গালু—980
গ্রহ—357
গ্রহ(= গৃহ)—357
গ্রাহ—482
গ্রিচা—622, 625
গ্রেশ্বর—583, 602, 606
গ্রী—728
গ্যা গ্যা—412
ঘ—271, 600
ঘটকালী—331
ঘট্টে(= ঘটটা)—1068
ঘড়—1068
ঘড়া—440, 496
ঘড়ি—396

ঘড়িকর—758
ঘড়িয়াল—553
ঘড়ী—463
ঘড়িয়াল—670
ঘাড়েল—670
ঘন—463, 1034
ঘনা—883
ঘনাইতেছে—1034
ঘর—315, 355, 440, 452, 463,
540, 765, 768, 922
ঘর ঘর—312
ঘরনি—773, -নী—332, 694
ঘরামী—667
ঘরুয়া—679
ঘরে—163, 350, 409, 746, 768
ঘরেই—419
ঘরের—164
ঘরে—746
ঘরো—1074
ঘরোয়া—664
ঘস—463, 548
ঘষ্টা—886, 887
ঘষড়া—887
ঘষটা—685
ঘা—302, 320, 463
ঘাট—463, 490
ঘাটা—464
ঘাটাল—670
ঘাটিয়াল—670
ঘোটোআল—670
ঘাট্টি—655
ঘড়ি—464, 498
ঘানী—320, 463
ঘাপটা—685, 887
ঘাবড়া—464, 887
ঘাবড়াও—683
ঘাম—301, 316, 463, 531, 553
ঘামাটা—684

বাঁধ—৪৪২	ঘেও—৪২০	ঘেঁষড়া—৪৪৭
বাঁধ—৪২২	ঘের—৪৬৪	ব্রত, ব্রহ্মত—৩৫৭
বাঁধল—৩৩৫	ঘেরে—৪১২	
বা(র)র—৭১৪	ঘেসেড়া—৬৪৪	ঙ—১৫৫, ২৭১, ৩৬৩, ৩৭৭, ৫১৭,
বাঁধেল—৩৩৫	ঘোড়া—৪৬৪	৫২১, ৫২২
বাস—৪০৩	ঘোড়া—৪৬৪	-ঙ—৭৭৬, ৭৪৭
বাসিরাড়া—৬৪৪, ৩০৭	ঘোড়—৬৫৪	ঙা—৬০৭
বি, বী—৩০৩, ৩০৭, ৩২৩, ৩৫১,	ঘোড়গাড়ী—৩৩১	ঝ—৩৭৭
৩৫৫, ৪৬৩	ঘোড়তোলা—৪৩৭	ঝ—৩৬৩
বিগুর—৪১৭	ঘোড়শাল—৪৫১	
বিক্রি—৪৬৪	ঘোড়া—৩২৭, ৪৬৩, ৪৭৬, ৬৫৪,	চ—২৭২, ৪১১, ৪৪৩, ৪৬৪, ৪৬৫,
বিশ—৪৬৩	৭৪৪	৫৪৭, ৬০০, ৬১৪, ৬২৪, ৬৩০,
বিশ—৩০৫, ৩২৩, ৩৫৫	ঘোড়া—১৬২, ৭৪৪	৬৪২
বির—৪৭৪	ঘোড়াগলান, -গুলান—১৬২	চ' (verb)—৫৪৪
বৃগনী—৪৬৪	ঘোড়াটা, -টা—৩৪৪.	-চ (affix)—৬৪৪, ৪৪৫, ৪৪৭
বৃগুড়ী—৪৬৪	ঘোড়াটোড়া—১৭৬	চই—৩৪৪, ৪২৫
বৃগুনী—৪৬৪, ৫২২, ৭০০	ঘোড়াতে—৭৪৪	চইথ—৩৪৫
বৃগুনী—৪৬৪	ঘোড়দের—১৬১	চইপর—৩৪২
বৃজুর—৪৬৪	ঘোড়ায়—১৬২, ৪২২, ৫৩৩, ৭১৭,	চইলা—৩৪৫
বৃচ—৪৭৪	৭৪৪	চ'থ—৭১৬
বৃচা—৪৬৪	ঘোড়ার—১৬১, ১৬৪, ৭১৪, ৭৫৪	চ'থের—৭১৬
বৃটি—৪৩৭	ঘোড়াক—৬৭৭	চ'লা—৩৪২
বৃডনী—৬৭৫	ঘোড়া—৬৪৬	চ'লা—৩৪২
বৃড়ি, বৃড়ী—৪৩৪, ৪৬৪, ৬৭২, ৬৭৫	ঘোমটা—৪৬৪, ৫২২	চউথ—৩৪৫, ৭১৬
বৃটি—৪৩৭, -টী—৪৬৪	ঘোরতর—৭০৪	চউথের—৭১৬
বৃগু—৪৬৪	ঘোব—৭৬৪	চউপর, চউপহর—৩৪৫
বৃপটা—৬৪৫	ঘোবো—৬৭৭	চউ—৪০৫
বৃম—৪০৪, ৪৬৪, ৪৪০, ৪৪২	ঘোল—৩২৭, ৪৬৩, ৫৪৩	চগুড়া—৪২৫
বৃমহ—৬৫৩	ঘোলাট—৬৪৫	চক—৩৪৬, ৪৪৫, ৪৫৬
বৃমুনী—৪৬৪, ৫২২, ৭০০	ঘোলাটে—৬৪৬	চকচক—৬৭৭
বৃমা—৪৪৩	ঘোলে—৪৪২	চকমকি—২১৩, -কী—৫৭৪
বৃমন—৬৫৬	ঘোষা—৬৪৪	চকল, -লা—৩১৪
বৃমিয়া -বৃমিয়া—১০৪৭	ঘাঁটি—৩৫৫, ৩৭০, ৪৬৩, ৪৭১, ৪৭২	চকলা—৬৭৭, ৪৪৭
বৃষ—৪৬৪	ঘিঁট—৩৭০, ৪৬৩	চকা—৩০০, ৩৪৭, ৪৭০
বৃষথোর—৭০৭	ঘিঁষ—৩৭০	চকুড়ী—৩৪৭, ৪৩১
বৃষষে—৪৬৪	ঘিঁট—৩৫৫, ৩৭০, ৪৬৩	চকর—৩৭৫
বৃষাঘি—১০৪৭	ঘেঁচি-কড়ি—৪৬৪	চক—৪৪৭, ৪৫৪
বেউঘেউ—৪২১	ঘেঁষ—৩৭০	

চক্—385, 558, 716

চক্—558

চক্ৰ—716

চক্—716

চক্—197

চক্—348, 520, 680

চক্—682

চক্—891

চক্—478, 878

চক্—457, 680

চক্—চাক্—450

চক্—67, 183, 346

চক্—439

চক্—452, 886

চক্—(= *slap*) 346, (= *to ride*) 500

চক্—457, 679

চক্—891

চক্—চক্—708

চক্—885

চক্—(= *sparrow*) 672, (= *to ride*) 883

চক্—(= *sparrow*)—336, 672

চক্—(= *uphill*)—662

চক্—663

চক্—336, 672

চক্—495

চক্—664

চক্—500

চক্—958

চক্—483

চক্—483

চক্—(f)লনী—695

চক্—694

চক্—670

চক্—304, 375

চক্—399

চক্—399

চক্—304

চক্—431, 541

চক্—431

চক্—545

চক্—795

চক্—348, 457, 520, 680

চক্—886

চক্, চক্—682

চক্—185, 282

চক্—873

চক্, চক্—499, 609

চক্—335

চক্—600

চক্—501

চক্—540

চক্—575

চক্—302, 554, 873, 896, 902, 906, 926, 932

চক্—309, 933

চক্—350, 932

চক্—933

চক্—679

চক্—886

চক্—933

চক্—674

চক্—400

চক্—709

চক্—3, 3, 933

চক্—933

চক্—496

চক্—932

চক্—550

চক্—302, 554, 932

চক্—554

চক্—932

চক্—544, 902

চক্—393

চক্—422

চলাইন—933

চলাই—933

চলাই—891

চলাই—351, 372, 512, 932, 1006

চলাই—908

চলাই—1028

চলাই—932

চলাই—348, 418, 908

চলাই—1020

চলাই—1020

চলাই—146, 1020, 1025

চলাই—1021

চলাই—304, 335, 348

চলাই—1014, 1025

চলাই—আই—1019

চলাই—আই—1019, 1022

চলাই—আই—1019

চলাই—আই—146, 1019, 1022, 1025, 1028

চলাই—আই—1019

চলাই—আই—1051

চলাই—1001

চলাই—545

চলাই—331, 1039

চলাই—988

চলাই—393

চলাই—908

চলাই—382, 1006

চলাই—144

চলাই—1021

চলাই—1921, 1028

চলাই—আই—1021

চলাই—908

চলাই—আই—1021

চলাই—333, 348, 974

চলাই—545

চলাই—721, 958

- চলিলে—677
 চলিল—983
 চলিস—550, 908, 932
 চলিসি—932
 চলিহ—348, 352, 908
 চলিহলি—997
 চলী—551, 932
 চলী ভেলী—956
 চলু—310, 350, 932
 চলুক—310, 350, 903, 989
 চলুন—903
 চল—84, 315, 319, 382, 403, 414, 877, 933
 চল—382, 1006, 1012
 চলছে—1021, 1028
 চলেন—409, 528, 938
 চলন্ত—933
 চলো—554, 902, 906, 932
 চলো—348, 352, 418, 908
 চলছে—1021
 চলো—520, 932
 চলক—681
 চলবে—988
 চলবেক—989
 চল্য—382
 চল্যো—908
 চলছিল—1020, 1025
 চলছে—1020, 1025
 চলতে—1025
 চলতেছে—1025
 চলল—93, 983
 চলিশ—336, 363, 470, 796
 চলিশে—806
 চললে—981
 চলর—592
 চল—483
 চল—197, 628
 চল—699, 708
 চাই—911
 চাইনা, চাইনি, চাইনে—401
 চাইর—380, 386, 464, 787
 চার—308, 787
 চাইল—386
 চাউল—316, 379, 386, 471, 483, 517
 চাও—911
 চাওন—656
 চাক—316, 456, 470
 চাকতি—692
 চাকর—598, 600
 চাকররাক—736
 চাকরী—578
 চাকু—213, 697
 চাকুরী—578
 চাকরান—589
 চাকলা—318
 চাপ—482
 চাখে—460, 470
 চাঙড়া—363
 চাঙা—363
 চাণ্ডারী—363
 চাঙ্গড়া—691
 চাঙ্গা—363
 চাঙ্গারী—691
 চাট—491, 878
 চাটা—176 -বাটা—176
 চাটুতি—409, 501, 692, 741
 চাটুজে—409
 চাটুজে—409
 চাটুরজা—409
 চাটুজে—409
 চাটকিনী—695
 চাভর—316
 চাভাল—316
 চান—471, 551
 চানকা—886
 চান্—366
 চান্—361
 চাপ—404, 408, 511, 878
 চাপকান—576, 598
 চাপড়—510
 চাপড়া—66, 883, 887
 চাপিরা—1012
 চাব—404
 চাবান—514
 চাবার—877
 চাবী—623, 624, 628, 631
 চাবুক—582, 598, 601
 চাম—367, 651
 চামড়া—181, 691
 চামসা—699
 চামাতি—692
 চামার—618
 চামাবনী—695
 চামেলী—516
 চাম্চা, চাম্চে—708
 চাম্ভলী—1069
 চাম্ভলী—516
 চারনা—639
 চার (=four)—308, 380, 386, 787, 788
 চার—652
 চারকেলে—788
 চারপেয়ে—788
 চারাইরাছে—929
 চারি—308, 380, 464, 787, 788
 চারি-কালিয়া—788
 চারি-পাইরা—788
 চাল, চাল—386, 652
 চালচলন হেনক—1008
 চাল-খোয়া—659
 চালান—664
 চালার—404, 533
 চালিশ—543, 796

চালু—879
 চালে—319, 334, 414, 877
 চালিশ—796
 চাষ—548
 চাষা—483
 চাহ—878, 911, 1014
 চাহন—656
 চাহিত—960
 চাহিতে—768
 চাহিতে—1002
 চাহিদা—196
 চাহি নাহি—401
 চাহিয়া—769
 চাহিলাস্ত—986
 চাহিলেক—990
 চাহিলে—981
 চাহিহ—908
 চি—(affix) 708 ; (root) 873
 চিক—213
 চিকটা—527
 চিকণ—470
 চিকন—324, 456
 চিকুরভার—305
 চিঙড়ী, চিকড়ী—363
 চিচিঙ্গা—480
 চিঠাবন্দী—708
 চিড়—896
 চিড়া—351, 685, 691
 চিত—470
 চিতল—331
 চিতা—501
 চিথল—331
 চিন—301, 324, 470, 529, 1033
 চিনাপুছা—1016
 চিনিবে—1033
 চিনে—882
 চিন্—322
 চিত্তহ—908

চিন্তাৰ্ণিত—542
 চিন্তিতে আছে—1022
 চিন্তির—995
 চিন্বে—1033
 চিপ—404, 510
 চিপটা—886
 চিপসা—699, 892
 চিপসা—408
 চিব—404
 চিবান—514
 চিবার—877
 চিমটা—482
 চিমড়া—482, 887
 চিমনি—642
 চিম্টা—685
 চিম্টা—686
 চিয়ার—640
 চিয়ে—470
 চির—896
 চিরাতা—323, 336, 349, 471, 482
 চিরায়িত—623
 চিকন-দাঁতী—333
 চিরনী—333
 চিরে—882
 চিরেতা—323
 চির্ণ—542
 চিল—324
 চিলবিলা—891
 চিল্লা—891
 চিহ্ন—464, 557
 চিংড়ী—363
 চী—213, 699, 708
 চীজ—684
 চীতা—470, 501
 চীনা—323
 চু—873
 চু—326, 456, 680, 885

চুকতি—655
 চুলী—482
 চুটিয়ে—1012
 চুড়ী—661, 721
 চুড়ীআলা—670
 চুন—873
 চুনাক্তি—692
 চুনে—875
 চুপ—510, 691
 চুপড়ী—176, 691
 চুপসা—408, 699, 889, 892
 চুবড়ী—691
 চুম—873
 চুমকুড়ী—691
 চুমড়া—887
 চুমরা—887, 888
 চুমা—366
 চুমকা—886
 চুমে—326, 470, 531
 চুষ—879
 চুষাড়—429
 চুষাতর—555, 788
 চুষান্ন—788, 789, 797
 চুষাশিশ—788, 796
 চুষে—470
 চুর—481, 540
 চুরগী—396, 694
 চুরনী—694
 চুরান(ক)ই—788, 800
 চুরাণী—788, 799
 চুরাণী-ভম—804
 চুরি—307
 চুরিনী—396, 694
 চুরী—396
 চুরুট—196, 646
 চুল (= hair)—439, 479, 543
 চুল (= to distil)—543
 চুলকা—886

চুলবুল—886
 চুলবুলা—891
 চুষ—648
 চুষী—673
 চুষে—325
 চুড়া—429
 চুড়া—439
 চুড়ো—401
 চুণ—326, 529
 চুণারী—668
 চুন—529
 -চে—700
 চেঅন—328
 চেইন—430
 চেঙড়া, চেঙ্গরা—471
 চেড়ী—327
 চেণ্টালী—482
 চেতন-করান—1033
 চেতার—882
 চেনা—529
 চেপটা—685
 চেয়ার—420, 640, 646
 চেয়ে—769
 চেরাগ—600
 চেয়েট—646
 চেয়ের পাঁচ—386
 চেলা—327
 চেলের হাঁড়ী—386
 চেহারা—580, 595, 601
 চেহেরা—580, 595
 চৈটে—426
 চৈন্দ—788
 চৈধ্য—507
 চৈতন—425
 চৈতন্ত—425
 চৈপর—385, 788
 চৈপর-দিন—425
 চো—344

চোখ—386
 চোখানি—666
 চোখের—716
 চোগা—600
 চোকা—482
 চোন্দ—347, 788, 794
 চোপ—482, 888
 চোপড়—176
 চোপর—385, 788
 চোব—485
 চোবলা—888
 চোবানি—666
 চোবিশ—888, 795
 চোমরা—888
 চোরাড়—429, 498
 চোর—330, 396, 448, 540
 চোরণী, -নী—396, 694
 চোরা—396, 659
 চোরাই—661
 চোরাগোশা—618
 চোরার—882
 চোরে-সেধে—380
 চোল—543
 চোলাই—662, 1033
 চোলে—382
 চোষে—325
 চোস্ত—581, 593, 600
 চোহাড়—429
 চো—427
 চো—344, 470, 788
 চোক—445
 চোকা—456
 চোকাঠ—788
 চোকাঁদার(ী)—708
 চোগোঁরা—448
 চোখুড়ী—788
 চোঁঠা—493, 805
 চোঁঠো—805

চোঁতিশা—228, 796
 চোঁত্রিশ—788, 792
 চোঁথ—504, 805
 চোঁদ—794
 চোঁদোল—788
 চোঁদ—347, 506, 507, 555
 788, 794
 চোঁধুরাণী—695
 চোঁধুরী—788
 চোঁপর—385, 788
 চোঁবাচ্চা—587, 600
 চোঁমাথা—788
 চোঁমটি—788
 চোঁমর—700
 চোঁহারা—701
 চউচ—310
 চাঁচ—878
 চাঁচে—473
 চাঁচে—370, 473
 চাঁড়াল—336, 365, 496
 চাঁড়ালনী—694
 চাঁদ—301, 316, 361, 365, 470
 506, 659
 চাঁদনী—332
 চাঁদপানি—696
 চাঁদপারা—696
 চাঁদপাল—450
 চাঁদা—(subscription) 366, 571
 608 ; (moon) 659
 চাঁদিনি—332, 336
 চাঁদিয়া—703
 চাঁদের—361
 চাঁপা—316, 362, 510
 চাঁপাই—421
 চিঁড়া—361, 495, 521, 685, 69
 চিঁড়িতন—215
 চুঁ—371
 চুঁচি—370, 470, 482

- টুটি—439
 টুয়া—891
 টুছুড়া—66
 টেচা—370, 371
 টেচান—324
 টেচামেচি—1049
 টোআনি—666
 টোচ—310, 470
 টোক—348, 520, 680
 টোত্রিশ—792
 ট—443
 টু—443
 -টিল—1026
 টা—523
 টার—640, 646
 টা টা—412

 ছ—272, 443, 465, 547, 611, 613, 789
 ছই—308, 344, 425, 472
 ছউ ই—372
 ছক—318, 456
 ছকড়া—331
 ছকড়—448, 551
 ছগড়, -ড়া—446
 ছচত্রিশ—796
 ছছন্দ—551
 ছটাক—372
 ছড়িয়ার—708
 ছত্তর—472
 ছত্তরিশ—502
 ছত্তিস—324
 ছত্তীশ, -স—502, 796
 ছত্রিশ, -স—502, 795
 ছবি—612
 ছয়—424, 465, 789
 ছয়লাপ, -ব—473, 587, 612
 ছয়াদ—190, 375, 377

 ছল—679
 ছলক—679
 ছলাং—655
 ছা—(*offspring*) 302, 472, 657, 691; (*to cover*) 873
 -ছা—699
 ছাঅন—335
 ছাঅনৌ—657
 ছাই—422, 472, 542
 ছাউনি, -নৌ—398, 423, 521, 657
 ছাও—342, 423
 ছাওন—335, 342
 ছাওয়া—312, 342, 423, 472
 ছাওয়াল—342, 464, 698
 ছাওয়ালিয়া—698
 ছাগল—461
 ছাক্রিঅণ, -য়ণ—335, 471, 521
 ছাড়—873
 ছাড়ন—656
 ছাড়-পত্র—596
 ছাড়া—769
 ছাড়াও—663
 ছাড়িহ—908
 ছাড়ে—114, 369, 472, 497
 ছাত—316, 472, 506, 673
 ছাতা—472, 501, 673
 ছাতিঅন—335
 ছাতিম—335, 471, 521, 531
 ছাতী—763
 ছাতীঅণ, -ন—471, 521
 ছাতু—311, 472, 502
 ছাদ—505, 506
 ছাদলা—505
 ছান—491, 551
 ছানা—657
 ছানি—612
 ছাপ—510, 878

 ছাপর—472, 511
 ছাপাখানা—707
 ছাপার—789, 797
 ছাবন—528
 ছাবিশ—514
 ছাবিশ—514, 795
 ছাবশী—521
 ছামু—303, 472, 531
 ছায়র—342, 691
 ছায়—312, 342, 420
 ছার—320, 472
 ছাল—404, 408, 472, 482, 544
 ছালাম—576
 ছালিয়া—698
 ছালা—390
 ছি—406, 472
 ছিআ—1037
 ছিট—324
 ছিটকা—886
 ছিটকাইয়া দেওয়া—1052
 ছিটকানি—686
 ছিটকার—682
 ছিটকি—681
 ছিটকিনী—681
 ছিটায়—882
 ছিঙিজুলি—1048
 ছিতে—313, 1037
 ছিনা—472
 ছিনারী—396
 ছিনাল—472, 529, 669
 ছিনালী—670
 ছিনে—882
 ছিপ—472, 510, 878
 ছিপটা—686
 ছিষা—1037
 ছিয়াত্তর—417, 555
 ছিয়ানিশ—406
 ছিরকা—612

ছিরাই—662
 ছিরি, -রী—376, 472
 ছিল—313, 405, 444, 1037
 ছিলক।—404, 482
 ছিলন্ত, -হি—1037
 ছিল।—1037 -
 ছিলান্তি—1037
 ছিলাম—1037
 ছিলি—1037
 ছিলিক.—680
 ছিলিম—801
 ছিলিস—979, 1037
 ছিলুম—1037
 ছিলে—1037
 ছিলেন—1037
 ছিলেস্ত—1037
 ছিলেম—400, 1037
 ছিলো।—1037
 ছিল্কা—408
 ছী—376, 472
 ছইব—1018
 ছইল—396
 ছক—1037
 ছট—(=noun) 472 ; (=to
 run) 414, 491, 878
 ছটি—414
 ছটে—414, 877
 ছত—326, 446, 472, 507
 ছতার—326, 472, 502, 668
 ছধ—326, 446, 472, 503
 ছরি—307, 472, 673
 ছরিত্তির—431
 ছরী—673
 ছলা—408
 ছলি, -সী—408, 472, 482
 ছে—327, 472
 ছেকড়া—448
 ছেগড়া—446, 454

ছেচলি—796
 ছেংলা—481, 505
 ছেদ।—190
 ছেনা—343
 ছেনী—352, 472, 657
 ছেপ—472
 ছেমরা—471
 ছেরান্দ—190, 377
 ছেলি—307, 343, 472, 544,
 698
 ছেলে—390, 698
 ছেলেধরা—659
 ছেলেপিলে, -পুলে—544
 ছেলেম, ছেলেমি—667
 ছেলেরা—735
 ছে—344
 ছো—396
 ছোকরা—459, 691
 ছোট—472, 491
 ছোটকা—457
 ছোটকী—682
 ছোটত—705
 ছোটনাদা—451
 ছোটলোকমি—667
 ছোটে—414
 ছোড়—496
 ছোড়না—451
 ছোড়ান—496, 665
 ছোবল—482
 ছোবলা—888
 ছোবে ছোদেক—611
 ছোরা—673
 ছোলা (noun)—482
 ছোলা (verb)—956
 ছোলে—596
 ইউই—805, 806
 ইক—878
 ইকনা—657

ইকনী—658
 ইচ—362, 471
 ইটি—878
 ইদ—301, 316, 365, 506
 ইদন—335, 656
 ইদে—882
 ইড—873
 ইড়ে—324, 365, 472, 496,
 875
 ই—503
 ইএ—325
 ইচ—470, 472
 ইটি—472
 ইডি—414
 ইত, ইং—370, 503
 ইয়ে—472, 521
 ইচ—308, 325, 370, 468
 ইচ—411, 873
 ইড়া—472
 ইচে—327, 370, 470
 ইড়ে—919
 ইদা—327, 370, 472
 ইো—371, 503
 ইোএ—330
 ইোচ—330, 370
 ইোচা—883
 ইোড়—414
 ইোড়া—471
 ইোড়ি—414
 ইোড়ে—414, 877
 ইোর—325, 370, 426, 472,
 521
 ইাবন—528
 জ—227, 272, 340, 474, 569,
 601, 613, 614, 629, 630,
 642, 643, 840

ব্র' (= a measure)—302, 346

ভই—344

ভইলা—381

ভলা—392

ভউ—310, 315

ভখম—575, 592, 613

ভগ—462, 474

ভগাই—662

ভঙ্গ—593, 598

ভঙ্গনায়া—598, 607

ভঙ্গল—364

ভঙ্গলিয়—364

ভঙ্গুল—364

ভঙ্গলা—364

ভঙ্গ—636, 642, 656

ভজিত্তী; ভজিত্তৎ—656

ভজাল—317

ভড়ী—661, 721, 956

ভড়ুল—540

ভড়োয়া—664

ভভ—227, 733

ভন—315, 320, 474, 732, 780

ভনভ—305

ভনভুই, -য়েক, -য়ের—778

ভনম—375

ভনমিলা—1017

ভনাই—483, 506

ভনাব—605

ভনার্দন—422

ভনো—653

ভন—542

ভনিত—704

ভন্ত, ভন্তে—769

ভপ—873

ভব, ভবে—887

ভবাই—580

ভবান—315, 575, 583, 605,

613

ভবাব—583, 601, 605, 616

ভবে—474

ভবে, ভবেহ—580

ভব—452, 593, 602, 605

ভম—884, 1034

ভমক—482, 680

ভমকা—886

ভমা—575, 579, 596, 601, 88

ভমাট—685

ভমান—665

ভমায়ৎ—583, 596

ভমিবে—1034

ভমী—575, 585, 608, 613

ভমী জেরাৎ—590

ভ'মবে—1034

ভমিত—704

ভর—424

ভরম—376

ভরিমানা—592

ভরী—575, 613

ভরল—540

ভরুরী—613

ভরু—376, 542

ভল—315, 402, 403, 474, 873

ভল (verb = হল)—534

ভলভলা—891

ভলটল—176

ভলটুক, -টুক—781

ভলদ—575, 592

ভলপাইগুড়ি—66

ভলপিপী—510

ভলময়—706

ভলময়—532

ভলসই—700

ভলা—402

ভলুআ—394

ভলুয়া—381, 428, 679

ভলুশ—601

ভলো, ভ'লো—381, 391, 394

428, 679

ভলো—474

ভলুদী—575

ভলি—431

ভহর—588

ভহরৎ—590, 617

ভং—593

ভংলা—364

ভা—912, 923, 1044

-ভা—302, 684

ভাঅ—906

ভাই—419, 615

ভাইউ—920

ভাইত—308, 335, 380

ভাইতে—1001, 1002

ভাউ—310

ভাউক—907

ভাও—906

ভাওরা—227

ভাকু—907

ভাগ—873

ভাগানিয়া—675

ভাগানে—675

ভাগিয়া থাক, রহা—1052

ভাগে—320, 474

ভাঙ—932

ভাঙাল—363

ভাঙ্গ—364

ভাঙ্গাল—363

ভাটা—442

ভাটতুতা—503, 552

ভাঠা—475, 493

ভাড়—301, 321, 405, 496

ভাণ—524

ভানিএ—932

ভাত—308, 380, 476

ভাতি—380, 476

জাতীয়তা—705
 জান—524, 601
 জান (= John)—637
 জানত—654
 জানলা—625
 জানাইব—299
 জানাজানি—1048
 জানান—664
 জানান—577
 জানান্—664
 জানাব্য—299
 জানালা—622, 625
 জানিত—654, 704
 জানিতো—960
 জানে—474, 528, 875
 জানেনা—622, 625, 629, 630
 জানোঁ—932
 জাপট—684
 জাপটা—886
 জাকরান—583
 জাবড়া—405, 887, 892
 জাবাল—393
 জাম (= janma ; jambu)—301,
 310, 316, 366, 376, 474,
 531, 652
 জামা—601
 জানাই—308, 321, 474, 520
 জামীর—336, 367, 440
 জামীর, জামীর—367, 440
 জায়—474, 615
 জায়গা—557, 583
 জায়গীর—584, 601
 জায়তি—347, -তী—501
 জায়ফল—474
 জারুল—181, 398, 540
 জার্জ (= George)—637
 জাল—578, 601
 জালা—610

জানিয়া—674
 জানিরাং—614
 জালে—474
 জাপ্ত—618
 জাতি—590, 604
 জাতিত—552
 জাহ—903, 906
 জাহা—227
 জাহাজ—576, 613
 জাহান্নাম—203, 576
 জাহির—594
 জাহাপনা—608
 জাং—305, 364, 482
 জি—873
 জিকির—598
 জিগির—592, 598
 জিকালরু—697
 জিঞ্জির—579, 601
 জিত—501
 জিতে—882
 জিদ—603, 618
 জিন—584, 873
 জিনি—227
 জিনিস—592
 জিনে—875
 জিব—305, 474, 516
 জিবনাটিক—646
 জিভ—324, 474
 জিমনাটিক—646
 জিম্মা—613
 জিরা—892
 জিরিয়ে-টিরিয়ে—1048
 জিলা—613
 জিলাহী—975
 জিলী—958
 জিহ্বা—200
 জিই—359, 839, 840
 জী—323, 1029

জীঅ—906
 জীঅন—335, 351, 418
 জীঅন-কাঠি—418
 জীঅহ—906
 জীই—351
 জীউ—419, 903, 906
 জীউক—419
 জীউলি, -লী—398, 419
 জীএ—417
 জীও—418, 906
 জীওন—335, 351
 জীওনা—418
 জীক—419
 জীভ—305
 জীসন্ত—412, 653, 1000
 জীরা—1029
 জীমান—418
 জীরে—342, 417, 474
 জীরত—999
 জীহ—906
 জুআ—429, 474
 জুআল—352
 জুও—429
 জুখ—461
 জুগতি—503
 জুগিং—503
 জুগিয়া—398
 জুঝার—475
 জুঝে—326, 475, 875
 জুট—878
 জুড়—495
 জুড়া—405
 জুড়াইন—956, 1032
 জুড়াইলে—1005
 জুড়িকা আছে—1027
 জুড়ী—307
 জুতা—802, 883
 জুতাইনছিল—1035

জুতান, জুতানো, জুতুনো—665
 জুতুলুহিল—1035
 জুতে—882
 জুতোনো—665
 জুৎ—308
 জুবা—581
 জুদো—583
 জুনি—474, 529
 জুয়া—325, 429, 474
 জুয়াচোর—448
 জুয়াড়ী—668, 687
 জুয়ারী—668
 জুয়াল—474
 জুরো—429
 জুল—878
 জুলপী—581, 613
 জুলী—439, 481
 জুল্—197, 643
 জুলুম—581, 593, 609, 613
 জুল্পী—593
 জে—227, 474
 জেই—419
 জেঠ—474
 জেঠা—328, 474, 493
 জেঠাই—407, 695
 জেঠাম—667
 জেঠি—859, 407, -ঠী—695
 জেঠুত—692, -তা—503, 552
 জেদ—603, 618
 জেনানা—577
 জেনাভেন্তা—617
 জেব—585, 601
 জেব্রা—643
 জেহাদা—412, 584, 614
 জের—577, 613
 জেরা—613
 জেল—639
 জেলা—580

জেলে—674
 জেলদ—592
 জেনা—601
 জেহাদ—594
 জেহেন—555
 জেই—839, 840
 জৈ—344
 জৈছে—474
 জৈবন—426
 জৈসাণে—854
 জো—329, 413, 429, 474
 জোকার—701
 জোখ—461, 878
 জোগ—461
 জোত্রড়া—480
 জোচোর—448
 জোচ্ছনা—375, 471
 জোছনা—376
 জোত—329, 502
 জোতে—882
 জোৎ—475
 জোনাকি, -কী—329, 474, 529
 জোবড়া—405, 887, 892
 জোকা—581, 601, 604
 জোয়ান—520, 601
 জোয়াল—352, 426, 521
 জোর—586, 613
 জোল—439, 521
 জোলা—481, 544
 জোলাপ—581, 623
 জোলো—391
 জোহার—474, 701
 জোড়া—329, 363
 জো—315, 344, 427, 474
 জড় (=জগ)—526
 জাঁক—482
 জাঁকার—701
 জাঁতা—316, 475, 501

জাঁদরেল—366, 506, 646
 জাঁহাপনা—608
 জিঁড়িস (=জিগিস)—526
 জুঁই—(=a flower) 325, 371
 (fire) 428, 474
 জুঁটা—439
 জেঁয়াচ—471
 জেঁয়াল—521
 জে—482, 619
 জে—144, 228, 373, 382, 406
 -জা—413
 জোন—373, 413
 জান্তা—551
 জ্যাঁদা—412
 জ্যাস্ত—409, 412, 653
 জ্যায়দা—412, 614
 জ্যোতি, -তি:—558
 জ্য'রো—679
 জকরা—679
 জল—439, 534, 873
 জলন—656
 জলান—665
 জলযু—999
 জলুনি—398, 408, 665
 জলে—474
 জালা—439
 জালানি—665
 জালে—474
 জ—272
 জক—457, 478
 জকজক—478
 জকড়া—446, 478
 জকমক—478
 জকা—478
 জকি—481
 জকমারী—480
 জখ—480

বগড়া—446, 478, 691

বগড়াটে—686

বট—478

বটকা—478

বটপট—478

বট্—439

বড়—315, 478

বড়কা—478

বড়তি-পড়তি—654

বড়্য়া—381

বঙা—479

বনবন—478

বপ—478

বপাক—478

বপাৎ—478, 655

বপাস—478

বমবম—478

বমবমা—891

বর—478

বরকা—321, 478

বরখা—321

বরবরিয়া—478

বরনা—478, 657

বরি—481

বরোখা—478

বল—439, 479, 878

বলক—457, 680

বলকা—479

বলমল—479

বলমলা—891

বলসা—479, 889

বব—438, 461

বাউ—310, 423, 479

বাউ—439, 478

বাড়—320, 479, 481, 495

বাড়ন—479, 656

বাড়া—479

বাড়—479

বাড়্লে-বুড়্লে—1048

বাঙা—479

বাছু—479

বাপট—684

বাপটা—480, 685, 886

বাপসা—480, 699

বামরা—480, 888

বামা—480, 520

বামেলা—480

বারী—478

বাল—439, 480, 878

বালর—479

বাল্য—479

বালাই—661

বালাপালা—480

বি—480

বিউড়ী—691

বিজা—480

বিটি—479

বিম্বক—480

বিম—408, 482

বিমবিম—480

বিমা—480

বিমান—464

বিম্বারী—668

বিববির—478

বিল—480

বিলিক—457, 680

বিলিমিলি—479

বী—198, 323, 480, 668, 1066

বীয়ে—417

বী(য়ে)র—718

বীল—480

বুটা, বুঠা—480

বুনা—159, 326, 438, 480

বুপ—478

বুপসা—699

বুমকা লতা—480

বুমবুম—480

বুমর—480

বুরা—481

বুরি—481

বুরিয়া-বুরিয়া—1047

বুরে—481

বুল—479, 878

বুলন—479, 656

বুলী—479

বোড়—481

বোড়া—481

বোপ—481, 699

বোপড়া—481

বোকাবুকা—601

বোল—60, 439, 480, 481

বোলা—479, 481

বী—479

বীওএ—520

বীক—479

বীকড়, বীকড়া—479

বীকনী—668

বীকরা—479, 888

বীকা—479

বীকানী—665

বীকুনি—665

বীজর—438

বীক—364, 479

বীকর—370, 479

বীকরা—479

বীকরী—479

বী-বী—479

বীট—479

বীটা—479, 883

বীটা—479

বীপ—478, 480, 878

বীপান—281, 438, 480, 510

বীপী—480

বীসা—480

বিক—481
 বিকি—480
 বিকিট—480
 বুক—878
 বুকি—481
 বুক্, বুক্—481
 বুক্—878
 বুকা—480
 বুকা—439, 479
 বুক্—481, 505
 বুক্, বুক্—431
 বুক্—479, 656
 বুক—155, 272, 377, 519, 522,
 523
 -বুক—522, 1006
 বুক্—522
 বুক্, বুক্—831
 বুক্—831
 বুক্—522
 বুক—519
 ট—(sound) 176, 272, 492,
 641, (suffix) 401, 684, 685,
 687, 780, 799, 885, 886
 টক—456
 টক্—882
 টক্—490
 টক্—489
 টক্—490
 টক্—483
 টক—638, 679
 টক—490, 679
 টক্—891
 টক্—490
 টক্—490, 886
 টক্—457
 টক—638
 টক্—646

টক্, টক্—639, 646
 টক্—891
 টক্—891
 টক্—315, 489, 877
 টক্—490
 টক্—490, 886
 টক্—878
 টক্—646
 টক্—489
 টক্—179, 489
 -টক্—491, 685, 686, 778, 780
 টক্—639, 642
 টক্—639
 টক্—639
 টক্—217
 টক্—639
 টক্—639
 টক্—482, 878
 টক্—490, 878
 টক্—322, 372, 454, 489
 টক্—311, 490
 টক্—679
 টক্—490
 টক্—482
 টক্—490
 টক্—439
 টক্—1066
 টক্—179
 টক্—489, 892
 টক্—489
 টক্—490, 491
 টক্—490
 টক্, টক্—490
 টক্—490
 টক্—483
 টক্—873
 টক্—1012
 টক্—877

টক্—490
 টক্—490
 টক্—647
 টক্—641
 টক্—646
 টক্—1018
 টক্—877
 টক্—482, 489, 493
 -টক্—685, 686, 687, 780
 টক্—878
 টক্—646
 টক্—490, 787
 টক্—408, -লী—489
 টক্—489
 টক্—646
 টক্—530
 টক্—646
 টক্—646
 টক্—489, 490, 878
 টক্—646
 টক্—416, 489
 -টক্—686
 টক্—416
 টক্—489
 টক্—646
 -টক্—491, 685, 686, 778, 780
 টক্—490
 টক্, -টক্—489, 780, 781, 998
 টক্—371
 টক্—408, 489, 541, 691
 টক্—489
 টক্—414, 873
 টক্—956
 টক্—326, 490, 491, 875
 টক্—489
 টক্—891
 টক্—489, 510
 টক্—781

- টুণী, -নী—639, 646
 টুল—646
 টুলী—489
 টুসা—891
 টে—416
 -টে—401, 686, 778, 780
 টেকো—679
 টেকা—489
 টেক্স—646
 টেক্সরা—179, 405, 469
 টেক্সরী—482
 টেটনী—694
 টেনা—490, 493, 530
 টে-পাখী—416
 টেবিল—216, 646
 টের—490
 টেরা—490
 টেরেন—640
 টেলিগেগারফ—640
 টেলিফোন—646
 টেংরী—489
 -টো—778, 780
 টোকরা—489
 টোকা—622, 627, 628, 631
 টোড়ী—501
 টোনা—489
 টোপর—329, 489, 510
 টোল (*depression*)—489
 টোল (*Sanskrit school*)—489
 টোলা—489
 টোন-হাল—639
 টোক—878
 টোকশাল—331
 টোকা—489
 টোস—490, 878
 টিক—489
 টুটী—490
 টেক—489, 878
 টেকসই—709
 টেকা—489
 টেয়া—322, 372
 টাক্স—646
 ট্রাজেডি—217
 টি বিলিয়ান—644
 ট্রাইন—420
 ট্যাকটিক—371
 ঠ—272
 -ঠ—798
 ঠক—492
 ঠকঠকা—891
 ঠকাম—667
 ঠগ—492
 ঠমকা—886
 ঠসক—493
 ঠা—492
 ঠাউল—253
 ঠাউর—254, 453
 ঠাউরা—399
 ঠাউরণ—453
 ঠাউর্দা—253
 ঠাওরা—888
 ঠাক—492
 ঠাকরন—333
 ঠাকর(ি)ন—694
 ঠাকরন—398, 694
 ঠাকুর—254, 453, 455, 492
 ঠাকুরদা—253
 ঠাকুরাণী, -নী—254, 398, 453, 694
 ঠাকুরালী—670
 ঠাকুরনী—695
 ঠাকরণ—453
 ঠাক্রি—156
 ঠাট—491, 492
 ঠাটা—492
 ঠাটার—882
 ঠাড়া—492
 ঠাঠা—492
 ঠাণ্ডা—492
 ঠান্—694
 ঠান—254, 453
 ঠার—492
 ঠাস—494
 ঠাচর—492
 ঠাহরা—399, 888
 -ঠি—769
 ঠিক—492, 712
 ঠিয়েটার—1072
 ঠুক—489, 493, 530
 ঠুঙরী, ঠুমরী—522
 ঠুলী—493
 ঠে—769
 ঠেক—492
 ঠেঙ—439
 ঠেঙে—523
 ঠেঙ্গ—493
 ঠেঙ্গা—493
 ঠেঙ্গান—666
 ঠেংক—523, 769
 ঠেল—493, 878
 ঠেস—493
 ঠেং—493
 ঠোক—493, 530
 ঠোকা—493
 ঠোনা—493, 530
 ঠাই—156, 320, 406, 422, 492, 520, 741, 769, 859
 ঠাই-এ—769
 ঠাইয়ে—523, 769
 ঠাটি—694
 ঠুটা—493
 ঠেটা—493
 ঠেটা—493

টেয়ে—523, 769

টেট—493

ড—272, 641

ডগা—495

ডক—495

ডজন—400, 638, 646

ডবডবে—495

ডব্কা—495

ডবটন—644

ডবল—400, 634, 638, 646

ডবল—647

ডর—315, 494, 899

ডল—494

ডলা—494

ডল—873

ডহ—873

ডহর—187, 328, 495

ডহরা—495

ডা—686

ডাইন (witch)—308

ডাইন (right)—495

ডাইমন—646

ডাইল—380, 494

ডাইং-ক্রিনিং—645

ডান—308

ডাংগুলি—1070

ডাক—457, 495, 878

ডাকঘর—450

ডাকর—405

ডাকাইত—655, 663

ডাকা-করান—1033

ডাকা(ই)তী—655, 663, 673

ডাকাড—663

ডাকিবে—454

ডাক্তর—647

ডাক্তার—216, 503, 634, 636,

637, 642, 646

ডাক্তারখানা—707

ডাক্তারনী—695

ডাগর—179, 405, 439, 495

ডাঙস—363

ডাঙ—495

ডাঙ্গস—363, 439, 495

ডাঙ্গা—179, 405, 522

ডাডুকা—495

ডাঙাগুলি—1070

ডান—(=witch) 308 ; (=right) 495

ডান-গুলি—1070

ডাব—405, 495, 514

ডাবব—405, 494

ডাবা—494

ডামাডোল—439, 495

ডাঙ্গল—647

ডাঙ্গমন—646

ডাল—(=pulses) 380, 494 ;
(=branch) 494

ডালা—495

ডালি—(=pulses) 380 ; (basket) 383

ডালিম—337, 494, 543

ডাহা—495

ডাহিন—317, 336, 488, 495

ডাহক—494

ডি—557

ডিস্ক!—408, 495

ডিস্কাইয়া—394

ডিস্কিয়ে—394

ডিপ্টি—647

ডিবা—495

ডিবিয়া—495

ডিম—300, 495

ডিহি—184, 498, 557, 603

-ডী—686

ডুকরা—495, 888

ডুব—495, 878, 896

ডুবारी—668, 669

ডুবাক—669

ডুবুডুবু—678

ডুবুরী—668

ডুবে—326

ডুমা—495

ডুমুর—313, 326, 362, 494,
540

ডুম্বী—694, -নীর—719

ডুমুর—362

ডুলী—414, 494

ডেঙ—495

ডেকচী—600, 603, 708

ডেকরা—405, 495

ডেকে—388

ডেঙ্গ—453, 641, 647

ডেগ—600, 603

ডেঙ্গর—495

ডেঙ্গো—522

ডেংঞা—522

ডেড়—494, 802

ডেনীয়—703

ডেপুটী—647

ডেম—495

ডেরা—495

ডেলা—439

ডেব—453, 641, 647

ডেকরা—405

ডেকলা—405, 495

ডোঙ্গা—408, 494, 495

ডোবা—186, 405, 495

ডোম—329, 495

ডোমজুড়—66

ডোমনী—694

ডোর—494

ডোল—439, 495

ডোল—495

- ডাটা—492
 ডাটা—492
 ডাটা—495
 ডাড়া—365, 488, 494
 ডাশ—488, 494, 548
 ডাসা—495
 ডেও—522
 ডেপ—495
 ডেয়ো—522
 ডাইভিং—644
 ড—(sound) 138, 272, 411,
 494, 526, 538, 539, 610 ;
 (affix) 687, 688, 689, 880,
 885, 887, 888
 -ডা—66, 687, 688, 689
 -ডি—688
 -ড়ি—687, 688
 -ডী—687, 688, 689
 -ড়ে—687
 ড্—526
 ঢ—272, 492
 ঢকা—500
 ঢঙ্গ—482, 498, 507
 ঢনা—498
 ঢল—498
 ঢলে—877
 ঢাউস—507
 ঢাক—498, 873
 ঢাকন—335, 656
 ঢাকনা—657
 ঢাকা (= Dacca town)—454
 ঢাকাই—672
 ঢাকী—671
 ঢাকীঘর, ঢাকীসহ—706
 ঢাকে—457, 498
 ঢাঙ্গা—499
 ঢাঙ্গা(ই)ত(ী)—655, 663
 ঢামালি, -লী—439, 498
 চাল (noun)—498
 চালা—495
 চালাই—661
 চালাও—663
 চালু—498
 চালে—498, 877
 চিকা—499
 চিট—444
 চিপ—499
 চিবরী—499
 চিবি—499
 চিমা—499
 চিল—313, 499
 চিলা—313, 498
 চীট—324, 355, 491, 493,
 498, 507
 চীটপনা—696
 চীঠ—324, 355, 491
 চুকে—498
 চুল—499
 চুস—499
 চুট—420, 499
 চুটখা—883
 চেকা—328, 448, 499, 507
 চেকুর (= place name)—185
 চেকুর (noun)—328
 চেঙসা—522
 চেঙ্গা—439
 চেড়স—499
 চেবুয়া—499
 চেমন—499
 চেমচা—498, 522
 চেমসা—499
 চেঙ্গ—328, 499
 চেঙ্গা—499
 চেলা—439
 চো—499
 চোকে—498
 চোল—329, 439, 499
 চোলক—682
 চাঁচা—499, 507
 চুঁ—498, 499
 চুড়—499
 চুড়ে—326, 365
 চুঙ্গ—498
 চেঁকী—328, 439, 499
 চেঁকুর—499
 চেঁচরা—492, 499
 চেঁচা—370, 491
 চেটাম, -মি—657
 চেঁড়ন—328, 507
 চেঁড়ি, -ড়ী—699, 328, 499
 চেঁড়া (= to search)—495
 চেঁড়া (= a snake)—468, 507
 চ—133, 272
 -চ—304
 ঞ—227, 272, 377, 523, 524,
 528, 529
 ত—(sound) 272, 602, 631,
 642 ; (suffix) 112, 502,
 654, 691, 692, 704, 739,
 776, 854, 1000
 তইয়ার—614
 তইরতে—380
 তইল—304, 425
 তওয়ালা—616
 তকমা—213, 575, 600, 617
 তকরার—598, 609
 তকলিফ—606
 তকলিব—606
 তক—449
 তক্ত—575, 593
 তক্তা—443, 449, 599, 602
 তক্তে তাউস—580
 তথড় (= তথ, তথন)—526

তখন—317, 458, 857
 তখনি—331
 তগলব—582, 600
 তছনছ—613
 তছরপ—589, 612, 618 ;
 -রূপ—572
 তছু—311, 474, 826
 তজবীজ—584, 616
 তড়—315, 355, 501
 তড়কা—886
 তড়বড়া—891
 তড়া—681
 তত (= তত)—854
 ততক্ষণ—382
 ততক্ষ—854
 ততৈক্ষণ—136
 তত্ব-তাবাস—590, 606
 তথা, তথায়—858
 তথি—825, 834, 839, 858
 তথিত, তথির—825
 তথী—825
 তদারক—575, 582, 598
 তদের—820
 তন—378, 503
 তনখা—575, 599
 তনে—770
 তপাস—213, 590, 606, 884
 তফসীল—575
 তফাৎ—590, 617
 তবক—213, 597, 602
 তবলা—559, 575, 602
 তবিলন্ত—594
 তবীল—585, 595, 616
 তবে—114, 836, 856
 -তব্য—705
 -তম—304
 তমরাহ—820
 তমলুক—68

তমসুক—618
 তমাক—623, 626
 তমার—820
 তমোলুক—68
 তমঃসুক—558, 612
 তমি, তমী—595
 তম্হার—820
 তম—820
 তমনাতি—590
 তমনাৎ—589, 590
 তমফা—583
 তময়—587, 614
 তময়ের—583, 609
 তম—576, 873
 তম (= তোর)—820
 -তম—304, 704
 তমকচ, তমকচ—613
 তমজমা—602
 তমতে—880
 তমপ, -ফ—575, 592, 606
 তমন্তু—403, 501
 তমজু—586
 তমাস—376
 তমিতে—380
 তময়র—340
 তম্রে—(post-position) 313,
 372, 502, 750, 769 ; (verb)
 877
 তম্রে—770
 তক—449
 তল—501, 1038
 তলপ, -ব—605
 তলা—(noun) 623 ; (verb)
 583
 তলায়—1034
 তলুরা—630
 তলাশ, -স—610, 619
 তলীল—557, 595

তসদীক—597
 তসবীর—585
 তসিন্—373
 তসৈ—873
 তস্তাকে, তস্তার—826
 তহবীল—595, 616
 তহশীল—557, 595
 তহি, তহি—825
 তহিত. তহির, তহি^{*}র—825
 তংখা—575, 600
 তা—(noun) : (= heat) 302,
 320, 349, 501, (= sheet of
 paper) 595, 781 ; (pro-
 noun) 555, 821, 822 ; (affix)
 692, 705
 তাই—827, 828, 1069
 তাইৎ—603
 তাইন—827
 তাউই—545
 তাউৎ—578, 597
 তাউল—316, 471, 483, 517
 তাউস—588
 তাএ—877
 তাও—501
 তাওয়—659
 তাওয়ে—877
 তাক (pronoun)—822
 তাক (root)—896
 তাকত, -ৎ—597, 578, 602
 তাকাদা—583, 597
 তাকাবী—597
 তাকাতী—617
 তাকায়—456, 880
 তাকিয়া—576, 615
 তাকে—316, 456, 501, 880,
 882
 তাগাড়—213, 610
 তাগাদা—583, 597, 604

তাগাবী—59, 7, 616
 তাগিদ—598
 তাগৎ—578, 597
 তাগো—758, 827
 তাজ্জ—(noun) 601, (verb) 873
 তাজ্জা—595
 তাজ্জিয়া—578
 তাজ্জে—316, 501
 তাজ্জব—578, 601
 তাড—490, 878
 তাড়স—699
 তাড়ী—497, 501, 538
 তাত—301, 316, 501, 1034
 তাতল—335
 তাতিল, তাতল—1034
 তাত্তে—882
 তাতিগ—821
 তাদের—736, 761, 821
 তান (pronoun)—162, 306,
 725, 823, 827, 1010
 তানমেনে—827
 তানরা—827
 তানরা—827
 তানা—821, 823
 তানার—827
 তানি—827, 828
 তান্নাকার—827
 তান্নে—827
 তান্নেকার—827
 তাপে—876
 তাপ্তা—606
 তাবাস—590, 606
 তাবিজ—579
 তামড়া—887
 তামরা—827, 828, 834
 তামরার—827
 তামলী—334
 তামস (= Thomas)—637, 642

তামা—157, 321, 531
 তামাক—623, 626, 627
 তামাকর—758
 তামাকু—623, 626
 তামাটে—686
 তামাদী—576, 602, 609
 তামাম—576
 তামার—827, 828
 তামারা—827, 828
 তামাসা—609
 তামিল—(= Tamil) 197 : (*rec-
 cution of an order*) 585
 তাম্লী—282, 366
 তায়—822
 তায়াদ—596
 তায়নাৎ—589
 তাঁলা—583, 596
 তাঁর—162, 754, 758, 827
 তাঁরপলিন—642, 647
 তাঁরপিন—503, 642, 647
 তাঁরমনকার—827
 তাঁরমেনে—827
 তাঁর—576, 735, 736, 821,
 827
 তাঁরার—736, 827
 তাঁরিখ—580, 602
 তাঁর—877
 তাঁরু—619
 তাঁরু—827
 তাঁল—308, 320
 তাঁলা—583
 তাঁলাও—617
 তাঁলাক—576, 602
 তাঁলাস—610
 তাঁলিকা—578
 তাঁলিম—578
 তাঁলুট—545
 তাঁলাক—576, 602, 619

তাঁলাশ, তাঁলাস—583, 619
 তাঁলা—883
 তাঁহ—555
 তাঁহর—882
 তাঁহরা—827
 তাঁ-হ'লে—400
 তাঁহা—820, 821, 822, 823
 তাঁহাদিগ—729, 736, 821
 তাঁহাদের—821
 তাঁহান—824, 827
 তাঁহানরা—827
 তাঁহার—114, 729, 754, 827
 তাঁহারদিগ—729
 তাঁহাদের—827
 তাঁহারা—736, 821, 827
 তাঁ-হ'লে—400
 তাঁহা-হ'লে—400
 তাঁহ—822
 তাঁহের—822
 তাঁহা—887
 তি—787
 তিঅক—351, 476, 805
 তিঅডী—323
 তিউডী—323, 787
 তিকিছে—503
 তিকি—408
 তিঙ্গন—525
 তিঙেল—622, 624, 625, 629,
 631
 তিণ—355
 তিত্ত—372
 তিত্তা—(adjective) 501, 532 ;
 (verb) 956
 তিত্তে—882
 তিন—308, 322, 324, 501,
 786
 তিন (pronoun)—827
 তিনটা, -টা—686

তিনটে—401
 তিন-পো(আ)—803
 তিনি—415, 725, 821, 823,
 827, 831
 তিনিটা, তিন্টে—401, 686
 তিন্ম—789, 797
 তিন্ম—355
 তিন্ম—418
 তিন্ম—555
 তিন্ম—797
 তিন্ম—305, 323
 তিন্ম—324
 তিন্ম(ল)ই—800
 তিন্ম, তিন্ম, তিন্ম—799
 তিন্ম—376, 378, 503
 তিন্ম—324, 363, 376, 795
 তিন্ম—225
 তিন্ম—501
 তিন্ম—454
 তিন্ম—407
 -তিন্ম—363
 তিন্ম—879
 তিন্ম, তিন্ম—879
 -তিন্ম—324, 363, 376
 তিন্ম—313
 তিন্ম—306, 359, 821, 823
 -তিন্ম, -তিন্ম—655, 691, 692
 তিন্ম. তিন্ম—324
 তিন্ম—324, 460
 তিন্ম—308, 766
 তিন্ম—203, 584, 602, 609
 তিন্ম—574
 তিন্ম—357
 তিন্ম—336, 376, 502
 তিন্ম—303, 350, 428, 501, 816,
 817, 818, 819, 820
 তিন্ম—809
 তিন্ম—820

তুগড়—408, 687
 তুজুক—213
 তুজ—819
 তুজ—818
 তুজ—770
 তুজ—693, 607, 618
 তুজ—606
 তুজ—820
 তুজ—820
 তুজ—820
 তুজ—309, 326, 334, 350, 367,
 401, 516, 531, 554, 734,
 816, 818, 819, 820, 846
 তুজ—819
 তুজ—819
 তুজপুন, তুজপুন—583, 606
 তুজিত, তুজিত—325, 335, 501
 তুজক—204, 213, 581, 602
 তুজপ—215
 তুজ—213, 692
 তুজহান—709
 তুজ—873
 তুজিবাক—1018
 তুজ—551
 তুজটি, তুজটি—687
 তুজ—548
 তুজ—527
 তুজারি—819
 তুজ—819
 তুজ—818
 তুজ—734
 তুজ—818
 তুজ—325, 544
 তুজ—325
 তুজ—304
 তুজ—412 ; 824, 825, 827
 তুজ—328, 501, 787
 -তুজ—372, 502, 719, 739, 1014

তেএ—824
 তেএশ, -স—419, 787
 তেউড়ী—420
 তেউড়—421, 883, 887
 তেউড়ী—787
 তেএ—683
 তেএ—825
 তেএ—180
 তেএ—211
 তেএ—351, 355, 476, 805
 তেএ (=sharp)—585
 তেএ-বরিশা, -ব'রে—476, 805
 তেএ—669
 তেএ—603
 তেএ—490
 তেএশ—796
 তেএ—355, 853
 তেএ—490, 493, 530, 621,
 823
 তেএ—415
 তেএ—787
 তেএ—787
 তেএ—851
 তেএ—211, 411, 851
 তেএ—302, 347, 411, 555,
 787
 তেএ—473, 540
 তেএ—324, 473
 তেএ—642, 647
 তেএ—626
 তেএ—211
 তেএ—633, 640, 642
 তেএ—622, 625
 তেএ—142, 301, 328, 501
 তেএ—চুচুকে—456
 তেএ—659
 তেএ—183

তেলি—407
 তেলুগু, তেলেগু—197
 তেয়াগ—260, 883
 তেয়াং—589, 615
 তেয়ান্ন—797
 তেঘটি—798
 তেঙা—492, 527
 তেসর(1)—700, 805
 তেসাণে—854
 তেহাই—787, 802
 তেহারা—701
 তেহেন—355, 853
 তেহু—853
 তেই—306, 821, 823
 তৈছন—474
 তৈয়ার—583, 587, 609
 তৈয়ারী, তৈরী—590
 তৈল—304, 425
 তো (pronoun)—330, 802
 তো (conjunction)—350
 তো- (prefix)—413, 817
 -তো (suffix)—854, 1028
 তোএ, তোএ*—818
 তোক—586, 597
 তোকয়ারী—587
 তোগোর—820
 তোঞ, তোঞি, }
 তোঞে, তোঞে* } —818
 তোড়—414
 তোড়ং—647
 তোড়া—213, 610
 তোড়ী—501
 তোড়ে—329, 496, 501
 তোতা—602
 তোদিগ—816
 তোদের—816, 820
 তোন—770
 তোন্নে, তোন্নের—820

তোপ—213, 604
 তোকা—581, 595, 606
 তোবড়—83*
 তোবা—586
 তোমকা—682
 তোমরা—735, 816, 819, 820
 তোমরার—820
 তোমা—816, 819
 তোমাদিগ—816
 তোমাদের—731, 816
 তোমান্নে—820
 তোমার—211, 820, 846
 তোমারী—835
 তোম—818, 819
 তোয়া—884
 তোয়াকা—590, 616
 তোয়ালিয়া, তোয়ালে—418,
 622, 623, 631, 633
 তোয়—211, 828
 তোয়গো—820
 তোয়জ—647
 তোয়ং—649, 647
 তোরা—736, 816, 819, 820
 তোরাদের—820
 তোরার—820
 তোলাপাড়—396
 তোলা—(noun) 623; (adj.
 pass. part.) 956
 তোলানি—665
 তোলে—329, 501
 তোলো—630
 তোষক—586, 598
 তোষিহ—908
 তোহারি—819
 তোহে—819
 তোহাঁক—818
 তোকা—734, 819
 তোকায়া—735

তোন্ধে—818, 819
 তোজি—587, 595
 তুই—818
 তাঁ—306, 821, 823, 824, 827,
 828, 1010
 তাই—825, 827
 তাইর, তাইরা—827
 তাইরার—827
 তাঁগো—758
 তাঁড়ুল—316, 337, 471, 483,
 517
 তাঁত—308, 310, 316, 362, 501,
 502
 তাঁদিগ—821
 তাঁদের—821
 তাঁন্নে—827
 তাঁবা—321, 367, 514, 531
 তাঁবাদী—576
 তাঁবু—576
 তাঁবে—583, 596
 তাঁবোল—327
 তাঁয়—827
 তাঁয়—758
 তাঁরা—821
 তাঁহা—821, 823
 তাঁহাদিগ—821
 তাঁহাদের—821
 তাঁহারী—821
 তুই—521, 820
 তুঁতিয়া, তুঁতে—326, 370, 504
 তুঁষ—370
 তুঁষ—325, 371
 তে—824, 1010
 তেই—419, 825
 তেউ—824
 তেএ—824
 তেতুল—308, 327, 398, 483
 তেহ—415, 725, 823

ভেহা—823
 ভো—818
 ভোএ—818
 ভোঞ—818
 ভোয়ার—820
 ভোরা—820
 -ভু—705
 ভাঙ্গ—879
 ভিপল—647
 ভিশ—376, 795
 ভিহত—357
 ভ্রপ—215
 ভ্রপল—647

 ধ—272, 643
 ধই—344, 403, 553
 ধইলী—321
 ধক—318, 319, 457, 680, 683
 ধকা—886
 ধকিত—503, 704
 ধতমত—504
 ধন—503
 ধনে—770
 ধমক—680
 ধমকা—886
 ধর—503
 ধরধর—504
 ধল—315, 504
 ধলী—321, 623
 ধাই—553
 ধাইকতে—380
 ধাওকা, ধাওকে—423
 ধাক—112, 114, 318, 457,
 680, 683, 1035, 1042
 ধাকন—656
 ধাকা—886
 ধাকিএ—932
 ধাকিতাড—960

ধাকিতে—380, 1002
 ধাকিরা—161, 172, 389, 455,
 728, 768, 770
 ধাকু—903
 ধাকুক—455
 ধাকৈ—503
 ধাক্তে—251, 380, 449, 1000
 ধান—301, 365, 770, 781
 ধানত—770
 ধান্না—503
 ধান্নে—770
 ধাপড়—446, 448
 ধাপড়া—446
 ধাপ্পড়—446, 448, 504
 ধাবড়া—446, 504, 887
 ধাবা—504, 887
 ধাম—316, 503
 ধামে—882
 ধাল—504, 659
 ধালা—544, 659
 ধান—504
 ধাই—503
 ধিক—504
 ধিকধিকা—891
 ধিতা—504
 ধিতায়—882
 ধিতু—504
 ধিয়েটার—643, 647
 ধির—323, 504
 ধিরায়—882
 ধুক—504
 ধুড়—878
 ধুড়া—504, 887
 ধুতু, ধুতু—504
 ধুন—770
 ধুগড়া—504, 887
 ধুর—878
 ধুরা—504

-ধে—161, 770
 -ধেএ—770
 -ধেকে—161, 388, 389, 390,
 477, 728, 768, 770
 -ধেকা—389
 ঠৈলী—623
 থোড়—504
 থোড়া—211, 329, 353, 504
 -থোন—770
 থোবা—504
 থোয়—330, 504, 877, 1042
 থোয়ে—932
 থো + সোত—183
 থোহ—903
 থুঁতনী—504
 থুতি, থুঁধি—504
 থেঁত—888
 থেঁতলা—888
 থেঁতলান—504
 থেঁতান—504
 থেঁতা, থেঁথা—504

 দ—(sound) 272, 602, 628,
 642, 643 ; (= noun) 452 ;
 (affix) 604, 729, 733
 দই—306, 315, 344, 425, 554
 দইসৎ—595
 দওলা—425
 দক্ষিণা—659
 দখিন—317, 336
 দখিনিয়া—417, 675
 দখেনে—417, 675
 দ'খ'নে—417, 659, 675
 দগধিলী—957
 দগবাটা—65
 দজাল—601
 দড়—355, 499
 দঢ়—355, 499, 1034

দতান—1034
 দত্ (= দোঁরাড)—403
 দনাই—422, 483, 506, 662
 দপ্তর—606
 দকা—602
 দমক—682
 দমকা—682, 886
 দমসৎ—595
 দমা—420, 533
 দমামই, দমামরী—425
 দমাল—310
 দর—711, 713
 দরওয়ান—707
 দরকচা—711
 দরকার—602
 দরকোচা—711
 দরকাঁচ—711
 দরখাস্ত—593, 600
 দরগা—598
 দরদ—592
 দরদী—672
 দরপত্তনী—713
 দরপাকা—711
 দরবেশ—585, 616
 দরমা, দরমাংহা—557
 দরশ—883
 দরশন—303, 376
 দরাস—602
 দরিসা—602, 615
 দরিসাশু—593, 606
 দর্শন—303
 দল—315, 873
 দলই—309, 347
 দলমলা—891
 দলাই-মলাই—891
 দলীল—595
 দলীল—575
 দলুই—309, 347, 397

দশ—505, 550, 792
 দশরা—347
 দস্তখত, -খৎ—593, 602, 612
 দস্তাবেজ—585
 দস্তুর—575
 দহ—452
 দহর—187
 দহরম-মহরম—617
 দহলা—550
 দহি—308
 দংশিত—704
 দা—255
 -দা(=দাদা)—453
 দাইল—494
 দাদখানি—591
 দাউদাউ—424, 678
 দাউদ—310, 381
 দাউদ—379
 দাও—(noun) 255 ; (verb)—
 421, 423, 904
 দাওয়াই—616
 দাখিল—580
 দাগ—602, 884
 দাগা—884
 দাগী—671
 দাজা—506
 দাড়া—372, 499, 505
 দাড়িম—320, 336, 494
 দাড়ী—499
 দাঢা, দাড়ী—499
 দাওয়াইহ—908
 দাওয়া—908
 দাদ—310, 381
 দানখানি—591
 দাদা—453
 দাহু (= দাউদ)—379
 দাহু (= দজ)—381
 দাহুর—337

দান (= দানব)—302, 347
 -দান, -দানী—708
 দানবীর—305
 দানী—595
 দাহুরা—679
 দানো—302, 320, 347
 দাপ—316, 446, 505, 511
 দাপট—446, 684
 দাপটা—886, 887
 দাবড়া—887
 দাবড়ী—446
 দাবী—578
 দাম—195, 316, 505, 520
 দামড়া—334, 367
 দামড়ী—195
 দামামা—576
 দামী—671
 দারের—585
 -দার—708
 দার—602
 দারুণী—695
 দারোগা—213, 583, 586, 600
 দালাল—576, 610, 618
 দালি—494
 দাসী, দাস্তাক—826
 দাহিণ—336
 দি(=দিই, দেই)—352, 398, 429
 -দি (= দিদি)—453
 -দি (= আদি)—728, 729, 730,
 732, 992
 দিআর—995
 দিআর—995
 দিই—352, 398, 407, 419, 429
 দিইছিল—398
 দিইয়ে—394
 দিউক—310, 353, 387, 419,
 457
 দিউন—419

দিউবে—675
 দিও—352, 418
 দিওনাক'—990
 দিক—310, 353, 387, 419, 454,
 907, 989
 -দিগ—94, 97, 446, 703, 728,
 729, 730, 732, 992
 দিগর—728, 729, 730, 731,
 732
 দিগবরী—673
 দিগার—732
 -দিগের—728, 729, 730, 732
 -দিগ্—728
 দিচ্চে—444
 দিচ্ছে—1026
 দিচিল—398
 দিছে—1026
 দিঞাছি—1027
 দিট—492
 দিটি—308, 322, 324, 355, 505,
 716
 দিঠে—716
 দিচ—492
 দিতে—1014
 দিতে চাওয়া—1051
 দিতেছে—1023
 দিতে থাক—1052
 দিতে-দিতে—1014
 দিতে পারি—451
 দিঠেঁ—960
 দিদি, দিদি—453
 দিন-ভর—702
 দিনেমার—215
 দিন—419
 দিব—331
 দিবা-করি—1018
 দিবাকে—753
 দিবার—752, 1018

দিবেক—989
 দিবেন—725
 দিবের—401
 দিবেঁর—995
 দিবা, দিবি—447
 দিমু—95
 দিরডী—690
 দিরলিয়া—675
 দিরা—172, 416, 770, 995
 দিয়াই—420
 দিয়াছিল—398
 দিয়া-, দিরে-, দেওয়া—1051
 দিয়ারে—994, 995
 দিরালী—324
 দিরাশ(ত)লাই—324, 416
 দিরে—416, 770, 918
 দিরেই—420
 দিরেই-তো-ছি(শ্রম)—1028
 দিরেচে—444
 দিরেছিল—398
 দিরেছিলিস—979
 দিরেশালাই—416
 দিরেছে—1026
 দিল (= gate)—35, 324, 351,
 984, 985, 1044
 দিল (= heart)—611
 দিলাক—989
 দিলাই—987
 দিলাঞ—726
 দিলিস—979
 দিলুম-বু—997
 দিলে—983, 984, 1003, 1004
 দিলেক—989
 দিলে না ক'—990
 দিলে-বিনা—1017
 দিলেম—400
 দিলু (= gave)—983
 দিশারী—349, 669

দিশার—669
 দিশি—141, 398, 672
 দিসবর (= December)—642
 দিস্তে—583
 দিহ—352, 908
 দিহলি—997
 দিহি—184
 দৌল—324, 505, 698
 দৌখি—323
 দৌঠি—308
 দৌন—602
 দৌপতি—376
 -দৌ(মা)—505, 701
 দু- (= দুই)—387, 505, 785
 দুঅত—476, 805
 দুয়ার—376
 দুই (= I milk)—428
 দুই (= two)—387, 406, 428,
 782, 785
 দু(ই) জন—785
 দু(ই)টা—387, 686, 785
 দু(ই)টি—686
 দুইয়ে—428
 দুই-স্তে—776
 দুইই—786
 দুও—554
 দুওর—401, 429
 দুকাল—456
 দুকুর—458
 দু-কেতা—781
 দুখ—458, 460, 505
 দুখায়—882
 দুগী—462
 দুফ—449
 দুহুট—785
 দুহুগ—402, 476, 477
 দুটো—387, 686, 785
 দু-তা—781

- দু-খনি—781
 দুখ—326, 505, 507
 দুখারী—785
 দুখাল—669
 দুখ—311
 দুনা—352, 505
 দুনিয়া—418, 581, 583, 607, 615
 দুপুর—458, 785
 দুবল, দুবলা—514, 544
 দুবার (=বার)—376
 দুযড়া—887
 দুখো—785
 দুখা—581
 দুয়ার—376, 429
 দুয়ে—428
 দুয়ার—429
 দুৰবার—376
 দুৰবীন—586
 দুৰযোগ—376
 দুৰ্যোগ—477
 দুল—414, 873
 দুলালী—675
 দুলি—395
 দুলা—352, 661
 দুলুনি—414
 দুলা—414
 দু-শ, দু'শ—215, 387
 দুশো—800
 দুয—873
 দুযমন—581
 দুযু—551
 দুই—311, 677
 দুহ—873
 দুহই—426
 দুহা—554
 দুহাতা, দুহাতা—785
 দুহান—786
- দুহে—426
 দুখ—460, 558
 দুখ থাকি—770
 দুববীন—602
 দে—(noun) 303, 311, 327, 352, 505, 557, 652, 701, 741 ; (verb) 352, 416, 770, 873, 903, 904, 1014, 1029 ; (post-position) 416, 770
 দেঅ—903
 দেঅনিয়া—675
 দেঅর—335
 দেঅলা—412
 দেঅলিয়া—328
 দেঅা—1029
 দেঅালা—412
 দেই—352, 398, 419
 দেউ—310, 353, 419
 দেউক—353, 389, 907
 দেউটা—324, 398, 420, 491, 505
 দেউড়ী—328, 420
 দেউল—186, 346, 350, 420
 দেউলে—328
 দেও—(verb) 421, 904, 932 ; (noun, = plant) 617
 দেওর—328, 335, 352, 411
 দেওরা—427, 660, 1029
 দেওরাইরা—394
 দেওরা-করান—1033
 দেওরান—585, 607, 616
 দেওরাল—584, 617
 দেওরালু—1032
 দেও—932
 দেকু—907
 দেক্কে—443
 দেগ—800
 দেগটা—708
- দেখ—396, 397, 409, 411, 443, 505, 873
 দেখই, দেখএ—280
 দেখতা—654
 দেখতায়—962
 দেখতে—962
 দেখন—656
 দেখন্তী—653
 দেখন্তে—1002
 দেখমার—896
 দেখনা, দেখলে—885
 দেখহ—906
 দেখা—397, 925
 দেখাইব করি—1018
 দেখাইরা—394
 দেখাদেখি—1048
 দেখান—666
 দেখানি—666
 দেখি—396, 397
 দেখিঅ—93
 দেখিএ—337
 দেখিও—93
 দেখিতে—443
 দেখিতে আছে—1023
 দেখিতেছি—1023
 দেখিতে পাওয়া—1051
 দেখিব—1018
 দেখিবা-মাত—1018
 দেখিয়া—896
 দেখিহা-নিলে—1004
 দেখিয়াযি—996, 1010
 দেখিয়ে—394
 দেখিল—940, 984
 দেখিলাম—93
 দেখিলাহো—93
 দেখিলি—93
 দেখিলে—984
 দেখিলেক—95

- দেখিলেন—987
 দেখিলু—93
 দেখিহ—93
 দেখুক—396, 397
 দেখুন্তী—653
 দেখে—280, 328, 391, 396,
 397, 410, 411, 984
 দেখে-দেখে—1047
 দেখে' (= দেখিয়া) —397
 দেখেন—458
 দেখো—93, 327
 দেখ্—411
 দেখ্তা—962
 দেখ্তাম—962
 দেখ্তে—443
 দেখ্তে পাওয়া—1051
 দেখ্তো—962
 দেখ্ ল—985
 দেখ্ লে—93, 984
 দেড়—157, 351, 494, 802
 দেড়—351
 দেৎ—508
 দেখান—336
 দেখন—411, 657
 দেখা—657
 দেখো—386, 679
 দেখ্ত—903
 দেখ—411
 দেখসনে—774
 দেখা—411
 দেখার—1019
 দেখী—826
 দেখো-না-ক'—990
 দেখোনে—998
 দেখ্যা—826
 দেখাক, দেখাগ—580, 600,
 602
 দেয় (adjective)—304
 দেয় (verb)—328, 411, 421,
 533
 দেয়-নিক'—990
 দেয়ান্তি—933
 দেয়লা—412
 দেয়া—(noun) 328, 342, 505;
 (verb) 1029
 দেয়ান—585, 616
 দেয়াল—584, 610, 617
 দেয়ালী—324
 দেয়াশলাই—324
 দেয়াসিনী—328
 দেয়—718, 728, 730, 775
 দেয়খো, দেয়খা—278, 324,
 331, 679
 দেল—611, 617
 দেয়াজ—647
 দেয়ানা—1033
 দেশ—142, 411
 দেশময়—706, 1073
 দেশমি—751
 দেশলাই—324, 351, 416
 দেশস্থ—1073
 দেশী—398, 672
 দেহ—(noun) 304, (verb) 421,
 423, 903
 দেহি—933
 দেহরা—328, 352, 553, 701
 দেহলা—412
 দেহারী—701
 দেহালা—412
 দৈ—315
 দৈন্ত—425
 দৈবজ্ঞ, -জ্ঞি—406
 দৈবারিক—426
 দো—554
 দোঁশালা—785
 দোকর—683
 দোকা—786
 দোকান—454, 586, 602
 দোখ—460
 দোছুট—337, 472, 785
 দোজ—476, 805
 দোজক—203
 দোজবরিয়া, দোজব'রে—476,
 805
 দোখারী—785
 দোনা—330, 505
 দোপহর—785
 দোপাটি—785
 দোকরকা—682
 দোভাষী—785
 দোয়—426
 দোয়জ—805
 দোয়ম—614
 দোয়া (= to give)—427
 দোয়া (= prayer)—596
 দোয়াৎ—403
 দোয়াদশ—427
 দোয়াদশী—427, 534
 দোয়ার—429, 441, 668
 দোর—429
 দোরস্ত—593
 দোল—414
 দোলনা—657
 দোলা—329
 দোলাই—(verb) 414; (noun)
 661
 দোলানি—414
 দোলে—395, 414
 দোশ—215
 দোষার—929
 দোসর—700
 দোসরা—700, 805
 দোস্ত—612
 দোহাস্তা—785

দোহার—349, 429, 441, 686,
701

দোহারী—701

দোহে—426

দোড়—345, 348, 427, 505,
691

দোড়া—887

দোলভঙ্গ—709

দোলৎ—587, 602

দৌ—520, 637

দৌড়—364, 494, 505, 1034

দৌড়-করান—1033

দৌড়কাক—282, 1074

দৌড়াইয়া—1003

দৌড়াইল—1035

দৌড়ায়—882, 1034

দৌড়াল্ছে—1035

দাঁত—301, 363, 362, 532, 505

দাঁতটাত—176

দাঁতন—658

দাঁতা—883

দাঁতাল—669

দাঁদড়া—887

দাঁদলা—887, 888

দাঁদলান—698

দুঁ দিমা, দুঁ দে—386, 505

দেঁতি—937

দোঁহ—725, 786

দোঁহা(কা)র—701, 725, 786

দোঁহাকে—786

দোঁহে—725, 786

দ—619

দার—534

দারা—770

দ্বি—503

দ্যাথ—260, 391, 410

দ্যাথক—918, 990

দ্যাল—617

দ্রোণ—304

ধ—272, 522, 643

ধকল—448, 507, 698

ধড়—315, 355, 496, 506

ধড়া—355

ধড়াস—700

ধড়ী—355

ধড়ীবাড়—709

ধন—320, 506

ধনী—506

ধনুক—682

ধপাস—700

ধমকা—886

ধম্ম—449

ধর—258, 536, 873

ধরণ—656

ধরমা—331

ধর-পাকড়—896

ধরম—376

ধরা—896

ধরাটি—687

ধরিছ—1023

ধরিলেক—990

ধরিল'ই—987

ধরিহ—908

ধর—903

ধরে—506, 877

ধর্ম—304, 449

ধল—346, 652

ধলা—346, 506

ধস—507, 873

ধা—348, 873

ধাই—(verb) 349

ধাইত—385

ধাত—310

ধাউড়, -ড়িয়া—688

ধাউত—310, 385

ধাউস—507

ধাকা—448, 499, 507

ধাউসা—499

ধাউড়—508

ধাউী—508

ধাত—310, 385

ধান—506, 529

ধানুআ—386, -নুয়া—679

ধামসা—507, 889

ধামা—507

ধামালি, -লী—439, 498, 507, 889

ধায়—320, 345, 422, 506

ধাব—305, 313, 507

-ধার—859

ধারাল—669

-ধারে—859

ধারে(verb)—877

ধিঝি—508

ধীট—507

ধুয়া—325, 341

ধুই—428

ধুইয়া—428

ধুকধুকা—891

ধুচনী—508

ধুতি—506

ধুতী—473

ধুত—311, 677

ধুখু—326

ধুন—873

ধুনা—507

ধুনারী—398, 668

ধুনি—507, -নী—529

ধুন্নি—668, -নী—398

ধুনে—506, 875

ধুপুস—700

ধুয়া—341

ধুয়াউক—429

ধুয়ে—428

ধূসে-মুছে—1048

ধূলা—507

ধূআ—340

ধূখী—659

ধূও—429

ধূণী—352

ধূনাটী—708

ধূনে—325

ধূস—507

ধূসালী—507

ধূরা—340, 342, 429, 507

ধূরাক—429

ধূরো—429

ধূরোক—429

ধূরী—659

ধূল—716

ধূলি—716

ধূলে—716

ধূলো—401

ধেইধেই—420

ধেৎ—508

ধেজুকুল—727

ধেনো—385, 679

ধেয়ান্ন—421

ধো—429, 873

ধোঅ—429

ধোইরা-পোচ্ছিন্ন—1048

ধোও—429

ধোকড়—508

ধোখা—506

ধোবা—330

ধোবানী—695

ধেয়—353, 506

ধোয়া—342, 415

ধোয়াট—415

ধোয়ানি—666

ধোলাই—662, 1033

ধোলাট—687

ধোলা—506

ধোঁচা—482, 499, 507

ধোঁজ—482

ধোঁধা—366, 507

ধুঁআ—520

ধুঁই—529

ধুঁরা—506

ধুঁরায়—882

ধেঁড়স—507, 699

ধেঁড়ি—699

ধেঁকা—506

ধেঁকবাজ—709

ধেঁড়া—507

ধেঁরা—520

ধেঁরাট—685

ধেঁরাটে—686

ধেঁরায়—882

ধন—879

ধনস—873

ধজি—879

ধ্যাস—421

ন—(sound) 272, 524 ; (= nine) 346, 792 ; (= not) 347 ; (suffix) 692, 725, 853, 925

নজলী—698

নই—(noun) 308, 315, 344, 346 ; (numeral) 799 ; (verb) 527 ; (conjunctive affix) 1007

নই-ক—991

নইলে—777, 1039

নও—425

নওবৎ—588

নওলা—425

নকর—688

নকল-নবিশ—708

নকানী—575

নকখী—545

নকভর—876

নগ—305

নগদ—575, 597, 603

নগরালী—670

নগরিয়া—394, 417, 674, 542

নগিচ—585

নগীচ—598, 603, 618

নগীজ—598

নগুণ—346

নগুরে, ন'গুরে—394, 674

নগুণি—462

নখ-কুণি—672

নখতা—376, 527

নখানি—666

নখিল্লর—545

নজর—540, 611

নজদিক—585

নজর—613, 1072

নজিক—585

নজীর—575

নট (= নট)—445

নঠ—318, 319, 445

নড়—(verb) 185, 545, 497, 878 ; (noun) 355, 496

নড়কা—886

নড়ী—498, 530

নত—304

নতুন—345, 527

নতুনত্ব—705

নত্তা—541

নথ—305, 318, 319, 504

নদী—220

নদীকের—757

নদীয়া, ন'দে—346, 701

নধর—184, 346

ননদ—305, 315, 371, 506, 528, 694

ননদিনী—694, 695

নদী—309, 346, 396, 528
 নন্দাই—309
 নন্দা—530
 নব—305
 নবাব—582, 605, 616
 নবিশ—616, 708
 নবিশি—708
 নবেশ্বর—643, 647
 নবোঢ়া—500
 নব্বই, নব্বই—514, 799
 নভেশ্বর—647
 নব—879
 নবকার—452
 নবাজ—315, 575, 577, 607
 নবিত্ত—704
 নব্বর—400, 688, 639, 647
 নব্ব—(verb) 424, 545, 555,
 1039 ; (= nine) 424, 545,
 792
 নয়ন—303
 নয়নজুলি—66
 নয়—527
 নয়ান—336, 405
 নয়ক—455
 নয়ম—592, 607, 609
 নয়না—884
 ন-রাতিরা—541
 নয়—677
 নয়গ—331 347, 398
 নয়গী—331, 347
 নয়ন—453, 553
 নব্যগ—523
 নব্বা—334
 নলদী—209
 নলিমান—530
 ন'লে (= নইলে)—770
 নলেন—530
 নদীপুর—805, 618

নদীব—607
 নদীরাব—805, 618
 নব্বর—611
 নতুদান—708
 নহ—347, 885
 নহএ—424
 নহবৎ—588, 618
 নহর—424, 555, 1039
 নহরে—424
 নহর—575, 592
 নহলী—698
 নহিবে—347
 নহিলাহী—975
 নহিক—991
 নহিব—1039
 নহিবেক—990
 নহিলে—347, 777, 1039
 নংদ—518
 না (noun)—302, 320
 না (negative)—925
 না (expletive)—320, 520,
 527
 না (= to bathe)—528
 না (suffix)—657, 1012
 না- (prefix)—713
 নাই (= ঋয়)—406
 নাই (= does not exist)—419,
 555, 953
 নাই (= বাড়ি)—422
 নাইক—990, 991
 নাইব্বর—528, 545
 নাইরা—345
 নাইহর—528, 553
 নাইরুকল—380
 নাউ—545
 নাউড়ে—688
 নাও—421, 423, 904, 906
 নাও—456

নাওচ—583, 613
 নাওরা—576
 নাওমি—666
 নাওর—456
 নাওরা—576, 597
 নাওদা—582, 599
 নাওপুরিয়া, নাওপুরে—875
 নাওরা—576, 597
 নাওরালী—670
 নাওলা—885
 নাওগ, নাওদ—611
 নাওরা—597
 নাওগি—695
 নাওল—544, 545
 নাও—370, 527
 নাও—370, 527
 নাও—355, 527, 985
 নাওকরান—1033
 নাওন—656, 985
 নাওনী—657
 নাওতী—653
 নাও—983, 1016
 নাওইরা—394
 নাও-নাও—1003
 নাওতে—477
 নাওতে-নাওতে—1000, 1052
 নাওরা-নাওরা—1047
 নাওরে—394
 নাওনি, নী—398, 657
 নাওতী—653
 নাও—516, 875
 নাও-কোও—1048
 নাওতে—477
 নাওবে-ক'দবে—1048
 নাওল-ক'দল—1048
 নাওলে—985
 নাও—258, 306, 473, 536, 543,
 545

নাছ-দোয়ার—545
 নাজিরা—530
 নাজির—580, 607
 নাজেহাল—591
 নাট—(< naṣṭa) 318, 527, 445; (< nāṭya) 491
 নাটাই—545
 নাটম—545
 নাটুকে—399
 নাটু—545
 নাট(=নাট)—318, 445
 নাড়—365, 496
 নাড়া (= shaven-headed) 442, 498, 530
 নাড়াডোল—66
 নাড়ী—496
 নাড়ু—545, 678
 নাচা—442, 498
 নাতান—617
 নাতি—502, 527
 নাতিন—337, 694
 নাতিনী—694
 নাতিয়া—675
 নাতি—675
 নাতিয়ান—589, 607, 617
 নাতির—539, 543
 নাতি—694
 নানান্—726
 না-পাখিয়ারান—713
 নাপিত—528
 নাপিতানী, নাপিতানী,-৭নৌ—696
 নাপি—197
 নাকাএ—512
 নাব—367
 নাবালক—580, 600, 712, 713
 নাম (verb)—367
 নামতা—692
 নাম-নেওয়া—1051

নামা—709
 নামাজ—577
 নামে—876
 নাম্ব—367
 নাম—(noun) 422; (verb) 321, 917
 নামক—533
 নামর—335, 528, 540
 নামে—422
 নামেব—588
 নামের—300, 321, 528, 545, 553
 নাম—509, 885
 নামকল—380, 403
 নামাণ, ন—349, 528
 নামিকেল—380
 নামে—517
 নাম—(= saliva) 66, 306; (= arable land) 198; (= horse-shoe) 578; (= red) 545
 নামিশ—580, 610
 নামপাতি—604
 নামিডো—960
 নামা—384
 নাম—873
 নামক—713
 নামা—528
 নামিক—683, 990
 নামিকর—683
 নামা—555
 নামে—321
 নামা—491
 নি (verb)—1045
 -নি—692, 773
 নি—711
 নিখাঁছিস—1027
 নিউগী—399

নিউদিশ—711
 নিকড়ি—526
 নিকরুণ—711
 নিকলা—889
 নিকলে—445
 নিকা—456
 নিকা(হ)—579, 595
 নিকানি—665
 নিকাম—445
 নিকাল—456
 নিকালে—445
 নিকাশ, -স—324, 445, 456
 নিকাহিতা ঙী—704
 নিকি—456
 নিকুনি—665
 নিকে—583
 নিক্ (= লউক্)—454, 907
 নিখর—874
 নিখাইক—711
 নিখা(উ)ত্তি—711
 নিখুঁত—711
 নিগাঁই—711
 নিমড়া—887
 নিচর—445
 নিচল—445
 নিছ—372
 নিছনি, -নৌ—324, 551
 নিছা—551
 নিজ—850
 নিখুম—408, 482
 নিঠুর—322, 324, 337, 493
 নিড়ানী—665
 নিদর—324, 711
 নিদানী—670
 নিদ্—305
 নিবাই, নিবাও, নিবায়—711
 নিব—305, 370, 505
 নিবা—883

- নিম্নালী—670
 নিব—331
 নিবড়—324, 874
 নিবড়া—887
 নিবড়ে—491
 নিবন্ত—999
 নিবর (= Eng. liver)—639, 648
 নিবা—440, 711, 874
 নিবায়—324, 516
 নিব-নিব—878
 নিবেদিত—908
 নিবো-নিবো—678
 নিবৌক—990
 নিবুল—711
 নিভ-নিভ—678
 নিভা—440, 874
 নিভার—516
 নিভুল—711
 নিম—324, 422, 531
 নিমকী—589
 নিমন্ত্রণ—357
 নিমাই—422
 নিমাই, নিমাইতী—711
 নিমিত্ত, -তে—770
 নিমড়—324, 335, 340, 496
 নিময়—418
 নিমায়—596
 নিমোগ—418
 নিমোগী—418
 নিমোজিলী—721
 নিমরা, নির্মা—879
 নিরানই—405
 নিরান(কই)—792, 800
 নিরানকই—405
 নিরানাল—324
 নিরিক, -ক—592, 599
 নিরিবিজি—402
 নিরুদ্দেশ, -দেধ—711
 নিরু—711
 নির্গাফি—711
 নির্ঘি—879
 নির্প (= নৃপ)—357
 নিতুল, নিতুল—711
 নির্মা—879
 নিল—351, 984
 নিলাফ—711
 নিলাম—625, 629
 নিলিমিত্তি—401
 নিলিস—979
 নিলে—984, 997
 নিলেট—981
 নিশানল—610
 নিশান—548, 579, 607
 নিশাস—324, 336, 548
 নিশাশো—551
 নিশী—324
 নিশেন—583
 নিশি—879
 নিশিচ—304
 নিবহ—903
 নিবৃত্ত—337
 নিবৃত্তি—324, 502, 550
 নিরুদ্ভা—445
 নিসর—874
 নিসান—324, 336, 548
 নিহড়—333
 নিহার—540, 874
 নিহারে—554
 নিহাল—874
 নিহালে—336, 554
 নিহড়—333
 নিঃশেষিত—704
 নিঃশাস—401, 558
 নী (verb)—997
 নী, -নি—657, 692, 695, 1012
 নীচ—678
 নীচে—770
 নীচের—533
 নীট—647
 নীড়—496
 নীদ—505
 নীলাম—624, 125
 নীলিমা—703
 নীলে (= নীলা)—401
 নু (verb)—873
 -নু—545, 873, 974, 975
 নুই—428
 নুচী—545
 নুটি—617
 নুড়ী—307
 নুন—330, 528, 545
 নুলা—530
 নূ—586
 নে—873, 903, 904, 1007, 1045
 নেঅ—903, 906
 নেঅছ—335
 নেঅলী—520
 নেউ (= is not)—419
 নেই (= sucha)—304, 328, 406, 411, 419, 528, 557, 741
 নেই (= nyāya)—406
 নেই-আঁকুড়ে—419, 675
 নেউগা—399, 418, 421
 নেউছ—335
 নেউছা—328, 1071
 নেউট—874
 নেউটা—887, 892
 নেউর—337, 409, 420
 নেউল—409, 420
 নেও—421, 904, 906
 নেওছ—335
 নেওটা, -টা—411, 421, 491, 685

নেওরা—420, 427
 নেক—585
 নেকরা—577
 নেকাম, -বি—667
 নেকার—456
 নেকা(হ)—579
 নেঙটা—685
 নেজ্জা—889
 নেজ—545
 নেড়—328, 365, 411
 নেড়া—442, 498, 530
 নেত—328, 411, 502
 নেতা—659
 নেতা—432
 নেবড়া—887
 নেব্—157, 303, 367, 514
 নেম—351
 নেমক—577, 598
 নেমগুন্ন—357
 নেমাজ—577
 নেন্ন—411, 421
 নেয়—420
 নেয়াই—420
 নেয়ালি—409
 নেয়ে (= nāvika)—345
 ‘নেয়গেয়া’—278
 নেই—(noun) 328, 528,
 557; (verb) 421, 423,
 906
 নেহা—659
 নেহাই—324, 336
 নেহাৎ, -রৎ, -রৎ—594, 614
 নেহার—540
 নেহারে—324
 নেংটো—685
 নেংড়া—887
 নে—220, 315, 344
 নেহাটা—219, 344

নো—(noun) 330, 555; (verb)
 873
 নোক—545
 নোকর—588, 607
 নোকসান—581
 নোকানি—666
 নোক্তা—581, 607
 নোঙা—520
 নোঙে—877
 নোট—648
 নোতুন—345, 413, 527
 নোতুনত—705
 নোনা—622, 626, 630
 নোন্ন—877
 নোয়া—427
 নোশেরঙা—518, 608
 নোহা—555
 নোকতা—453
 নোকর—586
 নোতুন—345, 527
 নোবৎ—588
 ন্—162
 ন্হ—132
 নীদ—305, 370, 527
 নোঁয়া—520
 ন্যাও—906
 ন্যাকার—457
 ন্যায্য—304
 ন্যাসা (= ন্যাঁসা)—364
 প—272
 পইঠা—344, 580
 পইঠে—882
 পইতা—315, 344, 384, 425,
 502, 509
 পইতার—882
 পইতে—384, 425
 পই-পই—426

পইশে—384, 510
 পইস—874
 পইসে—344, 379
 পক—458, 534
 পখালে—317
 পগায়—281, 403, 462
 পচ—873, 896
 পচিয়—473
 পছন্দ—473, 593
 পছিম—473
 পঞ্চ—789
 পঞ্চসেরী—451
 পঞ্চায়—789, 797
 পঞ্চাশ—789, 796
 পট—878
 পটক—681
 পটকা—681
 পটাৎ—655
 পটান—700
 পটুয়া—396
 প’টো—395
 পটোল—516
 পটুমান—213
 পড়—443, 925, 926
 পড়তি—655
 পড়ন—656
 পড়ু—999
 পড়বেষী—334
 পড়শী—332, 334, 496, 550
 পড়হ—932
 পড়া (= paṛaha)—336, 405
 পড়া— (= √paṛh) 926
 পড়াক—681
 পড়ায়—877
 পড়াহ—336
 পড়ি—497
 পড়িছা—315, 337
 পড়িছে—1023

- পড়িঞা আছে—1027
 পড়িল—517, 1044
 পড়িলাহা—981
 পড়িলাহো—975
 পড়িশি, -নী—332, 334, 380, 406, 496, 510, 550
 পড়িহার—497
 পড়িহাস—497
 পড়ীছা—473, 496, 510
 পড়ে—133, 315, 319, 497, 499, 509, 876
 প'ড়ে-ই-ছে—1028
 প'ড়েছেই-প'ড়েছে—1028
 পড়োল—334
 প'ড়'ল—1044
 প'ড়'শি, -নী—282, 332, 380
 পড়—442
 পড়া—440
 পড়ে—133, 315, 499
 পণ (= Eng. pound)—647
 পণ—528
 পণকিয়া—682
 পণকে—682
 পণ্ডিতানী—696
 পণ্ডিতী—673
 পণ্ডি—396
 পণ্ডির—503
 পণ্ডিয়া—882
 পণ্ডর—376
 পণ্ডানা—363
 পণ—443
 পণঘাট—449
 পণময়—709
 পণিক—396
 পণ্য—406
 পণ্য—406, 705
 পদসেবা—305
 পদুমিনী—377
 পদুম—377
 পদ্ম—200, 373
 -পদ—511, 797
 —789
 পদর—317, 347, 409
 -পদা—511, 696, 706
 পদীর—604
 পদনের—317, 347, 409, 426, 555, 789
 পদনের—718
 -পদ—796
 পদগন্ধর—203, 587, 600, 604
 পদধান—336
 পদমন্ত—696
 পদমাল—583, 609, 615
 পদরা—698
 পদলা—300, 315, 424 510, 557, 804
 পদমা—424, 509, 699
 পদার—285, 315, 668
 পদলা—332
 পর (verb)—199, 452, 874
 পর (= prahara)—347, 510
 পর (post-position)—312, 313, 770
 পরগুহানা—604, 617
 পরধ—305, 332, 403, 510, 874
 পরধা—332
 পরধায়—929
 পরগণা—598
 পরনা—604, 617
 পরনের—1019
 পরমিট—396
 পরলা—334
 পরশ—376, 511, 874, 883
 পরশু—313, 315, 407, 548
 পরশে—332, 334
 পরস—303
 পরসে—334
 পরা—1019
 পরার—1019
 পরাগ—376
 পরানী—376
 পরাত—623, 626, 627
 পরানা—617
 পরিত্তে—357
 পরিত্যাগ—413
 পরিবার (verbal noun)—1019
 পরিফার—392
 পরিহর—874
 পরে—300, 332, 509, 540
 পরে (ত)—770
 পরোল—334
 পর্দা—575
 প'লতে—617
 পলন্ত(ী)রা—647
 পলগুহান—595
 পলা—302, 315
 পলাইয়াছে—509
 পলার—317
 পলাশন—347
 পলিতা—591, 617
 পলুতে—591
 পশম—575, 592, 604, 612
 পশুরী—451, 529
 পশ্চিমা—659
 পশে—384, 510
 পশ্চিমিয়া, পশ্চিমে—675
 পটু—511
 পস—874
 পসারী—331, 529
 পসারে—877
 পসি—379
 পসিঁঝা, পসিঞা—379
 পসিল—379
 পসী—379

পক্ষ—379, 903
 পসে—344
 পহরী—398
 পহলওয়ান—595
 পহিচান—452
 পহিলে—452
 পহির—452, 874
 পহিরে—509
 পহিলা—557
 পহ—311, 509, 554
 পহরী—398
 পহুতে—357
 পহেলা—510, 804
 পহু—311, 509, 554
 পহু—370, 1036
 পহু—344
 পহু—875
 পহু—199, 452
 পহু—332, 509
 পহু—518
 পহ—84, 211, 302, 320, 369, 509
 পহন—656
 পাই—(verb) 422; (noun) 421, 673, 802
 পাইএ—915
 পাইক—194, 345, 385
 পাইকার—587
 পাইকাল—383
 পাইকের—587
 পাইখানা—587
 পাইন—520
 পাইনুতা—381
 পাইয়া—1003
 পাইয়াছি—509
 পাইল—299, 379, 386, 957, 984
 পাইলে—984

পাউক—907
 পাউব—355, 510, 548
 পাওন—656
 পাওনা—657
 পাক—203, 385, 446, 510, 896, 1034
 পাকডু—888
 পাকড়াও—663
 পাকডালী—701
 পাকড়ী—446
 পাকল—698
 পাকা—456, 956
 পাকাটি—492
 পাকাম, পাকামি—667
 পাকিতেছে—1034
 পাকিল—331, 677, 957
 পাকু—907
 পাকুড়—456
 পাকে—882
 পাকো—পাকো—678
 পাকিছে—1034
 পাক্যাল—383, 669
 পাথ—316, 657
 পাথড়—159, 888
 পাথড়া—691
 পাথনা—657, 658
 পাথমার—333
 পাথ—441
 পাথাজ, পাথাজু—351
 পাথাল—474, 1012
 পাথালি—1012
 পাথালে—292, 317, 460, 544
 পাথী—460
 পাথীকল—727
 পাথীদেয়—732
 পাথে—771
 পাথোয়াজ—351
 পাথ—461

পাগড়ী—446
 পাগল—পারা—706
 পাগলিনী—694, 695
 পাগলী—672, 694
 পাঙ—211, 519
 পাচ্ছ—1026
 পাছ—305, 404, 771
 পাছা—473
 পাছু—771
 পাছুআ—883
 পাছুড়া—888
 পাছুয়া, পাছুয়ান—771
 পাচ্ছ—771
 পাঙ্গী—475
 পাঙ্গা—607
 পাট—490
 পাটকাঠি—492
 পাটাতন—349
 পাটিলী—670
 পাটিল—196
 পাণ—509, 529
 পাণ্ডিয়া—496
 পাঠশালা—451
 পাঠাইল—984
 পাঠাইলে—984
 পাঠাএ—283
 পাঠান—213
 পাঠায়—317, 493
 পাঠারিল—984
 পাঠারিলে—984
 পাঠাল—984
 পাঠালে—984
 পাড়—877
 পাড়ন—656
 পাড়া—(= neighbourhood) 179; (= buffalo) 498; (verb) 497
 পাড়াগাইয়া, পাড়াগয়ে—675
 পাড়ায়—877

পাড়িয়া—387, 532
 পাড়িয়াছে—389
 পারে—319, 320, 404, 876
 পাড়তে—387
 পাণী—666
 পাভ—301, 502
 পাভ—1078, 1074
 পাভকো—1073
 পাভকীয়—449
 পাভকি—532, 708
 পাভড়া—691
 পাভনোড়—1074
 পাভম্টি—532
 পাভলা—698
 পাভলী—695, 698
 পাভা—659
 পাতি—1073, 1074
 পাতি আছে—1027
 পাতিকুয়া—1073
 পাতিতে—447
 পাতিনেড়ে—1073
 পাতিভাড়া—1074
 পাতিল—677
 পাতিলেবু—1073
 পাতিশা(হ)—604
 পাতিশিয়াল—1073
 পাতিহীস—1073
 পাতর—376
 পাতা—447
 পাততে—447
 পাথর—504
 পাথরীয়া—542
 পান—506
 পান্দা—883
 পানোক-জল—431, 453
 পান্ডি—624, 628, 630
 -পান—305
 পান (noun)—509, 529

পান (a surname)—520
 পানই—313, 510, 528
 পান-করান—1033
 পানকোড়ী—333
 পান-ফল—333
 পানা—510
 -পালা—696
 পানান—529
 পানিতা—380
 পানিসা—699
 পানী—320, 520, 528, 647
 পানী-ফল—333
 পানীহাটা—393
 পানুয়া—679
 -পানে—771
 পাণ্ডা—332, 381
 -পান্ন—789
 পানলী—647
 পান্‌সে—699
 পাপ—509
 পাপড়ী—446, 511
 পাবড়ী—446, 509, 511
 পাবনা—65
 পায় (verb)—349, 877; (noun)
 422
 পায়খানা—587
 পায়খাল—615
 পায়স—533
 পায়—614
 পায়িল—379
 পায়—312, 379, 901, 1014
 পায়ক-পক্ষে—458
 পায়গ-পক্ষে—458, 654
 পায়ত—654
 পায়ত-পক্ষে—458, 654
 পায়সী—609
 পায় (noun)—350
 -পায়—696, 706

পায়ালী—665
 পায়িব—463
 পায়িবা—463
 পায়ি—463
 পায়ুয়া—883
 পায়ুল—186, 308, 398, 540
 পারে—320, 877
 পারোঁ—932
 পাল—347, 639
 পালকী—372
 পালঙ—544
 পালক—316, 372
 পালক—372, 400
 পালট—444, 491, 543
 পালটাই—661
 পালম—544
 পালং—316, 372, 543
 পালা—543
 পালাএ—283
 পালান—(noun) 544; (verb)
 1032
 পালানো—1032
 পালায়—317, 543
 পালি—379
 পালিত—304
 পালিশ—637, 638
 পালিস—647
 পালো—347
 পালোয়ান—557, 576, 595
 পাল্য—299
 পাশ—321, 548, 771, 772
 পাশটা—886
 পাশা—188
 পাশুলি—398
 পাশে—771
 পাশাত্য—201, 382
 পাস-করা, -হওয়া—1051
 পাসয়ে—548, 1068

পাসানো—884
 পাহারানো—884
 পাহাড়—496
 পাহারওলা—671
 পাহারাল—670
 পাহন—337
 পাংশা—180
 পি—873
 পিউ—419
 পিউলি—324, 399
 পিউসী—385
 পিএ—417
 পিও—418
 পিকরানী—708
 পিকলা—888
 পিঙল—324
 পিচবাট, -বোড—641, 647
 পিচাশ—452
 পিছ—404
 পিছমোড়া—771
 পিছল—324, 335, 473
 পিছু—771
 পিছুনো—771
 পিছে—406, 771
 পিজবাট, -বোড—641, 647
 পিটনা—657
 পিটে—882
 পিট—325, 355, 493, 771
 পিটমোড়া—771
 পিঠা—325
 পিঠালি, পিঠিলি—398
 পিতল—325, 335, 501, 544
 পিতৃমাতৃহীন—201
 পিত্তমে—401
 পিত্তম—401, 557
 পিত্তিমে—401
 পিথো—653
 পিদিষ—357

পিদীম—521, 531
 পিদ্দীম—357
 পিনহে—452
 পিকা—313, 507
 পিকে—324
 পিপা—622, 625, 630
 পিপুল—325, 510
 পিপে—622
 পিবই—340
 পিরা—324, 510
 পিয়ার—668
 পিয়ারী—324, 342, 668
 পিয়ারল—324, 417, 510
 পিয়ারস—305
 পিঙ্গে—324, 340, 417, 509
 পিরিচ—551, 624, 625, 631
 পিরীত, পিরীতি—308, 376
 পিলখানা—584, 601
 পিলপিল—891
 পিলহুজ—618
 পিলা—544
 পিলিহা, পিলীহা—376, 544
 পিলে—376, 390, 544
 পিলা—390
 পিশি—324
 পিশি—387
 পিধে—324
 পিসতুত—503, 552
 পিসপাস—215
 পিসি—385, 509
 পিসী—355, 548
 পিস্ত, -তা—692, 503
 পিসে—679
 পিস্তল—622, 630, 631
 পিছে—771
 পিট—636
 পিতর—726
 পির—203, 604, 609

পীল—584
 পুআ—509
 পুইন্—381
 'পুওর'—640
 পুতুর—399, 408, 509
 পুতুর—326, 399, 460
 পুতুরী—326
 পুহ—873
 পুছিহ—908
 পুছে—326, 355, 473, 509, 875
 পুট—647
 পুটিং—647
 পুডিং—647
 পুড়—878
 পুড়ি—396
 পুড়িআ, পুড়িঞা—396
 পুড়ে—325, 496, 510
 পুত—(noun) 160, 255, 326,
 502, 509, 741, 763, 764 ;
 (verb) 878
 পুতক—765
 পুতকে—764
 পু(ত)তে, পুতং—765
 পুতমি—765
 পু(ত)তর—765
 পুতরে, -রে —764
 পুতাইন—765
 পুতি—510, 741, 763
 পুতে—741, 763, 764, 765
 পুতেকে; পুতেকে—764
 পুতেরে, -রে —764
 পুতে—764
 পুতুর—377
 পুথি—194, 370, 504
 পুথী—194, 329, 395, 673
 পুন—528
 পুনমি—532
 পুন:পুন:—558

পুনি—381
 পুনিম—326, 532
 পুন—381
 পুরা—509
 পুরাণ—347, -না—325
 পুরুত—399
 পুরুবে—417
 পুলকিত—304
 পুলাও—577
 পুলিশ—633, 647
 পুন্টিশ—647
 পুরুশী—541
 পুষ্টি—398
 পূহপ—377
 পূজ—873
 পূজা—509
 পূজারী—668
 পূজো—401
 পূত—160
 পূব—326
 পূবিয়া, পূবে—417, 675
 পূর—540
 পূরব—304
 পূরবিয়া—417
 পূরে—325, 877
 পূর্ব—304
 পৃথিকাউদ্দেশ—358
 পৃয়োজন—357
 পেথ—460, 510
 পেগম্বর—587
 পেছাপ—473
 পেছ—771
 পেছনো—771
 পেছো—771, 883
 পেছোনো—771
 পেজোম, -মি—667
 পেট—328, 411, 490, 509, 510
 পেটভরা—702

পেটা—491
 পেটুক—704
 পেটেলী—670
 পেটোটি, পেটুটি—687
 পেটুপেটু—411
 পেড়ে—387
 পেড়েছে, পেড়্যাছে—389
 পেটু লেন—647
 পেতি—1074
 পেতি-কোয়া—1074
 পেতি-মকুর—1074
 পেত্নী—332, 696
 পেনেটা—393
 পেনো—679
 পেনাম—532
 পেম—328, 510
 পেম—304
 পেরাদা—584
 পেরারা—412, 625, 630
 পেরারী—324
 পেরালা—580, 584, 614
 পেয়ে—1003
 পেরু—624, 627, 630
 পেরেক—624, 626, 629
 পেরেত—377
 পেরো—883
 পেল—984, 985
 পেলো—159, 328, 386, 438,
 510, 512, 543, 984, 1003
 পেলোগ—640
 পেল্লায়—405
 পেশ—585
 পেশবাজ—616
 পেশা—585, 612
 পেশোয়াজ—616
 পেহনো—884
 পৈঠা—344
 পৈতা—344

পৈথান—343, 345, 504
 পৈল—517, 1044
 পৈশে—384
 পৈসী—379
 পৈহু—379
 পো—255, 698, 802
 পোআ—802
 পোআতী—663
 পোক, পোকা—510
 পোক্ত—593, 599
 পোখিরি—327, -রী—326
 পোড়ন—656
 পোড়নী—658
 পোড়া—956
 পোড়াবাড়ী—65
 পোড়ে—396
 পোড়েক—990
 পোগ—319
 পোখা—327, 329, 395, 673
 পোখী—329
 পোদ—372
 পোকার—586
 পোয়া—330, 427, 698, 802
 পোয়াতী—663
 পোয়াল—544
 পোরমিট—396
 পোলা—329, 509, 544, 698
 পোলাও—577, 604, 617
 পোলিস—633
 পোষ—329
 পোখের—392, 541
 পোষ্টাই—662
 পোক্ত—398
 পোস্তা—581
 পোহা—874
 পোহাতী—663
 পোহার—554
 পোহাল—544

পোহা'ল—319
 পোনে—427, 509, 803
 পউআ—375, 520
 পচ—789
 পচাত্তর—555
 পচিশ—317
 পচিশে—806
 পন্ন—424, 789
 পন্নভাষা—796
 পন্নত্রিশ—331, 792
 পন্নবড়ি—789, 798
 পহু—554
 পহু—472
 পা (উ) ত—674
 পাই পাউ—422
 পাউ—624
 পাউকটী—630
 পাও—624
 পাক—362, 456
 পাককাগি—492
 পাকাটি—492, 664
 পাকাল—322, 669
 পাচ—360, 362, 471, 788
 পাচই—303, 372, 512
 পাচগোষা—451
 পাচনবাড়ী—446, 471
 পাচপন—789, 797
 পাচমুড়া—788
 পাচশ—451, 800
 পাচসাত—451
 পাচহাতী—788
 পাচালী—336
 পাচাল—247, 258, 337, 370,
 470, 510, 536, 543
 পাচু—677
 পাচুই—512, 805
 পাচে—464
 পাজর—335, 364, 475

পাঞ্জা—608, 617
 পাঞ্জি, -জী—446, 364
 পাঠা—493
 পাড়—365, 498
 পাড়ে—496
 পাত—308
 পাত্তি—362, 501, 652, 674
 পাপড়, -র—647
 পাশ—310, 362
 পাশুটা, -টে—685, 686
 পিজ—873, 878
 পিজরা—364, 475
 পিজ্জ—324
 পিড়া—365
 পিধে—324
 পিপড়া—370, 510
 পিপিড়া—510
 পিপীড়া—332
 পিপুড়া—332
 পিরাজ—604
 পুই—325, 428, 682
 পুটকে—682
 পুটি, -টা—370, 510, 682
 পুটমাছ—509
 পুটি, -গী—493, 510
 পুড়—62, 326, 365, 496
 পুড়ো—62
 পুত—878
 পুতি—501
 পুখি—194, 369, 370, 504,
 673
 পেচ—411, 601, 608
 পেচা—328, 370, 411, 470
 পেচানো—665
 পেচাল—669
 পেচড়া, -রা—541, 691

পেটরাবন্ধ, -দ্বি—708
 পেড়া—328, 370, 496
 পেপে—371, 623, 625, 630
 পেরাজ—420, 584, 608
 পোআর—319, 372, 519, 521,
 540
 পোছ—362, 530, 874
 পোছে—510
 পোটা—510
 পোছ—370
 পোছ—344
 পাটুপ্যাটু—411
 প্যাটা—584
 পায়রা—412, 625
 পায়লা—614
 প্যারা—625
 প্যারী—324, 342
 প্যালা—412, 584
 প্রণম—879
 প্রণমহো, প্রণমহু—932
 প্রণাম—357
 অতিবিধিৎস—884
 প্রভাক—382
 প্রথক—357
 প্রথম—505
 প্রদীপ—357
 প্রবোধ—357
 প্রভৃতি—357
 প্রমাণ-সহি—709
 প্রমারা—625, 626
 প্রম—304
 প্রাচিৎ—350
 প্রাচিতির—350
 প্রিটার—217
 প্রিতি—358
 প্রিয়াকোমাইট—217
 প্রেক—624, 626
 প্রেত—411

প্রতিনী—695
 প্রেমারা—625, 626
 প্রোটোপ্লাজম—217
 প্রট—217
 প্রাভো(ন)—641
 প্রিষ্টোসিন—217
 প্যাঞ্জ—584, 608

ক—135, 272, 442, 511, 605,
 629, 643
 ককির—605
 ককৌর—204
 কচকেমি, কচকাম—667
 কজল—604
 কটক—679
 কটকা—681
 কটা—527
 কটিক—303, 512
 কটে—400, 640
 কটোগেরাপ—640, 647
 কটুকিরি—402
 কটুক—333
 কড়িক—335, 497, 512
 কড়িং—335, 438, 488
 কড়িয়া, ক'ড়ে—512
 কণ—305
 কণা—528
 কতুই—575
 কতে—203, 575, 592, 596
 কতেদ্রাবাজ—604
 কতেহ—592
 কদল—604
 কন্নি—440
 কন্নতা—617
 কন্নসলা—587
 কন্নক—540
 কন্নছা—512
 কন্নকরা—891

কন্নমা—630
 কন্নমাইব—591
 কন্নমাণ—523
 কন্নমাব—591
 কন্নশা—512
 কন্নসা—699
 কন্নক—605
 কন্নাস, কন্নাসী—215
 কন্নাসীস—627, 632
 কন্নরিন্দ—603, 605, 615
 কন্নর্দ—593, 603
 কন্নদা—622, 626
 কন্নদান—605
 কন্ন—315, 511, 584
 কন্নজ—212
 কন্নসা—584
 কন্ন—511
 কন্নান—605
 কন্নার—315, 511
 কন্নক—886
 কন্নল—605
 কন্ন—512
 কন্নক—512, 884
 কন্ন—593, 603
 কন্নেন—639
 কন্ন—512
 কন্নগ—383
 কন্নউ—512
 কন্নউ—514
 কন্নল—639
 কন্ন—310, 462, 511
 কন্ন—383
 কন্নন—462, 511
 কন্নল—580
 কন্ন—973, 896
 কন্নক—679
 কন্নকুট—896

কান্টল—698
 কান্টে—491, 512
 কান্টে—496, 512, 877
 কান্টা—512
 কান্টুস—605
 কান্টদা—588
 কান্টম—641
 কান্টসী—609
 কান্টাক—605
 কান্টা—512
 কান্ট—452, 511, 512
 কান্টা—664
 কান্টা—512
 কান্ট—713
 কান্টারিজম—217
 কান্ট—629
 কান্টা—512
 কান্টিক—592
 কান্টবাখা—512
 কান্ট—622, 625, 627, 629
 কান্টা—512
 কান্ট(t)ম, -নামি, -লিমি—667
 কান্টন—713
 কান্টিক—217
 কান্ট—647
 কান্টিকিরি—406
 কান্টন—647
 কান্টিকিরি—402
 কান্টা—625, 629, 631
 কান্টে—401, 629
 কান্ট—629
 কান্ট—512, 878
 কান্টী—583
 কান্টী—654
 কান্টলে—1003
 কান্টী—583
 কান্ট—1013

কিরিজি—583, 605, 607

কিরিশি—593, 595

কিরে—412

কিরেজা—583

কিরোজা—584, 605

কি-লোক—713

কিলুহাল—610

কি-হাত—713

কিহিরিশি—595

কু—511

কুইট—381

কুক—680, 891

কুকরা—889

কুকরে—159, 438

কুকী—197

কুট (= foot)—630

কুট (verb)—873

কুটু—999

কুটিত—957

কুটিতে—381

কুটিল—957

কুটে—326, 356, 491, 512

কুটে—381

কুড়ে—325

কুরসৎ—581, 612

কুর্তি—512

কুল—511

কুল-আগড়াই—714

কুলঝুরি—481

কুল-বাবু—714

কুলম্পেড়ে—532

কুলুট—377, 647

কুলকুড়ি—691

কুললা—889

কুইল—639, 647

কেউ—421, 512, 542

কেক।—512

কেটিন, কেটিং—647

কেন—411

কেনা—411, 511

কেরত—654

কেরার—609

কেরি—1013

কেরে—412

কেরেব—577, 585

কেরো—512

ফেল—639, 647

ফেল-করা, -হওয়া—1051

ফেলে—159, 328, 411, 438,

510, 512, 543

ফেসদি—577

ফেস্তা—629

ফেতৎ—617

ফোড়ন—335, 656

ফোড়া—329, 512

ফোড়ে—496

ফোয়ারা—589, 605

ফোস্কা—691

ফোজ—587, 605

ফোৎ—587

ফাক—405

ফাকাসিয়া—700

ফাকি—370, 511

ফাড়—365, 496, 511

ফাড়া—498, 512

ফাড়ীদার—708

ফাদ—366

ফাদল—698

ফাপ—405

ফাপর, ফাকর—512

ফাস—370, 438, 512

ফাসা—577

ফাহুআ—512

ফাহুড়ে—687

ফিতে—629

ফ—646

ফু ক—680

ফুদিল—627, 628, 629

ফুপি—440

ফেস—700

ফেসাদ—577, 608

ফেসো—512

ফোকর—405

ফোপর—405

ফোপল—405

ফোসা—891

ফাট্ ফাট্—412

ফাশান—647

ফাট—647

ব—272, 340, 443, 615, 631,

643, 644

-ব—534, 786, 988

বই—(verb) 425, 926 ; (post-position) 772, 1075

বইয়া—513

বইন—308

বইয়া—624, 625

বইস—394, 874

বইসে—313, 383, 513

বইসতে—384

বইটি—482, -চী—334, 361

বউ—310, 315, 344, 385, 397,

513, 554

বউক—427

বউল—301, 385

বএন—424

বক—457

বকরা—513, 659

বকরীদ—575

বকশী—213

বকশীশ—585

বকা-বকা—478

বকিয়া, বকে যাওয়া—1052

বকেয়া—575, 599
 ব'ক—427
 বক্তৃতা—599
 বক্রী—542
 বক্সিস—599
 বখশীশ—613, 618
 বখা—460, 886
 বখেরা—575, 599, 615
 বখশীশ—599
 বগ—445
 বগয়রা—587, 615
 বগল—577, 600
 বগলস—647
 বগী—647
 বগুড়া—66
 বন্ধিমা—705
 বন্ধুভা—149
 বন্ধা—197
 বচন—468, 470
 বছর—471
 বছরকায়—755
 বজবজা—891
 বজর—376
 বজায়—575
 বজ্র—376
 বজ্রাৎ—603
 বজ্র—476
 বট—95, 318, 319, 873, 1035,
 1042, 1043
 বটি—932, 1043
 বটিস্—1043
 বটে—319, 1042, 1043
 বটেন—1043
 বঠিয়া—946
 বড়ি—647
 বড়—(noun) 355 ; (adjective)
 422, 496
 বড়কী—682

বড়-ঘরানা—707
 বড়-ঠাকুর—450
 বড়ত্ব—705
 বড়-বানবী, -মামুবা—673
 বড়নী—332
 বড়াই—422, 661
 বড়াই, বড়াং—667
 বড়ী—496
 বড়—677
 বড়িরিশ—786
 বড়ীস—336, 796
 বত্রিশ—786, 796
 বৎসর—200
 বৎসকের—758
 বদ—713
 বদ—879
 বদ-গন্ধ—713
 বদতি—933
 বদনা—443
 বদরাগী—713
 বদরীত—713
 বদল—602
 বদলা—884
 বধনা—318, 331, 443, 507
 বন—315, 320
 বনওয়ারী—521, 671
 বনাও—664
 বনারসী—403, 513, 672
 ব'নিদি—572
 বনিবনা, বনিবনাও—664
 ব'নেদি—572
 -বস্তু—697
 -বন্দ—708
 বন্দ—879
 বন্দবস্ত—586
 বন্দয়—932
 বন্দর—669
 -বন্দি—708

বন্দি—696
 বন্দুক—575, 602
 বন্দো—932
 বন্দোবস্ত—586
 বন্দে—932
 বন্দনা—541
 বয়—(verb) 424, 513, 554 ;
 (noun) 586 (Persian),
 640 (English)
 বয়ড়া—180, 334, 403, 424
 বয়স—416, 424, 533
 বয়া—622, 625, 626, 627
 বয়ান—336, 342, 405
 বয়াম—624, 625
 বয়ার—219
 ব'য়ে—772
 বয়েত—587
 বয়েদ—602
 বর—873
 বরকন্দাজ—575
 বরখাস্ত—600
 বরগা—449, 622, 627, 629,
 631
 বরগী—196, 583, 618
 বরছা—473
 বরণ—883
 বরদাস্ত—593, 602, 612
 বরপী—606
 বরফ—396, 592, 606
 বরফী—396, 606
 বরাবর—604
 বরবাদ—604
 বরা—557
 বরাৎ—602
 বরাদ্দ—350
 বরাই—557
 বরিশন—461
 বরিশে—461

বরিশা—376
 বরেন—334
 বর্গী—627
 বর্গী—196, 609
 বর্জ—879
 বর্জাইস—647
 বর্জিত—304
 বর্জিল (= Virgil)—643
 বর্টন (= Burton)—638
 বর্গাকুলার—644
 বর্ভ—879
 বর্জিয়া, ব'র্ভে-বাওয়া—879
 বরনগর—299
 বরনা—334
 বল—320, 899
 বলন্তিন ডুবাল (= Valentin Du-
 val)—644
 বলতেবা—705
 ব'লভেম—392
 বলবাম—422
 বলশতিক—197
 বলাই—422, 662
 বলাইয়া—394
 বলাবলি—1048
 বলিতাম—392
 বলিতেছেন—725
 বলিবাত্ত—1017
 বলিবায়—1018
 বলিয়া—177, 392
 বলিয়া, ব'লে-ফেলা—1052
 বলিয়ে—394, 675
 ব'লিয়ে—394
 বলিলাই—987
 বলিলাম—392
 বলিস্ নাহি—401
 বলিস্ না—401
 বলিস্নি—402
 বলিস্নে—401

বলু—677
 বলে—403, 513, 876, 933
 ব'লে, বলে—392
 বলে—932
 ব'লেটার (= Voltaire)—644
 বল্যা, বলে—392
 ব'ল্—984
 বল্লম—595
 ব'ল্লে—984
 ব'ল্লেম—392
 বটম—399
 বটমী—673
 বট্ ম—399, 521, 527, 531
 বট্ মী—673
 বস—873, 874
 ব'স—416
 বসতি—933
 বসিকা-আচ্ছ—1027
 বসিকা-থাক—1028
 বসিচ্ছ—1024
 বসিতে—384
 বসিতে, ব'সতে দেওয়া—1051
 বসিয়া (ব'সে) থাকা, রহা
 (রওয়া)—1052
 বসিয়া-পড়া—1050, 1052
 বসিয়া-বাওয়া—1052
 বসে—313, 344, 513, 933
 বস্—384
 বস্কীস্—618
 বস্তা—604, 612
 বস্ত্র—383
 বহ—873, 1045
 বহকা—460, 886
 বহড়া—180, 334
 বহতা—654
 বহর—575, 592, 595, 604
 বহস—594
 বহারী—384

বহাল—594
 বহি—772, 1075
 বহিত—337
 বহিন—315, 452, 514
 বহিব—1039
 বহিভে—988
 বহিয়া—772
 বহী—772, 1075
 বহ—668
 বহক—427
 বহড়া—337, 691
 বহত—502, 554
 বহতর—708
 বহয়ারী—668
 বহয়ের—719
 বহর—719
 বহশ—558
 বহে—513, 554
 বহেড়া—497, 513, 554
 বা—302, 320, 513
 বা—786
 বাই—406, 422
 বাইকোট (= viscount)—643
 বাইগা—320, 383, 399
 বাইগিঅ—394
 বাইগিগা—674
 বাইচ, -ছ—437, 471
 বাইছা—393
 বাইতি—663
 বাইয়া—389
 বাইর—350, 379, 385, 386,
 422
 বাইরাইল—389
 বাইরান—386
 বাইরে—772
 বাইশ—342, 363, 385, 415,
 513, 786
 বাইস—416

বাইস মাস—639, 647
 বাইস-ম্যান—639
 বাইমর(ী)য়—644
 বাইসিকিল—639, 641
 বার—350
 বাঁস বিয়া—384
 বাউ—310, 428
 বাউরী—514
 বাউরী-চুল—514
 বাউল—342, 423, 513
 বাএ—320
 বাও—259, 302, 342, 423
 বাওলা—423, 889
 বাকা—542, 597, 604
 বাক্স—305, 453, 637, 638, 641, 647
 বাজবন্দ, -লি—708
 বাখান—283, 317, 321, 336, 459, 513
 বাখানে—882
 বাখ—462, 600
 বাগড়া—462, 514, 691
 বাগড়ী—74, 181
 বাগদী—449
 বাগান—600, 617, 707
 বাগার—669
 বাগিচা—600, 604, 708
 বাগুন—152, 320
 বাগোয়ান—617, 707
 বাগ্যান—383
 বাঘ—321, 443, 463, 513
 বাঘবন্দী—449
 বাঘা—659
 বাঘিনী—695
 বাঙলা—669
 বাঙাল—363, 669
 বাঙালী—670, 336
 বাঘুর—460

বাকলা—149, 332
 বাকাল—363
 বাকলা—149, 669
 বাকালিনী—694
 বাকালী—336, 670
 বাকালুণী—694
 বাঙলা—149
 বাচাল—669
 বাছ—878
 বাছা—473, 697
 বাছাই—661
 বাছিয়া—393
 বাছুর—352, 381, 473, 697
 বাছুর-সহ—706
 বাছ্যা—393
 বাজ—316, 475, 513, 613
 -বাজ—709
 বাজন—657
 বাজনদার, -দারিয়া—708
 বাজা—475
 বাজা—475
 বাজাএ—283
 বাজিএ—675
 বাজী—584
 -বাজী—709
 বাজীকর, বাজীগর—707
 বাজু—583
 বাজুনবেরে—708
 বাজে—321, 882, 919
 বাজেরাপ্ত—606
 বাজের—995
 বাজংশ—431
 বাট—491
 বাটনা—657
 বাটপাড়—689
 বাটুরা—381, 679
 বাটে—319, 877

বাটোরাড়—689
 বাটুটে, বাটুটা—1068
 বাড়ই—308, 316, 672
 বাড়তি—655
 বাড়ন—500, 656
 বাড়ন্ত—653
 বাড়ী—307, 496
 বাড়ীআলা—670
 বাড়ীআলী—670, 671
 বাড়ীউলী—670
 বাড়ুই—316, 500, 672
 বাড়ু—499
 বাচই—500
 বাচন—500
 বাচন্ত—653
 বাচাএ—283
 বাচিলাহৌ—975
 বাচে—442, 490
 বাণ—513
 বাণান—523, 529
 বাণিজার—337, 475, 668
 বাণেল—628
 বাত—305, 321, 652
 বাতলা—889
 বাতলান—1033
 বাতাস—503
 বাতি—502, বাতী—673
 বাধান—504
 বাদ—578, 603
 বাদ-বাবে—451
 বাদল—506, 698
 বাদলা—331, 698
 বাদলিয়া—394
 বাদশা—604
 বাদাম—576
 বাদিয়া—340
 বাহুলে—394
 বান—305, 513, 529

বানাই—682
 বানান—529
 বানিয়া—315, 337, 674
 বানী—196, 662
 বান্বে—366
 বান্ধা—579, 604
 বান্ধা নিছে—1016
 বাপ—510
 বাপকে—251
 বাপত—751
 বাপু—446
 বাপুরা—736
 বাপ্তা—606
 বাপ্তাইজিত—704
 বাব—605
 বাবদ—602
 বাবরচী—616
 বাবলা—513
 বাবু—446
 বাবুগিরি—707
 বাবুতে—719
 বাবুজানা—707
 বাবুজানী—704
 বাবুয়ে—719
 বাবুরচী—616
 বাবুচী—213
 বাবুল—513
 বাবলা—333
 বামন—399, 513, 516, 531
 বামনা—659
 বামনাই—661
 বামনী—673
 বামী—695
 বামুন—321, 367, 399, 513,
 516, 531
 বামুন—705
 বায়—254, 259, 302, 342, 345,
 422 ; (verb) 422, 423, 877

বায়না—587, 590, 595
 বায়া—614
 বায়া—389
 বায়—347, 350, 385, 386, 422
 বায় (twelve)—441, 513, 540,
 555, 772
 বায়ই—672
 বায়ইপাড়া—188
 বায় + ইয়ার—427
 বায়-উয়ারী—325, 668
 বায়হ—441
 বায়ি—379
 বায়ই—672
 বায়দ—586, 603
 বায়শ—215
 বায়ে—877
 বায়রাবী—325, 426
 বায়িশ—643, 647
 বালক—600
 বালতি—692
 বালতি, বালনি—624, 628
 বালদা—889
 বালা—513
 বালাই—588, 593
 বালাপোষ—613
 বালি—153
 বালী—307
 বালুটে—65, 186
 বালুতি—623, 627
 বালুদি—623
 বাশ—385
 বাষটি—798
 বাশ্পকট—216
 বা'স—416
 বাস—898, 899
 বাসর—282, 321, 347, 550,
 553
 বাসহর—553

বাসা—899
 বাসাড়া, -ড়ে—687
 বাসিএ—932
 বাসোয়া—219, 1069
 বাশ—453, 641, 647
 বাহ—310, 513, 554
 বাহড়—333
 বাহাজুর—555, 798
 বাহাজুর—213, 576, 604
 বাহানা—595
 বাহান্ন—341, 789, 797
 বাহার—576
 বাহাল—594
 বাহিরা—389
 বাহিরায়ে—1018
 বাহির—337, 379, 385, 513,
 554, 772
 বাহিরাইল—389
 বাহিরান—386
 বাহিরে—772
 বাহড়—333
 বাহড়ে—496, 553
 বাচে—877
 বাহু—200, 482
 বাংলা—149, 669
 বি—406, 712, 713, 786
 বিআ—578
 বিউনি—399, -নী—419, 468
 বিউলা—341
 বিউলি—399, -লী—342
 বিক—874
 বিকরণ—712
 বিকলী—695
 বিকাল—712
 বিকি—456
 বিকিকিনি—456
 বিক্টোরিয়া—644
 বিগড়া—462

বিষং—439, 463
 বিচালি—471
 বিচি—446, 513
 বিছনা—477
 বিছা—325, 355, 473
 বিছানা—325, 471, 473, 477
 বিছোহ—337
 বিজলী—247, 406, 468, 475
 বিজন্মা—712
 বিজলী—333, 475, 698
 বিজুরী—698
 বিজুলী—333, 475, 698
 বিজ্ঞ—304, 373
 বিটলা—325, বিটলা—491
 বিড়বিড়া—891
 বিতপণী—695
 বিতর্কিচ্ছি—402, 503
 বিদগধ—376
 বিদায়—596, 616
 বিদ্যেহ—304
 বিধেয়—304
 বিনতি—325, 502, 528, 655
 বিনা—772, 777
 বিনান—529
 বিনি—530, 772
 বিনি যাচিলে—1017
 বিনুণী—529
 বিনে—400, 772
 বিনোদিয়া—417
 বিন্‌তি—624
 বিন্‌তি—625, 630, 631
 বিন্সেট (= Vincent)—644
 বিপুলে—333
 বিবাহ—304
 বিবি—218
 বিবুধি—712
 বিভল—325, 516
 বিভা—302, 440

বিভো—653
 বিমরিষ—376
 বিমজ্জিম—605, 619
 বিয়লী—342
 বিয়া—302, 304, 416, 440, 513
 বিয়ার—640
 বিয়াল্লিশ—786, 796
 বিয়াল্লিস—406, 417, 468
 বিয়ে—416
 বিয়োগ—418, 477
 বিঘোড়—712
 বিরানই—542, 800
 বিরানবই—542, 799
 বিরিশি—786, -শী—542, 799
 বিরিশি—799
 বিরেশী—799
 বিল—513
 বিলা—892
 বিলাত—583, 590, 602
 বিলাত-ফেরত, -ফেরত—654
 বিলাতি—398, -তী—583
 বিলাৎ—614, 616
 বিলিতি—141, 398, 583
 বিলেত—401, 583
 বিলেতি—398
 বিশ—363, 513, 794
 বিশেষ—800
 বিবাস—401
 বিষা—883
 বিবাইল—957, 1033
 বিষ্ট—527
 বিসরে—513, 548
 বিসুবিয়স (= Vesuvius)—643
 বিষ্টুট—625, 626, 627, 631
 বিস্মরণ—373
 বিহঙ্গী—695
 বিহড়—712

বিহনে—772
 বিহরাম—555
 বিহা—878
 বিহান—336, 554
 বিহি—324
 বিহিত—304
 বিহলা—341
 বীড়া—324
 বীড়া-বাড়ন—500
 বীবর—644, 647
 বীমা—206, 584
 বীর—540
 বীরত্ব—304, 447
 বীর্ঘা, বীর'—534
 বীস—302, 548
 বুইঝতে—381
 বুইন—308, 440
 বুইল—984
 বুইলে—984
 বুওর (= Eng. boor)—640
 বুক—457
 বুকসই—700
 বুজ—513
 বুজতে—443, বুজতে—477
 বুজরুক—582, 598, 618
 বুজরুগ—598
 বুঝ—114, 873
 বুঝতে—451
 বুঝাইয়া (বুঝিয়ে)-দেওয়া—1052
 বুঝিতে—381, 443, 451, 477
 বুঝে—326, 481, 513, 875
 বুঝে-হুঝে—1048
 বুঝতে—381, 477
 বুড়—347, 495, 878
 বুড়কে—682
 বুড়ম—667
 বুড়া—326, 355, 500
 বুড়াম, বুড়ামি—667

বুড়ি—496
 বুড়িকিয়া—682
 বুড়ী (= a number) - 182
 বুড়ী (= old woman)—672
 বুঢ়া—355, 442, 500
 বুৎ—203
 বুধ—507
 বুধী—513
 বুঝি—716, বুঝে, বুঝের—716
 বুন—308, 440
 বুনিয়াদ—603, 615
 বুঝাই, বুনাই—300
 বুয়র (= Eng. boor)—640
 বুয়ল—984
 বুয়র (= Eng. boor)—640
 বুঝ—203, 559, 581, 593,
 601
 বুঝ—640, 647
 বুল—873
 বুলগারিয়া (= Bulgaria)—641
 বুলবুল—581, 604
 বুলি—1013
 বুলিছে—1024
 বুলী—673, 1013
 বুলু—647
 বৃহত—337, 407, 502
 বৃহিনি—407
 বৃটেন—358
 বৃন্দাবনী—672
 বৃষ—304
 বৃহস্পতি—452
 বে—(noun) 416, 513, 585 ;
 (prefix) 712, 713, 786
 বেই—199, 420
 বেউড়—421, 496
 বেগুলা—421, 513
 বেবত—376
 বেবু—572, 606, 617

বেগম—213
 বেগর—587, 777
 বেগুন—152, 320
 বেগুনি—671
 বেগুনে—394, 674
 বেঙ—409, 411, 514
 বেঙ্গমা—409
 বেচনী—658
 বেচারী—579
 বেচাল—713
 বেচে—471
 বেছে—393
 বেজ—328, 475
 বেজমা—712
 বেঞ্চি—216, 641, 647
 বেটা—328, 411, 491
 বে-টাইন, -টাইন—713
 বেটো—491, 679
 বেঠন—493
 বেড়—513
 বেড়া—328, 499
 বেড়া—499
 বেটিলের—995
 বেট—327
 বেত—328, 512
 বেতড়—299
 বেথা—351
 বেদে—340
 বেন—352
 বেনা—525, 542
 বেনারসী—672
 বেনিয়া—390
 বেনে—337, 390, 674
 বেনোয়ারী—521
 বেন্নন—1069
 বেবধা—351
 বেবাক—591, 597
 বেভার—351, 440

বেমকা—619
 বেরাই—199, 328, 412, 420
 বেরাড়া—462, 496, 714
 বেরান—308, 694
 বেরার—412
 বেরারাম—584
 বেরালা—412, 622, 625, 627
 বেরাল্লশ—786
 বেরে—389
 বের—350, 386, 422, 772
 বেরসিক—713
 বেরাইল—389
 বেরাদর—604
 বেরাল—336, 540
 বেরুচে—444
 বেরনো—386
 বেরুল, বেরোলো—389
 বের্দা—624, 628, 631
 বেল—327, 513, 544, 716
 বেলা—411, 716
 বেলি—716
 বেলে—716
 বেলেস্তার—647
 বেলোরারী—580, 588, 591,
 604
 বেশ—411, 585
 বেশতি—446, 548
 বেশাদ—446
 বেশালি—623, 630, 631
 বেহদ্দ, বেহর্দ—542
 বেহাই—199, 328, 412, 420,
 672, 694
 বেহাইন—308, 694
 বেহাভ—713
 বেহারিব—361
 বেহালা—622, 625, 629
 বেহিয়াগা—736
 বেহলা—341

বেহেড—713
 বেই শ, বেহৌশ—594
 বৈঠক—457, 680
 বৈঠকখানা—707
 বৈঠকী—681
 বৈঠা—946
 বৈয়াম—624, 625
 বৈরী—425
 বৈসে—313, 344
 বো—586
 বোইস্‌তে—384
 বোউল—385
 বোগদাদ—577
 বোজা—197
 বোঝা—413
 বোট—640
 বোড—642
 বোড়া—329, 496
 বোতল—400, 622, 625, 626, 630
 বোতাঙ—522
 বোতাম—522, 624, 626, 627
 বোৎ—203
 বোন—308, 440, 452, 514
 বোনাই—300, 309
 বোনেদ—603, 615
 বোম—215
 বোমা—622, 626, 627
 বোম্বাট্টা—625
 বোম্বটে—625, 626
 বোম্ব—586
 বোম্বাল—320
 বোর—343
 বোরঙ্গ—516
 বোল—301, 385, 513, 652, 873, 1013
 বোলই—309
 বোলতা—503

বোলিয়ে—394
 বোলে—392, 513, 876
 বোস—431
 বোসজা—684
 বোস্‌তে—384
 বোহিত—337, 502
 বো—310, 315, 385, 554
 বোল—385
 বোহারী—345, 384, 440, 513, 668
 বইচী—361, 556
 বইটি, বটি—513
 বড়লী—496
 বধু—311, 362
 বা—513, 520
 বাই বাই—422
 বাক—554
 বাউনী—423
 বাগ—513, 520
 বাক—513, 554
 বাকা—322, 456
 বাকুড়া—66, 687
 বাকে—882
 বাচ—873, 878
 বাচতে, বাচিতে—477
 বাচোয়া—664
 বাঝ—305
 বাঝা—312, 364, 482
 বাট—355, 362, 491, 873
 বাটল—370, 491
 বাটে—491
 বাঙে—366
 বাঁদর—366, 506
 বাঁদরাম, বাঁদরামি—667
 বাঁদী—366
 বাঁদে—366
 বাধ—362, 366, 443, 507, 513, 873

বাঁধন—335, 656
 বাঁধা—362
 বাঁধাই—661
 বাঁধাএ—283
 বাঁধাম—350, 352
 বাঁধিতে—366
 বাঁধুলী—337, 352, 361, 698
 বাঁধে—875
 বাঁশ—362, 547, 549
 বাঁশরী—691
 বাঁহক—554
 বিধ—507, 873
 বিধন—656
 বি—531, 987
 বুত—513
 বুধ—326, 365, 399, 407, 513
 বেকা—322
 বেঁচে-বাঁচে—879
 বেঁধন—656
 বেঁধা—531, 987
 বেঁচে—482, 556
 বেঁচকা—213, 453, 581, 600, 608, 618
 বেঁচা—352, 356, 491
 ব্যক্ত—410
 ব্যক্তি—410
 ব্যগ্র—462
 ব্যতীত—410
 ব্যথার ব্যথা—410
 ব্যটি—410
 ব্যাই—199, 420
 ব্যাখ্যা—458
 ব্যাখ্যাত—364
 ব্যাগতা—431
 ব্যাঘ্র—462
 ব্যাঘ্র—409
 ব্যাটবল—532
 ব্যাটবল—532, 647

ব্যাণেল—628
 ব্যান—554
 ব্যাঘো—353
 ব্যায়রা—412
 ব্যায়রাম—584
 ব্যায়লা—412, 625
 ব্যায়াম—584
 ব্যালট—217
 ব্যালা—412
 ব্যালিশ—786
 ব্যাকা—322
 ব্রজবুলী—103
 ব্রণ—304
 ব্রত—357
 ব্রহ্মচল—65
 ব্রাহ্মণ—557
 ব্রাহ্মণেরি—721
 ব্রিটেন—358

ভ—135, 272, 412, 443, 615,
 616, 631, 643, 644

ভট্ট—1038
 ভট্ট—1038
 ভকত—376
 ভগতী—347
 ভক্ত—471
 ভক্ত—873
 ভক্তা—522
 ভক্ত—879
 ভট্টচাখি—431
 ভট্টপালী—65
 ভড়—315, 355, 496, 553
 ভড়কা—886
 ভড়ং—516
 ভদ্রতা—705
 ভদ্র—424, 899
 ভদ্রবা—372, 440, 515, 659
 ভদ্রসী—344, 424

ভদ্রাউনী—665
 ভয়িল—1038
 ভর—713, 873
 -ভর—702
 ভরতি—655
 ভর সন্ধ্যা—713
 ভরস—347, 515
 ভরসাঁকা—713
 ভরা—702
 ভরাট—685
 ভরিল—975
 ভরে—919
 ভব্ধি—655
 ভৎস—879
 ভলমনন (= voluminous)—644
 ভাই—308, 320, 385, 386, 415,
 421, 515, 550
 ভাইয়ে-ভাইয়ে—386
 ভাউজ—275, 307
 ভাউলিয়া—516
 ভাং—363
 ভাগ—461
 ভাগাড়—688
 ভাগিনা—461
 ভাগিয়া (ভেগে) পড়া—1051
 ভাগবত—697
 ভাগিস—550
 ভাগে—363
 ভাগ—363
 ভাগ-গড়—896
 ভাগচা—699, 889
 ভাগ-চুর—896
 ভাগড়—688
 ভাগা—883, 956
 ভাগিয়া (ভেগে) দেওয়া—1051
 ভাগিল—677
 ভাগে—363, 919
 ভাভ—(noun) 275, 307, 475,

515 ; (verb) 475, 515, 873
 ভাট—486, 491
 ভাটপাড়া—65
 ভাটা—516
 ভাটা—516
 ভাটগাল—669
 ভাড়া—515
 ভাড়াটিয়া, ভাড়াটে—686
 ভাণ্ডি—1033
 ভাণ্ডাইলি—1033
 ভাত—502, 515
 ভাতার—317, 486
 ভাদ্রবট, ভাদ্রবটু—376
 ভানা—452
 ভাপ—159, 440, 511, 515,
 553
 ভাপসা—699, 889
 ভাবড়ান—516
 ভাবিছেন—1024
 ভাবিল'ই—987
 ভাব—320, 1038
 ভায়রা—691
 ভায়দ—446
 ভায়ে—877
 ভায়ত—400
 ভায়ব'হী—305
 ভায়ী—671
 ভায়ুই—899, 672
 ভাল—154, 302, 316, 347, 515,
 543, 652
 ভালটা, -টা—686
 ভালবাসা—899
 ভালর—718
 ভালাই—661
 ভালুক—544
 ভালো—154, 302, 652, 899
 ভালোবাসা—899
 ভাসুর—331, 327

ভাষ—305
ভাস—878
ভাস্ত—653
ভিক্ষুণী—696
ভিক্ষে—400
ভিখ—160, 305, 325, 515
ভিখারী—668
ভিখিরি—668
ভিজ—313, 372, 475, 515, 874
ভিজার—313
ভিজিট—647
ভিজ্জে—876
ভিটা—66, 516
ভিটি—66
ভিড—498, 515
ভিড়ি—114
ভিত্ত—308, 322, 501, 773
ভিত্তর—313, 372, 405, 406, 515, 773
ভিত্তরে—773
ভিত্তে—773
ভিদ—879
ভিন—325, 515, 529
ভিম্বল—522
ভিম্বল—331, 355
ভিল—325
ভিস্তি—580, 590, 594
ভিস্তী—515
ভীখ—160, 305
ভীত—501, 773
ভীতে—773
ভীম্বল—402
ভীম্বল—325
ভীম্ব—373
ভূখ—305, 325, 440, 515
ভূখিল—677, 956, 957
ভূজালি, -লী—326, 349
ভূজা—406

ভূঞি—522
ভূতড়ী, ভূতড়ী—515
ভূনা—355
ভূনি—355
ভূরা—516
ভূরু—377
ভুল—515
ভুলচুক—896
ভূসি—438
ভূঞা—520
ভূত—203
ভূষ—874
ভূসি—515
ভেংচা—699
ভেক—1070
ভেকট—516
ভেকটা—516
ভেখ—1070
ভেঙ্গচা—680
ভেজ—912
ভেজার—313, 475
ভেড়া—328, 440, 515
ভেয়ে ভেয়ে—386
ভেল—515
ভেলা—328
ভেলুকী—515
ভেস—211
ভেস্ত—203
ভেস্তা—516
ভৈল—1038
ভৈলা—1038
ভৈলি—956, 958
ভোগতী—347
ভোজপাতা—475
ভোজালি—326
ভোজা—406
ভোট—217
ভোটান—726

ভোমরা—413, 515
ভোমা—326
ভোরঙ্গ—516
ভোল—515
ভুইয়া—440
ভুইয়া—522
ভুইয়া—424
ভুগ—363, 461
ভুগিলি—1048
ভুগিল—957
ভুগিল—957
ভুজ—364, 475, 515, 873
ভুজে—875
ভুটা—322, 516
ভুটা—516
ভুড়—321, 365, 515, 553
ভুড়ার—350, 496, 669
ভুড়ারী—669
ভুতি—502
ভুই—326
ভুড়ি—516
ভুই—372, 515, 520, 522
ভুইয়া—520
ভুই—522
ভেড়া—440
ভৈষ—344, 515, 522
ভৈষা—344
ভৈদা—516, 553
ম—(sound) 272, 519, 521
ম—(=ং) 521; (affix) 531, 651, 652, 666, 667, 987
মই—(noun) 307; (pronoun) 811, 815
মট—310, 315, 554
মটু—403
মটন—304, 427
মটনি—399

মউনী—653
 মউর—427
 মউরী—337, 554
 মএনামতী—533
 মওড়া—425
 মংলা—364
 মকদ্দমা—581, 582, 609, 610
 মকবুল—577
 মকদ্দমা—454, 618
 মক্কেল—590, 617
 মক্‌স, মক্স—593, 597, 618
 মগজ—592, 608, 613
 মগন—376
 মগর—446, 462
 মজল—364
 মজ্‌লা—364
 মচকা—886
 মচমচা—891
 মচকার—457
 মচ্ছ—471
 মছলক্ষ—606, 612
 মজ—874
 মজবুদ—602
 মজলিস—396
 মজা—608
 মজুদ—587, 588
 মজুর—582, 618
 মজু—311, 813
 মজুরী—431
 মটন (mutton)—647
 মটর—640, 648
 মটুক—453
 মড়ক—457, 679
 মড়া—315, 343, 355, 403, 487,
 530, 942
 মড়াফে, মড়ফে—532
 মণ—652
 মণকিরা—682

মত—304, 320, 696, 852 ;
 (affix) 696, 851
 মতন—592, 696, 852
 মতলব—575
 মতি—303, 379
 মতো—852
 মৎস্ত—200
 মদৎ—605
 মদ—305, 610
 মধু—397
 মধ্য—406
 মধ্যাহ্ন—1073
 মধি—406
 মন—320, 528, 530, 652
 মন—(plural affix) 737 ;
 (affix) 696, 851
 মনকা—597
 মনহস্তে—776
 মনিব—582, 585
 মনিষ্টি—399
 মনু—397
 মন্ত—(affix) 696, 709
 মন্ম—899
 মন্দবাস—899
 মফসল—534, 558
 মফঃসল—558
 মফঃসল—534, 558, 582
 ময়—305, 814
 মশ্বদ—204
 ময় (affix)—706
 ময়দা—587, 602, 608
 ময়দান—587
 ময়না—331, 1069
 ময়নামতী—533
 ময়রা—331, 403, 424
 ময়লা—404, 424
 ময়শা—424
 ময়লা—315

ময়—536
 ময় (= ময়র)—815
 ময়গিজ—647
 ময়ণ—656
 ময়ণকাটি—418
 ময়ত—376
 ময়দ—305
 ময়ম—376
 ময়মী—671
 ময়ন্তম—580, 610
 ময়ন্তম—618
 ময়া—956
 ময়াই—542
 ময়িচা—610
 ময়িতাহী—975
 ময়িব—994
 ময়িল—1043
 ময়ে—315, 877
 মর্দ—(noun) 305, (verb) 870
 ম'রুল—1043
 মল—874
 ম'ল—1043
 মলম—595, 610
 মলাট—687
 ম'লুহ—1020, 1026
 ম'লুল—1043
 মশালা—589, 590
 মশা—550
 মশাই—407
 মশান—200, 315, 336, 530
 মশার—407, 423, 848
 মশাল—579, 612
 মশালটা—213
 মসীৎ, মসীদ—603, 618
 মস্তুরা—577, 599
 মহ—811, 874
 মহকুমা—591, 595
 মহড়া—425

মহানদ—204
 মহর—814
 মহরম—646
 মহল—575, 608, 768
 মহকল—557
 মহাশয়—407, 848
 মহিষ—384
 মহা—340
 মহরী—337
 মহেশ—424
 মহো—811
 মা—307, 320, 404, 530
 মাঝ—751
 মাই—320
 মাইঠা—381
 মাইতি—502
 মাইনে—590, 592
 মাইয়—674
 মাইর—1044
 মৌর—539
 মাউগ—381, 385, 462
 মাউগী—381
 মাউলানী—342, 345, 544, 695
 মাউলী—196
 মাউলী—385
 মাও—307, 342, 423
 মাওরানী—196
 মাং—370
 মাকড়—316, 456, 691
 মাকড়সা, মাকসা—1070
 মাখ—874
 মাখন—530
 মাখে—460, 530
 মাগ—381
 মাগনা—657
 মাগা—363
 মাগী—381
 মাগু—381, 462

মাগুর—462
 মাগুরা—780
 মাগু—381
 মাগে—370, 462, 882
 মাগৌ—982
 মাগুগি—431, 443
 মাঙে—370
 মাঙ্গ—364
 মাঙ্গনা—657
 মাঙ্গে—321, 370, 462, 882
 মাচা—362, 371, 471
 মাছ—443, 473
 মাছি—473
 মাজ (-কাঠ)—306, 475
 মাজখানে—476
 মাজা—475
 মাজিষ্টর—647
 মাঝ—112, 302, 481, 530
 মাঝার, -রী—669
 মাঝি—443
 মাঝুআ দাদা—477
 মাঝুয়া—381, 395
 মাঝে—773
 মাঠ—687
 মাটির—674
 মাটি—307, 355, 491, 673, 687
 মাঠ—443
 মাঠা—493
 মাঠুয়া—381
 মাড়—496, 499, 874
 মাড়লী—541
 মাড়ে—497
 মাড়োয়ারী—452
 মাড়—499
 মাত—501, 583
 মাতবর—589, 590
 মাতব্বর—619
 মাতল—671, 698

মাতলা—671
 মাতাল—349, 501, 671
 মাতিল—940
 মাতে—882
 মাতে-রীতে—719
 মাতোয়ারা—349, 671
 মাতে—447
 মাত্র—1017
 মাথট—685
 মাখন—371
 মাথা—441, 504
 মাথানী—666
 মাথাল—669
 মাদল—399, 400, 506, 698
 মাদ্রাসা—612
 মাধাই—662
 মান—347, 737
 মানবিকতা—705
 মানা—576, 579, 884
 মানান—664
 মান্নান-সই, -সহি—709
 মানিক—456
 মানু—626
 মানুষ—337, 528, 548, 728, 778
 মানুষগা—758
 মানুষাণ্ডা—729, 733
 মানুষগুলি—729
 মানুষগো—758
 মানুষটা, -টা—778
 মানুষদি(কে)—729
 মানুষদিগ—728, 729
 মানুষদেহ—728, 731
 মানুষদেহ—728, 729, 731
 মানুষদি—731
 মানুষের—754, 756
 মানুষেরগো—758
 মানুষের দিগর—728, 729

মাহুঘের দেয়—729
 মানে—(noun) 578, 590;
 (verb) 529, 875
 মানোয়ার—(=man-of-war)
 647
 মাকারগ—299, -ন—347
 মাপ-মই—709
 মাপে—320, 877
 মাকিক—590
 মামড়া—531, 691
 মামলা—590
 মামলেট (=omelet)—648
 মামাতুতা—503
 মামী—672, 695
 মামুন—576, 595
 মায়—342
 মায়না—590
 মায়ী—420, 533
 মায়ের-বায়ের—719
 মায়েতে-বায়েরেতে—719
 মার—587, 927
 মা-র—674, 718
 মারকাট—896
 মারকিন—648
 মারগীজ (=mortgage)—647
 মারতে—447
 মারধর—896
 মারস্তা—1000
 মারকৎ—602
 মারহাট্টি—672
 মারা—922
 মারাচী, -গী—672
 মারামারি—1048
 মারি—539, 674
 মারিষ—922
 মারিতে—447
 মারিষাক—1018
 মারিষার—1018

মারিল—541, 1044
 মারিলাম—872
 মারিলি—972
 মারিলুম—972
 মারিলেক—986
 মারুলি—541
 মারে—877
 মারুখ—922
 মার্ক—622, 630
 মার্তল, মার্তোল—626
 মারলে—541, 1044
 মারলেও—1004
 মাল—306, 312, 543, 544
 মালক—347
 মালক-বাড়ী—187
 মালরালম্—197
 মালরালী—197
 মালী—312
 মালেক—608
 মালী—576, 583
 মালুলে—1044
 মাল্ল—541
 মাগুল—595
 মাগুল-চোর—610
 মাষ্টর—648
 মাষ্টার—216, 648
 মাষ্টারনী—695
 মাস—321, 362, 548
 মাসতুতা—503, 552
 মাসরা—347
 -মাসিয়—700
 মাসী—199, 355, 385, 548
 মাহুত—692
 মাহুল—610
 মাহুল—626, 630, 631
 মাহিতী—502
 মাহিনা—592
 মাহিনে—590

মাহিরাণা—592
 মাহত—350, 502
 মি—(affix) 666, 667, 751, 773
 মিউনিসিপালিটি—648
 মিউমিউ—419
 মিহ-কউনে—306, 399
 মিহ-কহনিয়া—306
 মিহরী—551
 মিছা—312, 473, 530
 মিছিল—579, 592, 612
 মিঞা—522, 608
 মিঠা—355, 493
 মিঠাই—407, 661
 মিঠি—407
 মিড়—538
 মিতা—530
 মিতানরাকে—725, 736
 মিতিন—694
 মিছু—311
 মিঙ্গিরজা—684
 মিথ্যা—382, 503
 মিথ্যাক—704
 মিথ্যে—400
 মিনসা—399, 406
 মিনসে—406
 মিনার—608
 মিনি—530, 773
 মিন্সা—332, 381
 মিশাপ—614
 মিয়ান—418
 মিয়োনো—418
 মির—522, 608
 মিরজা—584
 মিল—874
 মিলে—412
 মিশ—874
 মিশার—325
 মিশাল—548

নিপুণ—704
 নিশে—325
 নিশেল—400
 নিসরী—703
 নিস্তিরি—627
 নিস্ত্রী—627, 631
 নিহি—577, 608
 নীনা—737
 নীৰ্জা—357, 584
 নু—303, 326, 530, 553, 557 ;
 (affix) 531
 নুই—303, 350, 428, 509-816,
 987
 নুইরা—814
 নুইসকল—812
 নুকল—456
 নুকুঞ্জ—409
 নুকুতা—377
 নুখখানি—449
 নুখপানে—771
 নুখপোড়া—449
 নুখস—699
 নুখামুখি—1049
 নুখুরজা—409
 নুগ—326, 462, 530
 নুগুর—462
 নুজ—402
 নুচকা—886
 নুচকিয়া হালা—467, 530
 নুচড়া—888
 নুচলকা—213, 618
 নুচি—194
 নুচিগিরি—707
 নুচুরমান—612
 নুছলী—578, 581, 589
 নুছ—530
 নুছিনী পেলাইবো—1050
 নুছিয়া (নুছে) ফেলা—1052

মুঞি—350, 522, 811
 মুচিরাগিরি—707
 মুঠ—308, 312
 মুঠি—312, 493
 মুঠু হাত—530
 মুড়—497, 878
 মুড়লী—186
 মুড়া—365
 মুড়ি-দেওরা—1013, 1051
 মুড়লী—65, 186
 মুড়ো—401
 মুতি—303
 মুতী—502
 মুখা—326, 504
 মুদড়ী—306, 326, 505, 690
 মুদি—690
 মুদীখানা—707
 মুদে—882
 মুদই—588
 মুনকা—596
 মুনিএ, -তে—719
 মুনিব—582, 585
 মুনিয়ের—719
 মুনির—719
 মুনিস—332, 381, 399, 528,
 530, 548
 মুনিসা—381
 মুনুকে—682
 মুন্সিপাল (= municipal)—216
 মুন্সেফ—581
 মুকু—602
 মুক্রে—428
 মুক্ৰি—811
 মুকুত—308
 মুকুচা—203
 মুকুসী—578
 মুকোদ—583
 মুদাকরাস—581

মুলতবী—616
 মুলুক—581
 মুলুক—454, 581
 মুলুকে—454
 মুল্ল—407
 মুলু—888
 মুসলমান—551, 612
 মুসলমানত্ব—705
 মুলাবিদা—616
 মুহড়া—691
 মুহা—659
 মুহরী—572, 578, 610, 618
 মুচ—500
 মুত—502
 মুতে—882
 মুরছা—376
 মুরতি—376
 মুচ্ছা—448
 মূল—544
 মূলা—326
 মূলো—401
 মুগ—304
 মুজা—357, 584
 মেওরা—616
 মেঘ—411, 450
 মেঘলা—331
 মেচা—1073
 মেচ কো-ফের—1073
 মেছ—473
 মেছুনী—694
 মেছো—679
 মেজ—391
 মে'জ—391
 মেজ—622, 624, 631
 মেজকী—682
 মেজদা—477
 মেজরাপ, -ব—580
 মেজাজ—601, 613

মেকার-গলাস—643
 মেজিষ্টর—647
 মেজো, মে'জো—391, 395, 443
 মেজোদাদা—477
 মেঝো—395
 মেটে—390, 674, 1066
 মেঠাই—407
 মেঠো—381
 মেড়া—555
 মেধর—595
 মেধরনী, মেধরাণী—695
 মেঘ—648
 মেঘাদ—584, 614
 মেঘে—390
 মেঘেলী—670
 মেয়'—608
 মেয়লাই—588
 মেয়লাব—613
 মেয়া—211
 মেয়াপ—446, 595, 605
 মেয়াবৎ—577
 মেয়িনো—625, 626
 মেয়ে—388
 মেয়ে-খ'রে—1048
 মেয়—306
 মেয়-ট্রেন—639
 মেলে—411, 412, 1044
 মেলামিশি, -মেশি—398
 মেসো—385, 679
 মেয়ৎ—591, 595, 619
 মেহার—336, 540, 669
 মেহারী—540, 669
 মেহেরবাঈ—580, 592
 মৈল—342, 355, 487, 517,
 942, 1043
 মৈলাম—157
 মো (amx)—531
 মো (=my)—329, 330, 520

মো (pronominal stem)—413,
 810, 811, 812, 815
 মোআ—329, 341
 মোই—811
 মোইব—884
 মোএ, -এ—811
 মোক—815
 মোকদ্দমা—454, 542, 581
 মোকরর—589, 610, 618
 মোকররী মোররী—578
 মোকদ্দমা—542, 610
 মোকাম—609
 মোকুব—606
 মোকে—811, 814
 মোস্তাফ—599
 মোকম—582
 মোগল—582
 মোগো—758
 মোচরমান—612
 মোচা—329
 মোচোরমান—551
 মোজুব—432, 473
 মোহ—310, 473, 530
 মোহলমান—612
 মোজা—194
 মোজাহেব—580
 মোজুদ—587
 মোঞ—320, 811
 মোঞি—811
 মোঞে—811
 মোঞ—811
 মোট—490
 মোটা—491
 মোঠিহু—814
 মোড়—327
 মোড়ক—457, 679
 মোড়ফে—610
 মোড়ল—320, 327

মোতফরকা—589, 618
 মোত-হস্তে—776
 মোতাজে—590
 মোতারেন—590
 মোতি—303, 397
 মোতী—502
 মোতে—811, 814
 মোদিগ—812
 মোদিরা—814
 মোদেহ—812, 814
 মোদেহতে—814
 মোদা—590
 মোদকা—596, 606, 607
 মোদে—814, 815
 মোদেকার—814
 মোম—586
 মোরা—341, 342, 427
 মোর—145, 211, 754, 758,
 811, 814, 815
 মোরগ—400, 582, 593, 600
 মোরগো—815
 মোরচে—610
 মোরমনকার, -মেনকার—814
 মোরমেনে—814
 মোরা—735, 736, 812, 813,
 815
 মোরাগো—758
 মোরোগ—593
 মোর্চে—590
 মোল—827
 মোলাণ—187
 মোলা—581
 মোশাই—848
 মোব—384
 মোহ—811
 মোহড়া—691
 মোহ'তে—814
 মোহন—400

মোহনভোগ—1070

মোহানন্দ—581, 594

মোহর—(noun) 592, 595 ;

(pronoun) 811, 814

মোহরন—594, 610

মোহি—811

মোহে—877

মোহো—811

মোঁ—310, 315, 530, 554

মোঁচাক—344

মোঁজা—587, 596

মোঁজুদ—587

মোঁড়—496

মোঁৎ—602

মোন—304

মোরশ—586

মোরী—554

মোরুশী—588, 612

মোলবী—577, 578, 588, 616

মোলভী—588, 616

মোলুবী—578

মোসম—587

মোসিম—580

মোঁসুম—580, 610

মোঁহারী—345

মঁ দির—337, 365

মঁ ড়—496

মঁ ড় ব, মঁ ড় স—526

মঁ স—321, 362

মুঁই—522

মুঁ ড়ি—526

মুঁ রি—522

মুঁ হি—811

মোঁ—815

মোঁৎ—815

-ম—819

ম্যাও—421

ম্যাজেট—197, 647

ম্যাজেটার—647

ম্যাজেটার—197, 647

ম্যাদ—584, 614

ম্যাম—648

ম্যাল—891

ম্যাটর—648

ম্রগ—357

ম্হ (sound)—132

য—227, 272, 474, 840, (= য)

227, 272, 340, 341, 381,

402, 411, 413, 533, 534,

614 ; (য = j)—299

-য়—(affix) 739

যক্ষ ; যক্ষি—406

যখন—317, 857

য়জ্ঞ—533

যজ্ঞ—311, 474, 841

যজ—879

যজ্ঞ—382, 406

যজ্ঞি—406

যত—733, 854

যতন—376, 400, 475

যতেক—855

যথা—505, 858

যথায়—858

যথি—841, 858

যথিত—841

যথির—841

যদি—396, 901, 902, 1043

যদিও—1043

যদু—397

যদুয়া—679

যদো—679

যদিন—331

য়নন্ত—533

য-কলা—381

যব—475

যবে—114, 474, 856

যবনে—858

যসী—353

যস্মিন্—477

যহির—841

রা—(sound) 404

রা—(root) 912, 921, 923, 924,

925, 1014, 1044, 1062 ;

(noun) 474 ; (pron.) 846,

874, 893, 901

-রা (-ra)—394, 410

রাই—419, 422, 1069

রাই—(sound) 421

রাইছে—1026

রাইত—335

রাইতা-লাগুগিল(t)—1015

রাইতাম-লাগুগিলাম—1015

রাই-তাই—860

রাইতু-লাইল্—1016

রাইতে—393, 451, 1000, 1014, 1015

রাইতেছ—994

রাইতেছি—994

রাইতো—960

রাইতাম—994

রাইতায়—994

রাইবাম—994

রাইবার—752

রাইবেক—457

রাইয়া—1044

রাইয়ার—994

রাইল—1044

রাইলে—1044

রাউ—310

রাউক—310, 423

রাউক-গিন্না—447

রাউট—1029

রাও—421, 423



বাঙালি—988
 বাঙালী—660
 বাঙ—982
 বাক—310, 907
 বাক্কে, বাক্কে—447
 বাচ—422, 874
 বাচাই—422, 661
 বাচ্ছিনিস—979
 বাচ্ছ—1026
 বাচঞা—523
 বাভে—901
 বাভ্যে—393
 বাদিগ—839
 বাছুঘর—219
 বাদের—839
 বান—528
 বাবাকে—752
 বাবানে—998
 বাবো (অ)পুন—997
 বামি—533
 বার—422, 474
 বায়ে—বানে—996
 বার—162
 বার—534
 বারা—839
 বাহ—903
 বাহা—839, 903
 বাহাদিগ—839
 বাহাদের—839
 বাহার—839
 বি (sound)—405
 বিনি—124, 839, 840
 বিহার—533
 বিহলী—601, 615
 বী (sound)—465
 বীণ—624, 627, 629
 ব্ৰ (sound)—407
 ব্ৰজি—477

ব্ৰহ্ম—462, 475
 ব্ৰহ্ম—308
 ব্ৰহ্মসত্ত্ব—65
 ব্ৰহ্ম—874
 ব্ৰহ্ম—322, 326, 475, 482, 875
 ব্ৰহ্ম—533
 ব্ৰহ্ম—305
 ব্ৰ (sound)—407
 বে, য়ে (sound)—402, 408
 বে—474, 839, 840, 846, 902
 বেই—419, 841
 বেউ—846
 বেঙ—420
 বেথেনে—401
 বেচ্ছ—1026
 যেত (= যত)—854
 যেতে—393
 যেতেন—400
 যেথা—412, 504, 958
 যেথায়—858
 যেন—95, 313, 555, 853, 901
 যেনা—839
 যেনে—853
 যেমন—696, 851
 যেমন—411, 851
 যেমনতর—708
 যেমনে—853
 যেয়ে—918, 1044
 যেলে—1044
 যেণ্ড—624
 য়েস্ (= yes)—534
 যে-, সে—1030
 যেহেন—95, 313, 853
 যেহো—846
 যেহু—95, 853
 যেহুসনে—852
 বৈহন—854
 বো—303, 329, 474

মো (sound)—413
 যোগ—477
 যোগাড়—687
 যোগাড়িলা, যোগাড়—687
 যোগান, যোগান্—665
 যোগ্য—382, 398
 যোড়া—183
 যোড়সাঁকো—65, 66
 যোভ—329, 475
 যোমান—386
 যোমান—329
 যোমান—475
 য়োরোপ (= Europe)—534
 য়োর্ক (= York)—534
 য়োবন—427
 ঙা—839
 ঙাইআর—994
 ঙাতা—475, 501, 673
 ঙাতী—673
 ঙাদিগ—839
 ঙাদের—839
 ঙারা—839
 ঙাহা—839
 ঙাহাদিগ—839
 ঙাহাদের—839
 ঙাহারা—839
 বি'হ—124
 ব্ৰ'ই—325
 য়ে (affix)—1006
 বৈহ—124, 725
 ব্যা—636
 য়া (sound)—410
 -য়া—133
 -্যাঙ—421
 য়াদিন—391
 য়ার (-য়া)—421
 র—(sound) 138, 272, 642;

(affix) 540, 717, 718, 734,
739, 776, 855 ; (-র-) 691,
729, 885, 888
রআনী—468
রইদ—344
রঙগন—588
রঙনা—590
রঙনাক—213, 617
রং—363
রক—213, 617
রকম—592
রকা—384, 413, 460
রগড়া—888
রঙ—363
রঙানা—608
রজকিনী—201, 696
রজকুস—648
রজনী—468
রজপুত—321
রট—879
রড়—879
রণ—304, 320
রণমুখে—305
রতন—256, 376, 400
রতি—318, 319, 502
রদী—603
রপটা—887
রপ্ত—593, 605
রপ্তানী—578, 606
রকা—315, 575, 609
ররাব—609
ররজান—577, 589, 609
ররটার (= Reuter)—640
রয়নী—468
রয়ে—392
রয়েছি—1028
রয়া, রয়ে—392
রয়ন—589

রস—315
রসদ—577, 603, 612
রসান—315, 350
রসীদ—603
রহই—347
র'স্—885
র'স্কে—333
রহ—879, 885, 1035, 1040
রহ—886
রহমান—557
রহ-সহ—896
রহাএ—1040
রহিয়া—392
রহিলেন—967
রা—320, 539
-রা—95, 173, 668, 734, 735,
736, 776
রাই—247, 320, 421, 422,
554, 672, 673
রাইখ—383, 908
রাইখা—133, 381, 393
রাখা—133
রাইখো—393
রাইড—308, 345, 381, 385,
386
রাইয়ৎ—589
রাউড—488
রাউৎ—320, 337, 342, 346
রাউল—320, 468
রাং—363, 539
রায়েতি—363
রাকড়া—885
রা-কাড়া, রাকাড়া—114, 885
রাখ—443, 674, 1033
রাখোয়াল—349
রাখ'তুম, রাখ'তম—393
রাখ'লুম, রাখ'লম—393
রাখা—660

রাখা-করান—1033
রাখাইরা—416
রাখাইহ—352
রাখাল—300, 349, 426, 458,
670
রাখালী—670, 673
রাখি (= রাখিরা)—660, 1006
রাখিঅ—383, 908
রাখিআ—660
রাখিও—352, 418, 458
রাখিএ—142
রাখিতাম—393, 394
রাখিতুম—393
রাখিতে—393
রাখিরা—133, 142, 381, 387,
393, 416, 417, 1006
রাখিয়ে—416
রাখিল—303, 974
রাখিলাম—393, 394
রাখিলুম—393
রাখিহ—352, 383, 908
রাখী (= রাখিরা)—660
রাখে—460
রাখেক—918, 990
রাখো—932
রাখোয়াল—670
রাখোয়াল—426, 458
রাখ'তে—387
রাখা—383, 908
রাখা—391, 393
রাখো—393
রাখ'লা—332
রাখে—142
রাখ'য়া—142
রাগী—671
রাঙ—363
রাঙা—363, 659
রাজ—363

রাজ্যতা—692
 রাজ্য—383, 659, 686, 883
 রাজ্যটে—686
 রাজ—475, 879
 রাজড়া—691
 রাজনীতিক, -নৈতিক—703
 রাজপুত—321
 রাজহাঁস—506
 রাজাই—577, 661
 রাজ্যতে—751
 রাজ্যরা (ag.)—780
 রাজ্য—476
 রাজ—539
 রাজ—500, 539
 রাজী—672
 রাজী—227, 523, 674
 রাজ—308, 381, 385, 386,
 502
 রাজা—502
 রাজি—345, 381, 502, 539,
 652
 রাজিমা—703
 রাজুল—337, 502, 698
 রাজির—539
 রাজি—503
 রাজহাঁস—506
 রাজু—677
 রাজী—227, 523, 539, 674,
 696
 রাজা—657
 রাজিশ—648
 রাজটা, -টা—686
 রাজদেব—732
 রাজর—717
 রাজা—859
 রাজাই—662
 রাজী—895
 রাজদেব—732

রাজের—717
 রাজ—(< rājā) 247, 320, 342 ;
 (= judgment) 615
 রাজৎ—589
 রাজ রাজী—590
 রাজ—548
 রাজিমা—640
 রাজ—308, 609
 রাজকল—648
 রাজা—593, 595
 রাজাজানী—595
 রাজী—320, 421, 554, 672
 রাজি—356, 358
 রাজি—539, 543
 রাজিট—648
 রাজি—577, 606, 609
 রাজিট—641, 648
 রাজিট—648
 রাজি—606, 609
 রাজিট—648
 রাজি—639, 648
 রাজিৎ—577, 616
 রাজিড়া—66
 রাজি—325
 রাজিবিব. রাজিভার—648
 রাজি—388
 রাজি—313, 493, 543
 রাজি—308
 রাজি—548
 রাজি—325, 539
 -রাজ—697
 রাজি—396, 428, 539, 555
 রাজিভন—215, 428
 রাজিগী—373, 456
 রাজি—355
 রাজি—471, 875
 রাজি—581, 609

রাজি—307, 625, 673
 রাজি—326
 রাজি—882
 রাজি—653
 রাজি—882
 রাজি—586, 609
 রাজি—700
 রাজিবেই—988
 রাজি—418
 রাজি—703
 রাজি—548
 রাজি—396
 রাজিহাস—396
 রাজিবাড়ী—181
 রাজি—699
 রাজি—510, 539
 রাজিকর—758
 রাজিলা, রাজিলি, রাজিলা—670
 রাজি—1069
 রাজি—112, 739
 রাজি—420
 রাজি—589
 রাজি—598
 রাজি—306
 রাজি—133, 141, 381, 387,
 391, 393, 416, 1006
 রাজি—352, 383, 418
 রাজি—133, 391
 রাজি—133, 416
 রাজি—577
 রাজি—577
 রাজিকৃত—704
 রাজিষ্টারী—648
 রাজিষ্ট—704
 রাজি—313, 372, 539
 রাজি—386
 রাজিচিনি—578, 603, 618

রেবেন চিনি—578
 রেমো—679
 রেয়াং—590
 রেলগুয়ে—216, 645
 রেলগাড়ী—216
 রেশম—585, 609
 রেস্তা—624, 626, 630
 রেস্তো—626
 রেহ—328, 553
 রেহাই—594
 রোখ—460
 রোগন—588
 রোগা—659
 রোগাটে—686
 রোচে—875
 রোজ—586, 609, 613
 রোজকার—451
 রোজদাঁদ—615
 রোজা—203, 542
 রোড—640
 রোডসেস—640
 রোদ—344
 রোমজান—577
 রোমান্টিক—217
 রোমান্টিকতা—705
 রোম(জ)ান্—217
 রোর—329, 342, 353, 426, 539
 রোরাক—617
 রোরে—392
 রোশনাই—589
 রোশনী—586
 রোবলি—957
 রোবিলী—721
 রোসো—885
 রোহিলা, রোহেলা—213
 রোগন—588
 রোঁদ—344

রোশন—588
 রোশনচোকা—588
 রোঁড়—306, 365, 539
 রোঁড়বাজ—709
 রোঁদি—366
 রোঁধনা—657
 রোঁধনী—658, 672
 রোঁধা-বাড়ী—1016
 রোঁধুনি—672
 রোঁধনী—658
 রোঁধে—875, 877
 রোঁদা—366
 রে।—303, 329, 520, 539
 রেঁদ—648
 রেঁরা—520, 539
 ন—(sound) 217, 272, 538 ;
 (verb) 1044
 ন (= Eng. law)—636, 642
 -ন—697, 885, 888
 নঅ—903
 নই—774, 1044
 নইছে—1022
 নইব—1045
 নইরা—1045
 নইব—1045
 নইস—1044
 নউক—1045
 নউন—1045
 নও—1044
 নওরা—1045
 নং—363
 নক—546, 599, 607
 নকখী—460
 নক্ষ—382, 383, 392
 নক্ষী—200, 460
 নখ—318, 874
 নখিত—704

নখিন্দর—480
 নখে—319
 নগন—376
 নগে—145, 774
 নগঘী—462
 নঘু—397
 নজ—346, 363
 নজর—540, 611
 নজরুস—648
 নটকা—886
 নড়—498, 545, 879
 নড়াই—661
 নড়াইহু—1037
 নড়িলী—958
 নঠন—216, 641, 64
 নও—628
 ন'ন—424, 1044
 নপটা—887
 নবাধা—623
 নবান—586
 নবেজান—610
 নবেদা—623
 নম্প—641, 648
 নক্ষ-প্রদান করা—1015
 নখর—546
 নর—543, 545, 554
 নরে—774
 নরেন—424, 1044
 নলাটিতে হস্তে—776
 নখর—203, 610, 611
 নহ—874, 997, 1044
 নহা—610, 617
 নহর—308
 নহে—543, 554
 নহেন—1044
 না—306, 460, 543, 545, 553, 554, 637
 না—545

-লা—669, 697
 লাইওর—528
 লাইহর—545
 লাইহোর—528, 545
 লাউ—310, 313, 385, 423,
 543
 লাও—1045
 লাং—460, 543, 801
 লাংকের—757
 লাং—363, 461, 543, 874
 লাগাং—611
 লাগাং—576, 598, 610
 লাগাং—611
 লাগাং চা—1032
 লাগি—774
 লাগি গেল—1050
 লাগিয়া—172, 774
 লাগিয়া (লেগে) থাকা, রহা—
 1052
 লাগিয়া (লেগে) বাওয়া—1052
 লাগিলী—958
 লাঙ—311
 লাগে—774
 লাঙল—544
 লাঙ্গল—347, 490, 687
 লাঙ্গা—545, 546
 লাচাড়া—289
 লাচ্ছ—258
 লাছ—185, 258, 306, 473,
 543
 লাভ—306, 475, 543, 874
 লাভউলী—698
 লাভবর্ধ—593, 603
 লাভুক—704
 লাট—216, 545, 633, 636,
 638, 641, 642, 648
 লাট—443
 লাঠা—883

লাঠি—443, 493, 543, 673
 লাড়লী—959
 লাড়ু—311, 498, 678
 লাখানো—665
 লাফ—452, 512
 লাফ-ঢেওয়া—1051
 লাফরা—513, 541
 লাফা—512
 লাফাল-বাঁপাল—1048
 লাবড়া—513, 541
 লায—367
 লায়া—197
 লাঝ—774
 লায়েক—588, 597, 610
 লাউ মার্শটোন—637
 লাল—306, 545 ; 578, 610 ;
 874
 লাল-পালা—696
 লালস—306, 335
 লালিমা—703
 লালু—700
 লাস—213, 321, 548 ; 610,
 612
 লাহা—460, 554, 637
 লাহিড়ী—182
 -লি—997
 লি(ই)—1045
 লিখ—443, 460
 লিজে—476
 লিজে—476, 900
 লিপ—414
 লিপটা—887
 লিবার (= Eng. liver)—639,
 648
 লিবে—1045
 লিয়ে—1045
 লিলে—997, 1045
 লিট—641

লিস্—1045
 লিহে—553
 -লী—697
 -লু—975
 লুই—428
 লুকাইলিস—879
 লুকী—197
 লুটী—196
 লুটে—491, 492
 লুটিশ—546, 647, 648
 লুঠ—492, 543, 874
 লুঠেরা—688
 লুড়ী—307
 লুণ—528
 লুন—330, 543
 লুবধ—376
 লুবু—377
 -লুম, -লু—545, 974, 975
 লুম—879
 লুম—879
 লে—774, 1045
 -লে—1003
 লেই—419
 লেউটা—892
 লেও—1045
 লেওয়া—414
 লেখা—956
 লেখা-জোখা—1016
 লেখ্—411
 লেগে—774
 লেঙ—699
 লেঙা—699
 লেজ—887
 লেজচা—889
 লেজট—825, 687
 লেজটা—685
 লেজড়া—699
 লেজ—452

লেজুড়—482, 543
 লেজুড়ী—482
 লেন—657
 লেনা—657
 লেপ্টেনাণ্ট—638
 লেপ্তেনেস্ত—642
 লেফাফা—606
 লেবু—157, 367
 লেবে—1045
 লেহ—1045
 লেলা—892
 লৈক—136, 383
 লৈবেক—990
 লো—330
 লোকদান—546, 581, 607
 লোকে—719
 'লোকখোঁ'—392
 লোট—491, 546, 648
 লোটন—400
 লোটাইল—1032
 লোণ—330
 লোধ—329
 লোনা—659
 লোম—539
 লোসকান—546
 লোহা—330, 543, 555
 -লু—974
 'ল্যা'—380
 ল্যাংবোটি—648
 ল্যাম্প—641, 648
 ব (= অঙ্ক:হ ব [=v, w])—
 272, 534 ; see under ব (=
 বগীয় ব=b), pp. 1147-1155
 ব—(sound) 272, 465, 546,
 547, 548, 551, 611, 618,
 628, 630, 642 ; (suffix)
 363 ; (hundred) 84, 302,
 347, 547, 800

বইল—304, 344, 425
 বউল—344
 বকুন—454
 বক্ত—599
 বক্তনা—530
 বটুকে—682
 বণ—528, 1034
 বত—682
 বতকরা—702
 বতকিয়া—682
 বতুর—377
 বত্র—716, বত্র—716
 বনাক্ত—599
 ব'বাক্তার—644
 বম—305
 বমন—648
 বয়—800
 বয়তান—583, 587, 602
 বয়ম—592, 609, 611
 বরা—315, 547
 বরাপ—605
 বরিল—677
 বরীক—585
 বরীল—677
 বরু—679
 বরুয়া—679
 বর্ভ—593, 602
 বলা—307
 বলা—315
 বলাক—697
 বস—548
 বহর—575, 592, 595, 611
 বহরে—399
 বা—305, 557, 595, 611
 বাইল—674
 বাও—342, 345
 বাক্য—458
 বাখা—460

বাণ—445
 বাউন—321, 521, 528, 548
 বাউল—548
 বাজাদা—613
 বাজাহান—594
 বাণ—528
 বাণী—883
 বাণ(ই)ল—1034
 বাধ—190
 বাবাই—589, 595
 বাপড়—878
 বাপড়ান—878
 বাবল—335
 বাম—548
 বামিরানা—592
 বামী—695
 বায়ুক—366, 682
 বাট—639
 বাপী—648
 বাল—674
 -বাল—306
 বালা—321, 544, 548
 বালাজ—307, 475
 বালিক—460, 536, 543
 বালিখ—460
 বালী—695
 বাব—310, 691
 বাবল—801
 বাপী—648
 বাবুড়ী—337, 548, 691
 বাবুর—376
 বাহ—305
 বাহা—557, 611
 বাহেরম—580
 বাবর—324, 351
 বাউলি—254, 399, 419
 বাউলী—554

শিঙর—351, 553
 শিং—355, 363
 শিক—584
 শিকড়—454, 457, 554
 শিকনি—408, 457
 শিকল—355, 372, 444, 454, 457, 547
 শিকা—325, 456
 শিকনি—364
 শিকানবিশ—708
 শিখ—196, 443
 শিঙ—363
 শিঙা—355, 363
 শিক্র, শিক্রা—363
 শিক্রাড়া—497
 শিঙনি—364
 শিটা—325, 491
 শিঠা—325
 শিখান—324, 331, 336, 505
 শিরি—541, 584, -শ্রী—610
 শিগ—311
 শিবেরা—736
 শিবো—653
 শির—366
 শিরুল—366
 শিরর—324, 418
 শিরাল—324, 336, 341, 355, 404, 417
 শিরালগোয়া—452
 শির—324
 শিরকা—612
 শিরণী—584, -নী—541, 610
 শিরপেচ—577, 601, 604
 শিরিশ—585
 শিরী—608
 শিরেশ—585
 শিল—306, 324, 544
 শিলট—543

শিলা—306
 শিলিগুড়ি—66
 শিলেট—543, 648
 শিশু—549
 শিহড়—554
 শিহর—351
 শিহলী—254
 শী—352, 364
 শীগ্মির—462
 শীত্র—462
 শীল—648
 শু—407, 892
 শুই—397
 শুইতে—397
 শুইয়া—428
 শুইয়ে—394
 শুওর—341
 শুকতাবা—449, 456
 শুকিয়ে—394
 শুকুতা—550
 শুক—397
 শুক্ল—447, 458
 শুখনা—657
 শুগা—322, 327, 401, 460
 শুখাইয়া—394
 শুখার—882
 শুখাল—1031
 শুখো—401
 শুছে—1026
 শুপিআছ—1027
 শুপিলী—958
 শুতে—397
 শুনিলে—1005
 শুদ্ধ(ত)—706, 775
 শুধ—507
 শুমি—507
 শুধু—706
 শুন—874

শুনন—656
 শুনা—397, 548
 শুনানী—665
 শুনি—397
 শুনিউ—932
 শুমুক—397
 শুনে—326, 356, 397, 528, 875
 শুন—397
 শুয়ে—428
 শুক—586
 শুকরা—586
 শুকুক—400, 407
 শুধ—407, 874
 শুষে—875
 শূষর—341
 শূষার—428
 শূওর—401, 428
 শূদ্দুর—377
 শূন—327
 শূনা—529
 শূরর—326, 341
 শেওলা—412, 421
 শেক—443
 শেখ—443, 587, 599
 শেজ—306, 328, 409, 475
 শেজভোলানি—665
 শেঠ—328, 493, 547, 548
 শেমো—679
 শেয—328
 শেরার—640
 শেরালা—328, 412
 শের—585
 শেরেস্তা—572
 শেল—328, 341, 409, 544
 শেলেট—648
 শেহালা—412
 শৈল—304

শো—397, 874
 শোআইরা—394
 শোউল—385
 শোএ—426
 শোন—397
 শোনা—397
 শোনান—665, 666
 শোনে—397
 শোনো—397
 শোভ—879
 শোভা—644
 শোভাবাজার—644
 শোভিছে—1024
 শোভের—995
 শোর—397, 426, 533
 শোয়া—397
 শোয়াস—548
 শোর—341, 413, 428, 586
 শোল—344, 385
 শোলোক—377
 শোহ—874
 শোহরৎ—646
 শোহে—329
 শোল—385
 শোই—315, 422
 শোও—321, 342
 শোখ—316, 459
 শোখা—322, 362
 শোখারী—668
 শোপ—510
 শোশ—316, 370
 শোস—548
 শুক—408, 457, 874
 শুকুকা—685
 শুকুকা—686
 শুক—327, 362, 493
 শুক—327, 365, 496
 শুকি—526, -ড়ী—672

তুড়ীবাণা—707
 তুয়া—326
 তুয়া—372
 শৌক—408, 457
 শ্রান—200, 373
 শ্রায়ী—695
 শ্রার—640
 শ্রাল—341
 শ্রদ্ধ—190
 শ্রিগাল—357
 শ্রীমতী—826
 শ্রীমত্যাঁকে—826
 শ্রীমন্ত—696, 700
 শ্রের—304
 শ্রুর—548
 শ্রুত—411
 য—272, 465, 546, 547, 548,
 551, 611, 613, 628, 642
 বাইট—308, 383, 674, 797
 বাট—797
 বাইটের—716
 বাট—308, 674, 797
 বাটি—383
 বাটিহার—701
 বাট—493, 547, 798
 বাটি—674, -টী—716
 বাটের—716
 বেটেরা—701
 বেটের—716
 বোল—329, 347, 543, 547,
 555
 বোড়—362, 365, 496, 547
 হে—527
 হোর—640
 হিটহ—1073
 ক—527
 -কা—105

ন—272, 465, 546, 547, 548,
 551, 611, 613, 628, 630,
 642
 ন—712 ; -ন—699, 798, 885,
 889 ; -ন—550
 নই—(noun) 308, 344, 425,
 426, 547, 553, 589, 594,
 595, 611 ; (verb) 425 ;
 (affix) 700, 709
 নইতে—384
 নইরা—381
 নইলি—698
 নওগাত, -ৎ—213, 588
 নওদা—588
 নওয়া—770, 803
 নওয়ার—616, 777
 নওয়ার—313, 589, 1066
 নওয়াল—616
 নওয়া-শো—800
 নক—597
 নকড়—526
 নকড়ি—372, -ড়ী—331
 নকল—454, 455, 550, 727,
 730, 733
 নকলকার—755
 নকলাত—446, 578, 597
 নকাল—712
 নকালকার—755
 নকলাইন—725
 নক্ত—599
 নকন—712
 নথ—588, 597
 নথ্যতা—705
 নগড়া—372
 নগলাদ—446, 454
 নগাই—363
 নগোলাদ—578, 597
 নড়ে—383

সঙ—403
 সজ—363
 সজ্জ—145, 363, 774, 775
 সজ্জা—317
 সজ্জারে—712
 সঞ—523
 সজ্জাব—606, 608
 সটকা—886
 সঠিক—712
 সডক—355, 497, 679, 682
 সডকা—886
 সডকী—681
 সড়সড়া—891
 সড়াক—681
 সতর—317, 347, 409
 সতরকি—532, 601, -কি—601
 সতা—347, 693, 694
 সতিনী—694
 সতীন—694
 সতের—317, 347, 409, 502, 555, 791, 792
 সৎ—308, 347, 693, 694
 সত্তর—308, 502, 540, 674
 সত্—382
 সৎমা—308, 347
 সত্য—304, 382, 383, 384, 392, 406
 সত্যি—406, 705
 সদর—592, 611
 সদ্ধার—575, 610
 সন—611
 সনদ—608, 611
 সনন্দ—608
 সনাত্ত—580, 593, 599, 602, 607
 সনে—523, 529, 774
 সন্ধ—334, 403, 507
 সন্ধ—507

সন্নিসী—398
 সন্নৈসী—398
 সন্নাসী—398
 সনসপা—891
 সপিনা—648
 সপেটা—631, 632
 সঙ্গ—449
 সফিনা—648
 সফেদ—585
 সফেদা—659
 সব—318, 440, 514, 516, 531, 727, 730, 732, 733, 735
 সব—648, 714
 সবই(ঈ)—724
 সবজজ—648
 সব-জাত—654
 সব-ডেপুটি—648
 সব-কুজ(ট)—706
 সবাই—726
 সবাই(ই)কার—755
 সবুট—712
 সবুর—611
 সবে—726
 সবের—712
 সবাই—726
 সবাইকার—755
 সভ—440, 516, 727, 732
 সভরী—606
 সভা—644, 732
 সভান. সভানের—725
 সভাহ—1073
 সব—305 ; (= all) 531
 সবন্ধার—708
 সবটট—74
 সবন্ত—541
 সবন—648
 সবন্ধী—366
 সবর, সবরে—533

সবন্ত—733
 সবাই—367
 সবাদ—367
 সবিত্যারে—453
 সমুখে—481, 875
 সমুখ—366
 সমে—523, 774
 সম্পাদক—216
 সম্বন্ধ—366
 সম্বর—367
 সম্বাদ—367
 সম—424, 555
 সমদ্বাভাজ—604, 614
 সমলা—424, 698
 সমাল—336
 সম্ভে—426
 সম—874
 -সম—700
 সমকার—598
 সমখেল—585
 সম-জাইতে—1012
 সমবৎ—611
 সমবরা(হ)—595
 সমরম—609, 611
 সমরম—332
 -সমা—700
 সমাই—589, 611
 সমি—1012
 সমিন্না-পড়া—1051
 সমিবা—332, 374, 376, 381
 সম—679
 সমে—877
 সমেশ—540
 সম্ভ—598
 সম্ভার—440
 সম্ভার—575, 610
 সম্প—449
 সম্ব—550

সন্মুখ—374
 সর্ধ—381
 সহ—874, 885
 -সহ—706
 সহভব্য—705
 সহবৎ—582, 595
 সহা—777
 সহায়—533, 777
 -সহি—700, 709
 সহিত—396
 সহিতব্য—705
 সহিতে—384
 সহিব—1039
 সহিয়া—426
 সহিলি, সহিলী—698
 সহী—595
 সহে—315, 555
 সহেন—416
 সহেলা—698
 সঙ্ক—531, 727
 সকাই—726
 সকাঞি—726
 সন্ধে—812
 সহ—476, 482
 সংবাদ—367
 সংযুক্ত—477
 সা—310, 554, 557, 637
 -সা—699, 701
 সাঅর—341
 সাইত—596
 সাইখা—345, 380
 সাখা—340, 382
 সাইধ—381, 385, 386
 সাধে—716
 সাইধের—381
 সাধের—384, 716
 সাইর—674
 সাউখা—345, 380, 382

সাউন—381, 383
 সাউধ—381, 383, 385, 386
 সাউধের—381, 384
 সাঊতাল—502
 সাংগানগার—725
 সাঙ্কী—458
 সাঙ্কীসাব্দ—582
 সাঙ্ক্য, সাঙ্ক্যি—406
 সাঙ—197, 461, 622, 627, 629
 সাঙন—528
 সাঙল—321, 520
 সাঙাৎ—363, 663
 সাঙ্কম—519, 652
 সাঙ্ক—112, 363, 364
 সাঙ্ক—364
 সাঙ্কাৎ—322, 363, 663
 সাঙ্কানগার—736
 সাচান—372
 সাজ—306, 475, 895
 সাজতে—477
 সাজন্ত—999
 সাজশ—580
 সাজন্ত—706
 সাজা—576, 611
 সাজাই—662
 সাজার—317
 সাজিতে—477
 সাঙ্কাদ—619
 সাঞি—522
 সাড়—527
 সাড়ী—321, 496
 সাড়ে—560, 802, 803
 সাড়ে—560
 সাভ—502, 791
 সাভই—303, 372, 512
 সাভচলিগ—796
 সাভটা, সাটটা—451
 সাভান্তর—555

সাতার—789
 সাতাশ—318, 795
 সাতাদে—700
 সাডুই—512, 805
 সাধ—321, 504, 774
 সাধুআ—340, 345, 380, 395
 সাধুরা—340, 382
 সাধে—145, 504, 774
 সাধখী—443
 সাধিনা—450
 সাধী—578
 সাধ—190, 306, 381, 385, 386,
 507
 সাধিলেই—981
 সাধু—381, 383, 716
 সাধুখান—443
 সাধুভাষা—89
 সাধুর—384
 সাধ্য, সাধ্যি—406
 সান—306, 527, 528, 652
 সানক—576, 595, 598, 611
 সানকী—595
 সানা—367, 529
 সানাই—407
 সানি—407, 612
 সান্তরা—626
 সাঁকা—382
 সাপ—(noun) 318, 369, 511 ;
 (adjective) 606
 সাপট—684
 সাপিনী—695
 সাপুড়ে—688
 সাপ্টা—449
 সাব—606
 সাফাই—682
 সাব—648, 714
 সাবকাশ—712
 সাবধান—449

সাবাং, সাবান—530, 624, 630
 সাবালক—712
 সাবাশা—884
 সাবাস—611
 সাব্—197, 622, 629
 সাব্—582, 602
 সাবেক—611
 সাব্যস্ত—453
 সাভার—317, 515, 669
 সামার—367, 440
 সামাল—874
 সামালে—367, 440
 সামী—519
 সাম্বাএ—283
 সাম্বায়, সাম্বায়—367, 440
 সাম্বালে—440
 সাম্র—423
 সাম্র—219, 321, 335, 341,
 342, 404, 540
 সাম্রা—622, 625, 631
 সাম্রেন্ত—596
 সাম্রেন্স—217
 সাম্রেনবানী, সাম্রেনবানী—531
 সাম্রের—335, 341, 423, 589
 সাম্র—674
 সাম্রং—598
 সাম্রি—674
 সাম্রে—877
 সাম্রেং—595, 598
 সাম্র্জ—639
 সাম্র্জন—639
 সাম্র্জাদ—619
 সাম্রী—648
 সাম্রসা—622, 629, 631
 সাম্রানি, সাম্রিয়ানি—592
 সাম্রিস—580, 611
 সাম্র—310
 সাম্রি—310, 554, 557, 595

সাহসরায়—801
 সাহা—554, 557, 595, 639
 সাহার্য—542
 সাহেব—589, 594
 সাহেবানী—531
 সাহেবিয়ানি—592, 707
 সি—874
 সি—550
 সিউনী—468
 সিউই—195
 সিংগি, সিং—364
 সিংহিনী—695
 সিক—599
 সিকা—1076
 সিকন্দর—578
 সিকি—399, 406, 1076
 সিকা—195
 সিং—599
 সিগারেট, সিং—648
 সিজান—1031
 সিং—874
 সিং—482, 875
 সিং—313
 সিংকত—704
 ‘সিদ্দে’—333
 সিং—325
 সিং—653
 সিন—550
 সিনান—376
 সিনেহ—376
 সিন্দুক—440, 597, 603
 সিন্দুরিয়া—452
 সিন্দুক—440, 597, 603
 সিভিলিজেসন—644
 সিং—313
 সিলিয়ারাজ—604
 সিলেট (= Eng. slate)—640
 সী—364

সী—699, 701
 সীম—306
 সীয়ে—324
 সীল—648
 স্—407, 892
 স্—712
 স্—956
 স্—আছে—1027, 1028
 স্—428, 468
 স্—198, 554
 স্—399, 406
 স্—460
 স্—বর—712
 স্—মুনিয়া—597
 স্—377
 স্—364
 স্—712
 স্—712
 স্—195
 স্—680
 স্—712
 স্—502, 903
 স্—670
 স্—আছিলে—1027
 স্—331, 677, 940, 956
 স্—586, 603
 স্—712
 স্—775
 স্—507
 স্—507
 স্—706
 স্—712
 স্—673
 স্—712
 স্—407
 স্—কী—309, 352
 স্—203
 স্—স—580, 606

হুচনী—673
 হুবা—596
 হুবে বাজলা—596
 হুমন—712
 হুমর—377
 হুমুখ—531
 হুমুনি—366
 হুমুন্নি—477
 হুমো—198
 হুমোগ—477
 হুর—407, 548
 হুরকি, -কী—581, 611
 হুরং—586
 হুরতি—624
 হুরাক—213, 600
 হুর—586
 হুরক—213
 হুররা—586, 605
 হুর্ডি—626, 631
 হুহা—554
 হুচ—308, 468, 470
 হুতা—323
 হুর্বা—324
 হুজন—201
 হে—145, 820, 821, 823, 826,
 827, 828
 হেই—419, 828, 835
 হেউ—420
 হেওয়ার—616, 777
 হেউ—195
 হেক—204, 443, 599
 হেকরা—181, 194, 457, 668
 হেকরাবী—695
 হেকেশ্বর—578
 হেক্টারী—217
 হেখ—599
 হেখান—336
 হেখাবে—859

সেথেনে—401
 সেচান—372
 সেটি, -টি—859
 সেংখানা—595
 সেখা—412, 858
 সেখুয়া—382
 সেখো—340, 345, 380, 382,
 395
 সেদিনে—333
 সেখে—716
 সেখের—381
 সেন—411
 সেপাই—589, 611
 সেব—879
 সেবা—411
 সেবাইত—663
 সেবিজ—648
 সেয়ম—614
 সেয়াই—589
 সেয়ানী—412
 সেরকে—682
 সেরেপ—606
 সেরেফ—580, 606, 612
 সেরেতা—577, 610, 618
 সেলাই—662, 1033
 সেলার—576
 সেলাম-আলেকোম, -কম—587,
 609
 সেলেট (= Eng. slate)—640
 সে-সব—735, 821
 সে-সি—550
 সেহি—828
 সৈত্য—186, 383
 সৈয়দ—587, 614
 সৈরত—426
 সো—198, 554, 826, 874
 সোডর—377
 সোডরে—520

সোজা—413
 সোঞর—519
 সোডা—648
 সোণা—523, 529
 'সোজো'—392
 সোকা—413
 সোদো—505
 সোনো ভাসান—505
 সোবা—330, 367, 529
 সোনালী—670
 সোপনর—593, 604, 619
 সোবে—596
 সোবে সাদেক—580
 সোমড়া—66
 সোমন্ত—431, 541
 সোমাই—662
 সোম—330, 353
 সোম্বা—427, 534
 সোমাদ—534
 সোমাবী—427, 534
 সোমার—589
 সোম্বা—427, 534
 সোমাই—589
 সোমোত—377
 সোলে—596
 সোসর—700
 সোহ—874
 সোহরং—582, 591
 সোহাগ—330, 336, 554
 সোহাগলী—698
 সোহাগিনী, সোহাগী—694
 সোখান—588
 সোজন্ত, -তা—705
 সোদা—588
 সোরত—427
 সঁকড়ি—372
 সঁপ—348, 874
 সঁপে—347, 511, 520

সাঁ—479
 সাঁই—321, 422, 519, 520,
 522, 548
 সাঁইত্রিশ—791, 792
 সাঁইসাঁই—422
 সাঁও—321
 সাঁওতাল—520
 সাঁকালি, -লী—623, 627
 সাঁকো—282, 347, 456, 519,
 520
 সাঁচ—362
 সাঁচা—160, 312, 362, 370, 464,
 471
 সাঁচাই—661
 সাঁকা—160, 447
 সাঁজার—352, 370, 409, 476,
 646, 697
 সাঁজোরা—337, 364
 সাঁক—306, 364, 481
 সাঁকাড়া, সাঁকাড়া—399
 সাঁকুতি—476
 সাঁট—879
 সাঁডানী—365, 497
 সাঁতর—874
 সাঁতরা (noun)—626, 628, 630
 সাঁতরা—502, 520
 সাঁতরাগছি—626
 সাঁতার—336
 সাঁধ—404
 সাঁপুড়া—337, 510
 সাঁরত্রিশ—792
 সাঁরি—522
 সাঁড়ী—499
 সাঁতা—504
 সাঁতি—502, 504
 সাঁখা—331, 504
 সাঁখি—504
 সাঁদুর—325, 337, 365, 506

সাঁধ—308, 404, 406,
 সাঁতি—324, 351, 520
 সাঁখি—520
 হুটুকী—452
 হুড়লেক—526
 হুদরী—365
 সৈগুতী—328
 সৈকো—622, 625, 626, 627,
 630
 সৈচে—327
 সৈজা—697
 সৈজার—370, 409, 476
 সৈজুতি—476
 সৈতান—502
 সৈতার—882
 সৌঅর—519
 সৌঅরিতে—1001
 সৌআ—520
 -সৌআ—701
 সৌটা—649
 সৌতি—329, 501, 548, 652
 সৌখা—309, 366
 সৌপ—874
 সৌপ—348
 স্ব—(sound) 377
 স্বভেদর (= scavenger)—644
 -স্ব—1073
 স্বান—527
 স্বহ—304, 527
 স্বকীর—534
 স্বগ—449
 স্বতন্তর—376
 স্বদ—382, 534
 স্বদ—403, 534
 স্বপন—376
 স্বরগ—376
 স্বর্গ—449
 স্বতি—534

স্বভেন—431
 স্বাভ—403
 স্বাভ—403, 534
 স্বামী—403
 স্বর্ষরী—519
 স্বর—879
 স্বরতি—933
 স্বাই—589
 স্বাক্ত—584
 স্বাভাৎ—363
 স্বারনা—412
 স্বালায়—576
 স্বাহী—589
 স্বফ—580, 606, 612
 স্বাংসৈতে—451
 হ—272, 341, 454, 594, 642 ;
 (verb) 347, 555, 923, 926,
 1014, 1035, 1038 ; (suffix)
 554, 903
 হঅন—335, 400, 656
 হআ—341, 350, 425
 হই—93, 425
 হইঅ—392
 হইতে—161, 172, 728, 739,
 768, 775, 776
 হইতেছে—443, 472, 1023
 হইতে—775
 হইব—1039
 হইবার—393
 হইবে—143
 হইবেক—683
 হইর—392
 হইরাই—394
 হইরাহিল—474
 হইরা—381
 হইল—299, 383, 384, 392,
 1038

হইরাহী—৭৭৫
 হইলে—৭৭৭
 হইলে বিহনে (=বিনে, বিনা)—
 ১০১৭
 হউক—৩৪৩, ৯০৭
 হউ°—৩১৩
 হএ—১০৩৪, ১০৩৯
 হও—৪২৫, ৯০৬
 হওয়া—৩৪১
 হও।—৩৪১
 হওন—৩০২, ৩৩৫, ৪০০, ৬৫৬,
 ১০০৪
 হওয়া—৩৪১, ৩৫০, ৩৯৩, ৪২৫
 হংস—৩০৪
 হক—৫৭৫, ৫৯৪, ৫৯৭, ৬১৪
 হকীম—৫৪৫, ৬০৯
 হকু—৩৪৩, ৯০৭
 হকুক—৫৭৫, ৫৯৭
 হকলাইন—৭২৫
 হগল—৪৪৬
 হচে—৪৪৩
 হ'চে, হ'ছে—৪৭২, ১০২৯
 হজ—২০৩
 হজম—৫৯৪
 হজরৎ—৫৯৪
 হঞাছেক—১০২৭
 হঠ—৫৫৩
 হড়কা—৫৫৬, ৪৪৬
 হড়তাল—১৯৬
 হড়পী—৫১১
 হড়হড়া—৪৯১
 হতভাগিনী—৪৯৫
 হ'তে—৭২৪, ৭৪৪, ৭৭৫
 হতে—৭৭৫
 হত্যা—৪১৩, ৫০৩
 হতো—৭৭৫
 হদীস—৪১২
 হদ্য—৫৯৩, ৫৯৪, ৬০৩, ৬১৯

হন—৪২৪
 -হন—৪৫৩
 হনুমন্ত(i)—৬৯৭
 হনে—৭৭৫
 হন্ত—৭৭৬
 হন্তি—১০৩৪
 হন্তে—১৬১, ৭৭৫, ৭৭৬
 হন্যর—৬৩৪, ৬৪১, ৬৪৪
 হপ্তা—৪৪৩, ৪৪৯, ৫৯৪, ৬০৬
 হব—১০৩৯
 হব্—৬৭৪
 হব(অ)ণুন—৯৯৭
 হব—৯৩, ৪১৫, ৪২৪, ৫৩৩, ৫৫৫,
 ১০৩৪, ১০৩৯
 হবটে—১০২৯
 হবন্ত—১০৩৪
 হবন্তি—১০৩৪
 হবর—৯৯৪
 হবরাণ, -ন—৫২৩, ৫৪৭
 হব্রা—৩৪১
 হব্রী—৩৭৯
 হব্রিলাহী—৯৪১
 হব্রিলাহী—৯৭৫
 হব্রে—৩৯১
 হ'ব্রে—৩৯১, ৪২৬, ৯১৪
 হ'ব্রেই—৩৯৪
 হ'ব্রেছিল—৩৪৪
 হ'ব্রেছিলো—৪৭৪
 হ'ব্রেছে—১০২৪
 হবরেন—৪১৬, ৪২৪
 হ'ব্রেলো—৪৭৪
 হব্রো, হ'ব্রে—৩৯২
 হব—৭১৪
 হবকৎ—৫৯৪
 হবকরা—৫৪৩
 হবতন—২১৫
 হবতাল—১৯৬
 হবদিন—৭১৪

হবণ, -ক—৫৭৫, ৫৯২, ৬০৬
 হববোলা—৭১৪
 হববাদ—৬২০, ৬২৩, ৬২৯
 হবকেন—৬৩৪
 হব্রিৎ—৪৬১
 হব্রিৎ—৩৩৭
 হব্রিলাল—৩৩৭
 হব—৬৭৭
 হ'ব্রে—৩৪১
 হব্রে—৪৭৭
 হব্রি—৬১৯
 হব—৩৪৪
 হ'ব—৫৯২
 হব—৩৯২
 হবদ্রি—৬৭৪
 হবপ, -ক—৫৭৭, ৫৯৪, ৬০৬
 হবদ—৩০৬, ৩১৫, ৪০৭, ৫০৫,
 ৫৪৩, ৫৫৩
 হবদ্রি—৬৭৪
 হ'বদ্রে—৬৭৪
 হ'লে—৭৭৭, ১০০৫
 হবো, হ'বো—৩৯২
 হ'ব্—১০২০, ১০২৬
 হ'বদ্রে—৬৭৪
 হব—২৯৯, ৩৪৩
 হব—৩৭৯
 হব্রি-দীপ্যি—৪৩১
 হা—৭১২
 -হা—৯০৩
 হাইকোট, হাইকোর্ট—৬৩৯, ৬৪২
 হাইবাস—৫৫৬
 হার—৫৩৯
 হাল—৫৫৬
 হাউই—৫৪৯, ৫৯০
 হাউলী—৫৭৬, ৫৯১, ৬১৬
 হাউস—৬৩৯
 হাউসট—৪২৪
 হাওড়া—৬৬, ৫৩৫

হাওদা—588
 হাওরা—576, 594, 616
 হাক—456
 হাকিম—454, 594
 হাকুলি—556
 হাগরে—462
 হাঘরিয়া—713
 হাঘরে—462
 হাঘ'রে—713
 হাজর—557
 হাজলা—557
 হাজায়া—576
 হাজং—594, 602
 হাজরে—590
 হাজা—557
 হাজায়—601
 হাজার—576, 583, 594, 801
 হাজারী—203
 হাজির—580, 613
 হাট—490
 হাটগোলা—449
 হাটবাজার—450
 হাটরিয়া—542
 হাটি—181
 হাটুয়া—386
 হাটুরা—679
 হাটুরে—542
 হাতিবাক—1018
 হাড়—498
 হাড়ী—672
 হাড়ীগাজ—280
 হাত—302, 442, 443, 448, 503, 505, 552
 হাতছান—306
 হাতড়া—888
 হাতপা—449
 হাতর—717
 হাতল—698

হাতসান—306, 528
 হাতা—659, 883
 হাতানো—665
 হাতাহাতি—1049
 হাতিকোথ—216
 হাতী—442
 হাতীশাল—306
 হাতে—303, 744
 হাতেতে—744
 হাতের—717
 হাতা—448
 হাংগা—736
 হাথ—302, 503, 505
 হাথত—743
 হাথে—744
 হানিশিকল—216
 হান—321
 হাপ (= half)—643, 648
 হাপ-আখড়াই—714
 হাপর—553
 হাপ-সাইড—648
 হাপুতি—713
 হাপুস—713
 হাক-আখড়াই—714
 হাকের—594
 হাবড়া—535
 হাবলী—576, 591, 616
 হাবলী—576
 হাবাত—462, 713
 হাবিলাত—556
 হাবলী—576, 585, 616
 হাভাতিয়া—462, 713
 হাভেলী—616
 হায—535
 হাযরা—815
 হাযরাই—594
 হাযলা—594, 889
 হাযা—405, 552, 888

হাযা- (pronoun)—815
 হাযা(ব)দিতা—617
 হাযা-দেওরা—1051
 হাযার—553, 815
 হাযি—815
 হাযীর—440
 হাযেশা—585, 594, 612
 হাযীর, হাযীর—367, 440
 হাযায়—619
 -হার—701
 হারজিত—896
 -হার—701
 হারা—956
 হারাইল—957
 হারাইলা—1017
 হারাকিরি—197
 হারাম—203, 576, 609
 হারামত—556, 620, 623, 629
 হারান—1031
 হারি—539
 হারিরা—388
 হারে—877
 হারেছ—580
 হায়া—619
 হায়ানিয়া(য)—648
 হাল—(Persian) 611, (English) 636
 হালওরাই—589, 616
 হালকা—315, 457, 553
 হালদার—590
 হালাল—583, 594, 611
 হালি—543, 556
 হালিরা—674
 হালুই—589, 616
 হালুরা—576, 583, 616
 হালুকা—452
 হালুক—619
 হাস—321, 370, 548, 674

হাসিতে-ধাকা—1052
 হাসিরা-হাসিরা—1047
 হাসেস্ত—933
 -হি—555
 হিং—325, 552
 হিংস—879
 হিংস্ক—704
 হিংস্কে—686
 হিঙ—310
 হিন্দুল—337
 হিজড়া—691
 হিজরা—583
 হিতে—825, 827
 হিতেরা—827
 হিনহা—347
 চিনি—827
 চিন্দু—594
 হিন্দু—705
 হিন্দুমানী—707
 হিন্দুমান—709
 হিকিলেক—990
 হিক্র—648
 চিরা—324, 342, 355, 417, 552
 হিলান—313, 324, 452, 554
 হিলে—313, 324
 হিলোল—337
 হিসাব—594, 605
 হিসাব-কিতাব—583
 হিসাবী—583, 671
 হিসিবি—583
 হিসেব—401
 হিসেব-কিতাব—583
 হিসেবী—583
 হিহি—557
 হীরকর—758
 হীরা—552
 -হ—554

হইল—648
 হএ—1038
 হকুম—581, 593
 হজুর—577, 586
 হট্টকানো-পাটকানো—1048
 হড়কা—556, 681
 হড়া—556
 হড়াহড়ি—498, 1048
 হড়ী—553
 হড়ম—556
 হতোম—556
 হনুমান—431
 হনুর—578, 594
 হনে—553
 হমড়া—988
 হমড়ি—405
 হমা—883
 হরা-হরা—429
 হরী—586, 594
 হল—556
 হলান—557
 হলিরা—581
 হলাস—556
 হুদয়—557
 হে—827
 হেইরার—827
 হেউ—421
 হেউৎ—520
 হেগেলীয়—703
 হেজামা—576
 হেট (= Eng. hat)—648
 হেটো—386, 391, 679
 হেড-গাম্ভা—714
 হেড-পণ্ডিত—714
 হেড-বাবু—714
 হেড-মুহুরী—714
 হেড-মৌলবী—714
 হেতার—827

হেতিন—827
 হেথা—327, 328, 412, 504, 556, 858, 959
 হেথাকার—755
 হেথায়—858
 হেদা—892
 হেন—313, 350, 528, 555, 853
 -হেন—853
 হেনক—1008
 হেনমতে—852
 হেনরা—827
 হেনস্তা—347
 হেনা—580
 হেনার—827
 হেনারগো—827
 হেয়ার (= Eng. Hare)—640
 হের—(pron.) 827, (verb) 874
 হেরগো—827
 হেরা—827
 হেরার—827
 হেরে—388
 হেলা—411
 হেলান—313
 হেলে—313, 674
 হেস্তনেস্ত—577, 593, 612
 হৈতে—161, 739, 775
 হৈতে—1001
 হৈবের—995
 হৈল—384
 হৈলাহৌ—975
 হৈ হৈ—426
 হৌ—555, 1035, 1038
 হৌই—98
 হৌইতে—775
 হৌইব—1039
 হৌইল—1038
 হৌড—310

হাউক—310, 383

হাএ—93, 353, 877, 1038

হাক্—310

হাড—498, 556

হাতেহে—1023

হাথা—556, 858

হাথার—858

হাথে—161, 775

হামরা—557

হামরা-চামরা—557

হামিওপাখী—638

হামে—391

হামো—392

হাল—392

হালাইন—725

হালো—392

হোক—310, 455

হোজ—588, 594

হোস—639

-ই—359

ইউ—313

ইউশাউ—424

ইক—456, 457, 891

ইকড়া—888

ইকডাক—896

ইকড়ার—880

ইকরা—889

ইকাড়ে—880

ইকারা—889

ইক্রার—880

ইচ—891

ইচী—516

ইচি—556, 879

ইচিতে—449

ইচিলে—985

ইচিরা (ইচে) চলো—1012

ইচি—311, 556

ইচী—311

ইচিকাট—450

ইচুল—698

ইচিকটি—450

ইচিরা—197

ইচী—365, 553

ইচীশাল—517, 1070

ইদা—556

ইক—556

ইদন—362, 368, 370, 547,
549, 552

ইদপাতাল—216, 503, 634, 642

ইদপাতালে—371

ইদিয়া—608, 615

ইদাল—517

-ই—555

ইতাল—325

ইদু—366, 580, 594, 608

ইদুআনি—707

ইদকটে—686

ইক—371, 401, 594, 597,
608

ইকাছাড়া—769

ইকা—401, 572, 608

ইক—371, 608

ইদিয়ার—608

ইইও—419

ইচকা—556, 886

ইচকার—457

ইচকি—681

ইচড়া—887

ইচড়ান—681

ইচড়ার—876

ইজা—409, 476, 697

ইচি—328, 370, 411, 443,
1068

ইচি—494

ইচাল—553

ইতাল—325, 336

ইদু—366, 580, 594, 608

ইয়ালী—328

ইশেল—1070

ইসেল—517

ইচা—520

-ইচা—344, 359

ইচিট—685

ইচিকা—557, 681

ইচিল—553

ই (sound)—132

ই—853

ই (sound)—132, 144, 557

ই (sound)—482

ইচি (= Eng. hat)—648

ইহার (= Eng. Hare)—640

ইচ—557

:-272

